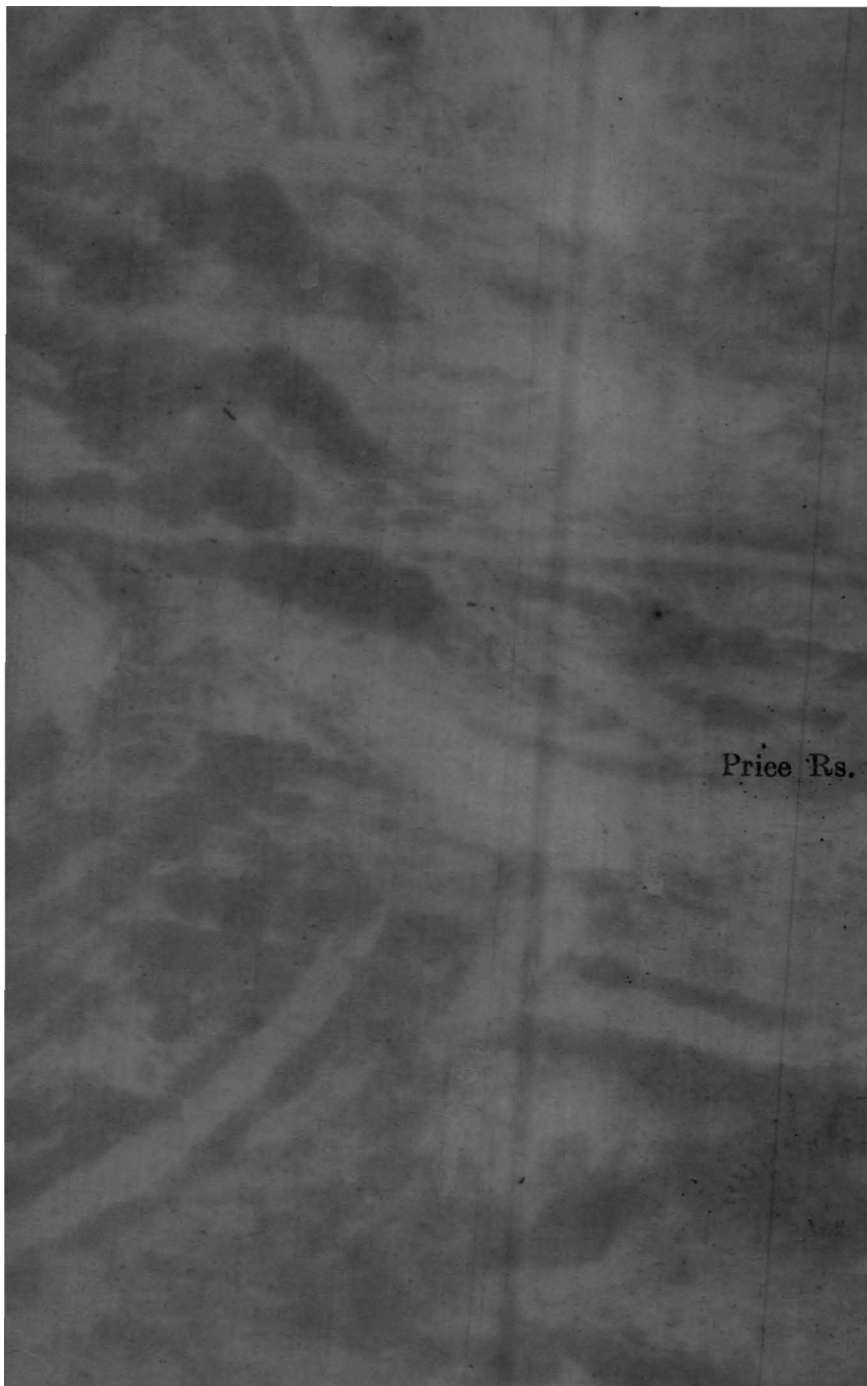


THE ASIATIC SOCIETY

MONOGRAPH SERIES

VOLUME XI

THE RAJBANSIS
OF
NORTH BENGAL



Symbols	as in English	as in Bengali
b, v	back	ব
bh	verb	ভ
m	man	ম
s	shine	স, শ, ষ
	all pronounced as 'S' (শ)	
r	rupee	র, ড়
l	law	ল
ẽ, y	joy	ঈ
h	hill	হ

Abbreviations

St. B. - Standard Bengali
S.C.B. - Standard Colloquial Bengali.

List of Plates

1. Undivided Bengal, Darjeeling, Jalpaiguri and Cooch-Bihar - -	- -	- -	Facing Page Front
2. House Plan of the Rajbansis - -	- -	- -	22
3. House of the Rajbansis			32
4. Rajbansis - -	- -	- -	33
5. Ornaments (2 plates) - -	- -	- -	38
6. Fishing and Fishing Implements & Traps (4 plates) - -	- -	- -	40
7. Agricultural Implements - -	- -	- -	56
8. Spinning and Weaving - -	- -	- -	57
9. Transport - Bullock Cart, Boat - -	- -	- -	58
10. Rajbansis (Features) - (2 plates) - -	- -	- -	128
11. Dances - -	- -	- -	150
12. Temples and Deities (5 plates) - -	- -	- -	150
13. Musical Instruments - -	- -	- -	208

List of Illustrations

1. Plough - -	- -	- -	55
2. Canoe - -	- -	- -	60
3. Tsor Tsor Khela (Thief and run) - -	- -	- -	57
4. Indoor Games - -	- -	- -	80 - 81
5. Outdoor Games - -	- -	- -	82 - 84
6. Arrangement of seats during first look at the would-be Bride - -	- -	- -	105
7. Marriage Bowers - -	- -	- -	109
8. Chil (Death) - -	- -	- -	123
9. Chakra (Religious) - -	- -	- -	135
10. Placing of Articles during worship - -	- -	- -	135

CHAPTER IX	Page	CHAPTER XI
Riddles - - - - -	174 - 178	Quarrel between two villagers
Proverbs, Unusual Phenomena,		A few texts to show the difference between
Common Sayings - - - - -	179 - 206	Jalpaiguri and Cooch-Bihar Dialects
CHAPTER X		CHAPTER XII
Songs		Dialect of the Rajbansis and
Music and Musical Instruments - - - - -	207 - 210	an Outline of Grammar - - -
Marriage songs, Love songs, Dotrar Gan,		CHAPTER XIII
Gulapeswarier Gan, Chor Churnir Gan, Religious		Vocabulary - - - - -
songs, Siva's marriage song, Vote song, Girir Addas,		Index - - - - -
Gua-paner Gan, Asiba Din - - - - -	210 - 241	

Modified Phonetic Symbols

Used in writing the words of The Northern Rajbansis

Vowels :-

Symbols	as in English	as in Bengali
ɔ	awe	অ
a	art	আ
i	pin	ই, ঈ
u	pull	উ, ঊ
e	bell	এ
o	stone	ও
r	ring	র, ঞ
ə	hat	অা, এা
ng	sing	ং, ঙ
h	oh	:
t	as in tableau (French)	ৎ, ত্
~	as in répondz ,,	৳

'Tilde' above the vowel for nasalisation of the vowel.

In transcribing 'ঞ' the letter 'r' has been used in place of conventional 'r' as 'ঞ' is always pronounced as (r) 'ঞ'.

Consonants :-

Symbols	as in English	as in Bengali
k	call	ক
kh	khaki	খ
g	got	গ
gh	ghost	ঘ
c, ts	child (dental)	চ
ch	(aspirated) see	ছ
j, ɟ	'Z', judge, Zoo	জ, ঝ
jh, dzh	hedgehog (aspirated)	ঝ
t	toy (retroflex)	ট
th	(aspirated)	ঠ
d	doll (retroflex)	ড
dh	(aspirated)	ঢ
t	(dental)	ত
th	thin (aspirated)	থ
d	then (dental)	দ
dh	(aspirated)	ধ
n	none	ন, ণ
p	point	প
ph	phone	ফ

PREFACE

A Hindu social group of people called the Rajbansis living in the extreme northern region of West Bengal have been very little studied. The census reports have given some accounts but imperfectly. Hodgson, Dalton, Risley, O'Malley, Gait, Hutton and some other scholars have described some historical and ethnological accounts of them. Grierson has touched a fringe of their dialect. K. P. Biswas has given some account of the dialect and folk culture of Rangpur. This monograph is an attempt to give an idea of the folk life and culture of the Rajbansis living in Darjeeling Terai (Siliguri), Jalpaiguri and Cooch-Bihar of West Bengal.

The study of folk life and culture of these people has become important when attitudes are changing fast due to impact of Western civilisation and more so after the partition of Bengal when a large scale immigration of people from lower North and East Bengal is taking place in this area and within a very short time a profound culture mixing is sure to take place and of the age-long customs may disappear altogether.

The people of the villages are deeply rooted to the soil and have retained many of their ancient customs and habits. They have faith in supernatural powers and rituals to propitiate them are still to be found. Their marriage customs and religious rituals have a distinct characteristic of their own. Their sports, jokes, common sayings and songs reveal their simple nature and intelligence.

The dialect which is a local variety of Bengali language is interesting and is a storehouse of many words that may enrich any standard language of India. A simple grammar and a vocabulary have been added for the purpose.

Three years after the Jalpaiguri district was created our family came here and settled in Jalpaiguri town before there was any railway connection to this place. I was born in this town and have spent three score years of my life in this district amongst these people. My public duties and profession gave me ample opportunities to move in the villages of these three districts and to live amongst them from time to time. My family had some agricultural land in far off villages in the district of Jalpaiguri where I had to live amongst the cultivators and mix with them intimately. I understand their dialect, and most of them understand the standard colloquial Bengali. I, therefore, required no interpreter. I could study the village life first hand and the informations secured from my numerous Rajbansi friends were scrupulously checked by interrogating many others. Careful notes were kept and many photographs taken, some of which appear in this monograph.

Whatever may be the opinion about the Rajbansis of this area, it is to be admitted that in this world various people with their distinct attitudes have contributed to the development of civilisation and the peoples who are now looked upon as backward, if properly understood and appreciated, may ultimately help to bring about a further achievement of our human heritage.

In writing this monograph both Romanised and Bengali scripts have been used for better understanding. A simple phonetic system has been used in case of Romanised transcription and standard Bengali spelling has been followed in a measure while writing in Bengali characters. The latter has in some places slightly affected the correct pronunciation of the dialect.

The author gratefully acknowledges his indebtedness to Professor Suniti Kumar Chatterji, a National Professor of India; to the late Dr. B. C. Roy, Ex-Chief Minister, West Bengal; to Sri Humayun Kabir, Minister for Petroleum and Chemicals, Government of India; to Professor Nirmal Kumar Bose, formerly Director General of Anthropology, Government of India, whose recommendations the Government of India and the Government of West Bengal sanctioned a generous sum to the Anthropological Society, Calcutta, who very kindly undertook to publish this book. To them, therefore, this book owes its existence.

I am also grateful to Professor T. C. Das of the Anthropological Department of the University of Calcutta, to Dr. K. C. Das of the University of Visva-Bharati and to Professor Nirmal Kumar Bose for kindly going through some portions of the manuscript and for their valuable suggestions. My thanks are due to late Professor K. P. Chattopadhyay of the Department of Anthropology, University of Calcutta, for his advice. I also express my thanks to Shri U. N. Burman, M. P., Shri M. M. Burman, Shri Monu Ray, Shri Uday Das, and to Shri Nikhil Ghatak, Shri D. Bhattacharjee of the Pandit family of the village Khagrabaree in Cooch-Bihar, who rendered me great help in collecting songs and common sayings. To many other friends and assistants my thanks are also due.

Jalpaiguri
(W. Bengal)
The 10th August, 1965.

CHARU CHANDRA SANYAL

Table of Contents

Preface			
Modified Phonetic Symbols			
List of Plates			
List of Illustrations			
 CHAPTER I			
Distribution, Environment and Character of Northern Rajbansis	--	--	1 - 4
The Ruling Dynasties of Cooch-Bihar and Jalpaiguri	--	--	5 - 10
Antecedents of Northern Rajbansis	--	--	10
(a) Historical and Ethnological Data	--	--	10 - 13
(b) Census Figures	--	--	14 - 17
(c) Inferential - Hindu Scriptures	--	--	17 - 19
 CHAPTER II			
The Material Culture of the Rajbansis	--	--	20
The Village, growth, naming, Typical Village	--	--	20 - 22
The Home of the Rajbansis	--	--	22
Building Customs, Selection of the Site, Plan of a Hut, Hut, House Entrance	--	--	22 - 27
Living Conditions	--	--	27
Males, Women, Sleeping, Meeting place, Cleaning of Clothing	--	--	27 - 29
Daily Life—Duties of Men, Women, Children, Elders and Songs	--	--	29 - 33
Parts of a House, A Hut	--	--	33 - 35
Household Articles	--	--	35 - 37
Personal Decorations	--	--	37 - 39
Fishing, Fishing Implements, Traps	--	--	39 - 41
Hunting, Traps	--	--	41 - 42
Foods and their preparation, Special Foods	--	--	42 - 48
Agriculture and Implements, Songs	--	--	48 - 56
Spinning and Weaving	--	--	56 - 58
Animal Husbandry	--	--	58
Transport, Parts of a Bullock Cart, Boats	--	--	58 - 60
 CHAPTER III			
Birth Customs	--	--	61
Pregnancy, Labour, Delivery, Care of the Mother, Care of the Child	--	--	61 - 63
First Look at the Child	--	--	63 - 64
Period of Confinement, First Unclean Period	--	--	64 - 65
Complications of Child Birth, Protracted Labour, Remedies, Songs	--	--	65 - 66
Diseases of the New Born, Midwife, End of the Second Unclean Period	--	--	67
Childhood, Care of the Child, Lullaby	--	--	67 - 71
Name Giving	--	--	71 - 72
First Feeding	--	--	72 - 73
Puberty, Sports and Games	--	--	73 - 84
Jokes and Songs	--	--	84 - 87
 CHAPTER IV			
Marriage Customs, Inheritance, Types of Marriage, Porua or Gotra	--	--	88 - 91
Regular forms of Marriage, Bride Price,	--	--	
Marriage with other castes	--	--	91 - 95
Irregular forms of Marriage	--	--	95 - 99
Marriage Limitations, Prohibition, Divorce	--	--	99 - 100
Marriage Rituals	--	--	100 - 114
Other forms of Regular Marriage	--	--	115
Marriage Songs	--	--	115 - 117
 CHAPTER V			
Death and its Attendant Ceremonies	--	--	118
Transportation of the corpse, Burial, Cremation, Funeral Pyre	--	--	118 - 119
Lighting the Pyre, Circumambulation, Return Home	--	--	119 - 120
Gathering of Frontal Bone, Purification of the House	--	--	120
Period of Mourning	--	--	120 - 121
Post Funeral Rites (Sradha)	--	--	121 - 122
Disposal of the Frontal Bone	--	--	122
Concept of the Soul after Death	--	--	122 - 123
 CHAPTER VI			
Social Relations	--	--	124
Family, Village, Grouping, Acquiring or Losing Membership	--	--	124
Social Structure, Family	--	--	124 - 125
Genealogical Tables	--	--	126 - 128
Terms of Relationship	--	--	128 - 133
 CHAPTER VII			
Religious Beliefs and Practices	--	--	134
Divine Orders	--	--	134
Images, Rituals of Worship	--	--	135 - 137
Religious Festivals and Rituals, Some Old Shrines and Deities	--	--	137 - 150
Mecen Khela, Modon Kam, Kali, Dhorom Thakur, Jogannath, Gotsupuna, Satyanarayan, Jitna, Othai-pothi, Goroknath, Devi, Bhandani, Lakmi Dak, Monosha, Utthan-ekadasi, Dhan-Kata, Naya-Khawa, Baruni, Siva-fatri, Dham, Bisua, Chorok, Hudma, Tista-buri, Saleswari, Bhadra-Kali, Dhap-Chandi, Mahakal, Pet-kati.	--	--	
Religious Songs	--	--	150 - 159
 CHAPTER VIII			
Supernatural Agencies and their Propitiation	--	--	160 - 164
Protective Measures	--	--	165 - 168
Magical Beliefs and Practices	--	--	168
Charmed Arrow, Exorcism	--	--	168 - 173
Village Medicines	--	--	173
Witches	--	--	173

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THE RAJBANSIS
OF
NORTH BENGAL

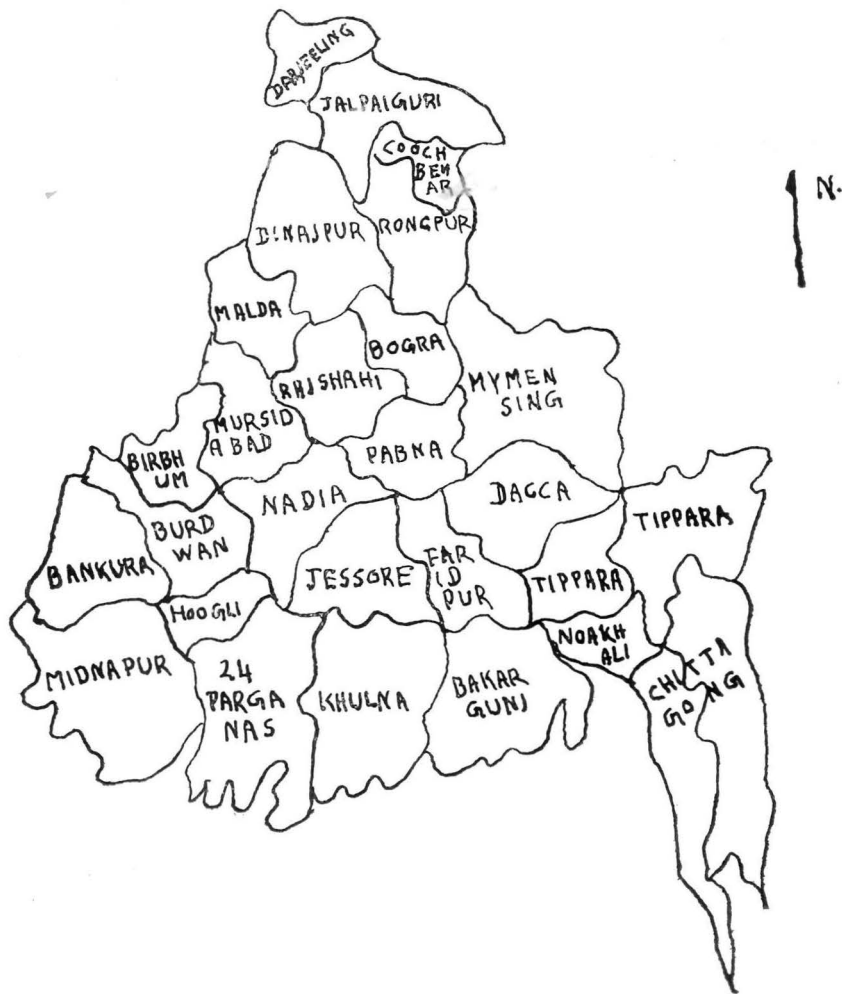
BY
CHARU CHANDRA SANYAL



THE ASIATIC SOCIETY
1, PARK STREET, CALCUTTA-16
1965

Plate I

UNDIVIDED BENGAL (not to scale)



DARJEELING - JALPAIGURI - COOCH BEHAR

in 1948



Chapter 1

The Distribution, Natural Environment and Characters of the Northern Rajbansis

Distribution : The Rajbansis are found throughout the undivided Bengal, Purnea in Behar, and Goalpara in Assam. The Rajbansis with which this monograph deals are those of Darjeeling, Terai ; Jalpaiguri and Cooch-Bihar districts in West Bengal. The number of Rajbansis in West Bengal as enumerated in the census reports is as follows :—

1872—	290,584
1891—	30,508
1901—	939,291
1911—	1,218,346
1921—	1,165,141
1931—	1,209,612
1941—	826,640
1951—	742,619

The number of Rajbansis as per 1951 census is as follows :—

Darjeeling—	15,894-3% of the total population and 5% of the Hindu population.
Jalpaiguri—	172,710-12% of the total population and 25% of the Hindu population.
Cooch-Bihar—	252,069-40% of the total population and 55% of the Hindu population.

Area :— in the year 1951 :—

Darjeeling district :—	1,199.7 sq. miles (Terai—266.4 sq. miles)
Jalpaiguri „ :	2,378.3 sq. miles
Cooch-Bihar „ :	1,334.1 „ „

Area of forest :—

Darjeeling district :	487 sq. miles
Jalpaiguri „ :	739 „ „
Cooch-Bihar „ :	161 „ „

Area of tea estates :—

Darjeeling district :	97 sq. miles, of which 33 sq. miles in Terai.
Jalpaiguri „ :	210 „ „
Cooch-Bihar „ :	0.57 „ „

(The area of tea estates is compiled from Tea-Licensing Committee statistics corrected up to 31st. December, 1954).

The rest of the area that is excluding forest and tea estates and the hills of Darjeeling and Jalpaiguri, is an open country where the Rajbansis live mostly as cultivators of crops other than tea.

Vital Statistics :

In the district of Jalpaiguri there were 2228 births and 781 deaths in 1956 and in 1957 there were 2145 births and 698 deaths. The death rate has come down considerably. A Vital Statistics of the district of Jalpaiguri compiled from the Public Health department of Jalpaiguri District Board gives a general idea of two other neighbouring districts also.

Year	Town	Rural	Births	Deaths (per thousand).
1946	„	—	9.72	18.38
„	—	„	30.24	29.09
1947	„	—	10.62	14.76
„	—	„	29.45	22.41
1956	„	—	35.45	8.45
„	—	„	40.06	12.60
1957	„	—	34.85	9.57
„	—	„	40.51	11.11

Infant mortality per thousand in the district of Jalpaiguri :—

1946 — 187.30	:	1947 — 150.74	:	1954 — 82.35
1955 — 76.15	:	1956 — 71.33	:	1957 — 64.02

Vital statistics were collected of a few Unions of Rajgunj P. S., of the district of Jalpaiguri where the Hindu population is about 80% of whom 70% are Rajbansis. They are stated as under :—

Year	Union	Population. (Total)	(Hindus)—Birth (Total)	Death (Total)	Infant (1—5 years) (Total)
1956	Dabgram	3995	100	53	3
1957	"	"	99	42	4
1956	Fulbari	5380	102	43	4
1957	"	"	92	46	7
1956	Binnaguri	4800	219	71	12
1957	"	"	242	53	6
1956	Sannyasikata	2733	125	62	9
1957	"	"	116	41	6
1956	Sukhani	5667	139	40	7
1957	"	"	109	28	8

The population is gradually increasing.

Rainfall and temperature :

Excluding the hills of Darjeeling the average annual rainfall varies from 150 to 220 inches and the average maximum temperature of air is 102°F and the minimum is 48°F.

Rivers :

The area is traversed by innumerable streams most of them originate in the hills of Bhutan, Sikkim and Tibet to the north of this area. The main rivers are (1) Mahananda, (2) Karotoa, (3) Tista, (4) Jaldhaka, (5) Toorsa, (6) Raidak, (7) Sankos. The rivers swell up enormously in the rains and dry up almost completely in the winter leaving sandy beds strewn with stones and sand. The flood does not stay long. It subsides within a few hours and the enormous speed of the water sweeps away large trees to long distances which are found deposited on the dry beds in the winter. It is dangerous to navigate these rivers in the rains due to a large number of drift wood. The overflow leaves a deposit of sand and stone converting many fertile lands into wilderness where only long thatch grass grows rendering the cultivation of other crops impossible for many years. This process is going on for a long time and extensive patches of sandy tracts are always visible in this area. The rivers are erratic in their nature and frequently changing their course.

Soil :

The average soil is sandy loam. Heavy rainfall causes soil erosion and washes away the surface silt every year. Hence the production of paddy and jute falls far below that of south Bengal. Tobacco is grown in this soil specially in the district of Cooch-Bihar. The cultivators raise earthen embankments (ali) round small plots of land called 'Khoṭu', to preserve the water and to prevent soil erosion. These embankments form the boundary demarcation of each cultivator's land, they serve as pathway and the grass grown on them serves as a pasture for the cattle when the low lands are covered with water in the rains. The big and broad embankments serve as highways for bullock carts to go.

Climate :

The country being situated in the sub-montane area of the Himalayas with dense forest on the north is generally damp. Formerly malaria and blackwater fevers used to take a toll of many lives every year but these have now been considerably checked. There are some cases of pox and cholera in the villages but other epidemics are rare. Dysentery is a common disease and is endemic.

Attraction to other peoples :

On account of the reasons stated above people from other places had very little attraction to come to this area and settle. The constant wars with Bhutan, Nepal and other neighbouring tribes devastated the area long ago. The terribly malarious country with forests containing wild animals had no attraction for the fortune seekers. Later on the Rajas of Cooch-Bihar and Baikunthpur invited many people from the south of Bengal, Bihar and Uttar Pradesh and encouraged them to settle in this country by giving them rent free lands. With the advent of the British a temporary peace followed and a large number of men from all parts of India came to this country at first as fortune seekers and then settled down as permanent

residents. The tea estates that came into being after the British conquest of the Duars from Bhutan attracted nearly three lacs of people from Behar and other parts of India and many of them have now settled down in this country as cultivators. They are mostly Oraons and Santals. The earliest inhabitants that could be traced are Bhutia, Toto, Mech, Koch, Tharu and Rajbansi.

In spite of migrations to this country the population upto 1951 did not exceed 350-400 per sq. mile.

Features, habits and customs :

The writer personally observed that the Zaminders of Baikunthapur, their children and most of their nearest kin (Raj-gan) have fair skin tinged yellow. Many other Rajbansis have darker skin and some are black. They have one thing common, that is the nose is flat at least the tip of the nose is broad, high cheek bones and thick lips, the eyes are generally small and slightly oblique.

The Rajbansis speak Bengali but it is a local dialect sometimes widely away from standard Bengali.

The adult women of the villages wear one piece of cloth called Phota tied round the chest just above the breast which hangs up to the knees. The Phota the women wear are all hand woven and mostly dyed in red and blue. The weavers are dying out due to impact of mill-made cloth. Now the Phota is being replaced by mill-made cloth. The women do not usually use any other cloth to cover the body.

There was free intermarriage between Rajbansi, Koch, Mech and Dhimal. But at present the Rajbansis prefer to marry within themselves. The 'Panichita', 'Chhottrdani', 'Ghor Sondhani' forms of marriage are peculiar to those people.

The married women with husband living do not always use vermilion on their forehead nor do they wear iron bangles round the wrist. The author was informed by the old people that about twenty year's ago a little vermilion was dabbed on the forehead at the time of the marriage and there was no obligation to use it at all times. The women with husband living could be identified by the conch-shell bangles (sankha kharu) of 8-12 pieces fixed together, covering nearly the whole of the left hand. At present the habit of dabbing a little vermilion at the parting of hair is gradually growing but no iron bangles are used even now, in the villages. The widows even if married again (widow re-marriage is allowed in the society) do never use conch-shell bangles nor any vermilion. The women use silver ornaments of which 'Sujja har', (Surjya har) 'Chandra har' and 'Chora kathi' are specialties that are not seen any where else in Bengal.

The males in the villages wear only a loin cloth while engaged in cultivation work but while going out of the village they wear full cloth and a shirt to cover the body and in the winter wear a 'chuddar'. The little kiddies are carried by tying them at the back of the mother with a piece of cloth the legs hanging on the two sides of the mother and the head protruding out of the upper opening of the cloth sling.

In this position the child does not appear to feel uncomfortable. The writer in his childhood was carried similarly by a Rajbansi woman. He does not remember how he felt but he remembers the event. A Rajbansi woman Rupa Bai used to come to the writer's house with her child tied on her back as described above.

The Rajbansis specially the women are voracious chewers of 'pan' (betel leaves). They generally chew betel leaves from the creepers that climb up the areca trees.

The zaminder of Baikunthapur—P. D. Raikut once prevailed upon the writer to chew a 'pan' prepared in his own way with green areca nut and lime. No sooner had he chewed a little his ears turned red, he began to perspire, so dangerously intoxicating and irritating the preparation was to the unaccustomed.

The women smoke tobacco in their own home but rarely in public. The males are veteran smokers of tobacco. They set fire to the prepared tobacco (tobacco leaf cut up into small bits and thoroughly mixed up with treacle forming a lump) in a 'chillim', hold its narrower end inside the palm of two hands and smoke through a chink made within the clasped palms. Sometimes they use 'hookka'. Hookka is a full coconut shell water-container into which a wooden pipe is fixed vertically and an earthenware bowl (chillim) containing the tobacco is placed on it. A small hole on one side of the shell serves the purpose of smoking.

The women do not use any head dress nor the males have any. The Rajbansi women never observe purdah. They move about freely. The hair of the head is rarely plaited. The hair is combed and kept tied in a loose knot and piled behind and sometimes over the head. During pujas or in ceremonial occasions the younger women or girls plait their hair in the middle and use plenty of mustard oil to keep the hair in position.

The women carry a small knife when going out. It is said that the knife or the iron of the knife is a guard against the attack of evil spirits. It is not unusual to see a Rajbansi woman on a village road with a knife or a 'dao' in her hand on market days when she has to travel far away to make purchases.

Their food is simple. The villagers drink milk but they do not like clarified butter (ghee) which the Bengalis of East and South Bengal greatly relish. Some of their foods e.g., 'cheka', 'pelka', 'sidol' and some preparations of milk are the specialties of this

1. This mode of tying the child is called 'bukuni bandha' (বুকুনী বান্ধা)

There is a common saying 'choatak bukuni bandhi kam korek' (ছোটাক বুকুনী বান্ধি কম করেক) tie the child on the back and then work. If other things such as puffed rice, cloth etc. are so tied it is called 'bokona bandha' (বকোনা বান্ধা).

area. Such foods are never used in any other part of Bengal. A few years ago a batch of Rajbansi cultivators who came to the writer's house as invitees to attend a marriage ceremony were served with 'pilao', a preparation of rice with clarified butter. They all rejected the food stating that it was stinking (sodhache-সোঁচাচে). They had to be served with simple rice without 'ghee' which they relished.

A melancholy face is rarely seen among the Rajbansis. They appear all happy and jolly inspite of their poverty.

The Rajbansis are Hindus with special features in their rituals and beliefs.

The snake goddess Bishahari or Monosha is worshipped by all Rajbansis. During Bishahari puja songs in honour of the snake goddess are sung for several days with dancing. The writer never observed any Rajbansi woman dancing in public. The males dress themselves as women and dance. In the dance the writer observed that the legs were not raised more than six inches from the ground.

The writer once witnessed with horror the sacrifice of a goat before a village deity in Jalpaiguri, by twisting and breaking the neck. Four persons held the body tightly fixed and two men twisted the head round and killed it by suffocation. It is reported that until recently goats were killed by hanging or by stoning before the god Siva at Jalpeswar (Jalpaiguri) and the goddess Siddheswari at Baneswar (Cooch-Bihar). It is unlike the method of goat sacrifice prevalent in the common Hindu worship where the head is severed from the body by one stroke.

During 'Sivaratri' in the month of February-March, Mahadev is worshipped with great pomp in Jalpeswar temple, in the caves of Jayanti, Phaskawa and Chamurchi in Jalpaiguri and in Baneswar temple in Cooch-Bihar and thousands of pilgrims attend the ceremony, most of whom are Rajbansis. Mahadev is usually called Mahakal in this area.

The Rajbansis also worship the river goddess Tista Buri and the writer himself had the privilege to attend some of the pujas. They also worship the forest god (Saleswari) before entering a forest for collection of wood.

There was an ancient Kali sanctuary near the town of Jalpaiguri where the rumour goes, human sacrifice was offered to the goddess. The story of Nayan Kapali, a Rajbansi, who sacrificed a man before the goddess is still remembered by the old men of the district, the writer heard the story in his school boy days. It is also reported that about 150 years ago human sacrifice was performed before the goddess Durga in Baikunthopur and Cooch-Bihar. The tribes Chutia, Khen, Koch, Aham and Kachari who previously inhabited Kamrup were in the habit of performing human sacrifice before their goddess Kali or Durga (Hutton, Gait).

'Bisoba' or 'Bisua' is celebrated by all Rajbansis on the last day of 'Choitra' (March-April). On that day all Rajbansi male adults go out with weapons in the jungles for hunting. They must kill some edible animal and eat its meat either roasted or cooked, otherwise, it is believed, the coming year would not be prosperous. This 'Bisoba' or Spring hunt is celebrated by the Rajbansis of Jalpaiguri, Cooch-Bihar and Assam. Such Spring Hunt is also celebrated in some other parts of India and Burma.

The Rajbansis burn their dead. In some cases the corpse is buried e.g., child before teething, un-natural deaths and during epidemic when burning becomes impossible. After cremation a piece of the frontal bone is taken out of the pyre and consigned to the Ganga or the Karotowa. If the first child is born dead it is buried near the house. It is believed that the soul of the child will move about the house and take the earliest chance to re-enter its mother's womb and another pregnancy might be expected soon. If several dead children are born in succession a portion of the finger of one of them is cut and it is buried far away from the house with the expectation that the devil soul will never dare to enter the womb of the mother.

At present the dress, old manners and customs, the religious rites and even their features have undergone revolutionary changes so much so that amongst the educated class there is hardly any difference between a Brahministic Hindu and a Rajbansi. They are in a process of being completely absorbed. Recently several cases of intermarriage between the caste Hindus and the Rajbansis are making the change more rapid.

The ruling dynasties of Cooch-Behar and Baikunthapur.

A Short Socio-Political History

It is said that modern Assam and a part of Bengal forming the old Kamrup were formerly ruled by many tribes. The Danabs, the Kiratas, the Asuras, the Burmans, the Chutias and the Pals have over-run either the whole or a part of Kamrup from time to time. The later comers the Ahoms, the Khens and the Kochs although fought amongst themselves were practically mixed up through matrimonial and other alliances. The Ahoms occupied the eastern zone. The Kochs became masters of the western zone of Kamrup and ultimately centered round Cooch-Behar and Baikunthapur.

Cooch-Behar :

The Koch tribe under the general Hajo defeated the Khens and ruled the western portion of Kamrup from 1510-1587 A. D. According to some authors Kochs had been in Assam since 1205 A. D. It is said that they belonged to the great Bodo tribe who came to North-Eastern Assam through Patkoi range along the Noa-Dihang river. The kingdom of Hajo included western half of Assam, eastern half of Morung (Nepal Terai) and the lands bounded on the east by Dhaneswari river, on the west by Konki river, on the north by Dalimkotte hills (formerly in Bhutan now in the district of Darjeeling, West Bengal) and on the south upto Ghoraghat (now in East Pakistan). This formed the boundary of Hajo's kingdom at that time. Hajo's policy was to coalesce with the Mech and the Kacharis so as to be able to oppose the Koch and the Tephus who occupied Bhutan at that time (Hunter-Vol. X-1876-p 218).

The story of Hajo :

Hajo had two daughters Hira and Jira, both were married to one Haridas Mech of Mount Chikna (in Goalpara-Assam). At that time Koch and Mech could inter-marry freely. Haridas was the head of the Mech tribe of Goalpara. Jira's sons were Chandan and Madan and Hira's sons were Sisu and Bisu.¹ Sisu was elder and Bisu younger. A story of Sisu and Bisu reveals that they captured a snake and ate it up. The same story reveals that they sacrificed one of their playmates before the goddess Bhagabati. Afterwards they defeated the then ruler of Chikna and Chandan was proclaimed king. Madan was killed in the battle. The era of the present Cooch-Behar State starts from Chandan in the year 1510 A. D., when he was proclaimed king at Chikna. Chandan ruled for thirteen years and after his death Hira's younger son (half-brother and cousin of Chandan) Bisu named afterwards Biswa Singha became king of Cooch-Behar. Cooch-Behar was occupied by them in the meantime. There is a story about the accession of Biswa Singha. After Bisu's marriage when the newly married wife of Bisu went to Sisu to make customary obeisance he blessed her saying that she would be the queen consort. When after Chandan's death preparation for the coronation of Sisu, the eldest of the family, was nearing completion, Bisu's wife reminded him of his blessing. At this Sisu voluntarily abdicated and placed his younger brother Bisu on the throne and himself held the Royal Umbrella on his head which was the duty of a vassal. On account of this great sacrifice Sisu was allowed to choose the Baikunthapur area to establish his kingdom and was made 'Raykut' that is the Commander in-chief or the head man of the family and hereditary Chief Minister.

The western portion of the Koch kingdom called Baikunthapur (Jalpaiguri) extending upto the present Siliguri, formed part of Bengal (Goud) from the time of Pals and Khens and Biswa Singha wrested this area in 1545 A. D., from the Mohammedan king of Goud soon after the death of Sher Sha. Sishwa Singha took a fancy to this tract of land and was allowed to settle there. What was the name of this tract of the country before it was acquired by Sishwa Singha, who were the original inhabitants living in this area and who installed the Vaisnava deity Baikunthonath in the form of god Vishnu in this kingdom are the questions that are awaiting solution. Martin (Eastern India, Vol. III, p 443) wrote "The best informed people are totally ignorant of any history previous to the accession of Biswa Singha nor does any one of them know the Sanskrit appellation of this part of the country, part of which being situated on the west side of the Karotoa cannot be in Kamrup."

✓ Biswa Singha was a man of unusual enterprise and courage. He defeated the neighbouring chiefs and extended his kingdom from the Brahmaputra in the east to Ghoraghat in the west. The Brahmans soon sought him out. They discovered that his tribes-men were Kshatriyas who had thrown away their sacred thread when fleeing before the wrath of Parasurama, the son of

1. According to Gait—Bisu was the son of Hira and Sisu was the son of Jira. (Gait—History of Assam—p. 46)

G. Sarbadhakshya an old state lawyer of Cooch-Behar stated to the writer that the eastern portion of Bhutan was called Twang. It is now in the Kaming frontier division in the N. E. F. A. near Indo-Tibetan border. One Sailapati was the king of Twang. His daughter was Hira. There was no man called Hajo. Hajo was an area of land in Kamrup comprising of Gopalpara, Dhubri and part of Gouhati. Haridas was the Sardar of Hajo. This Haridas married Hira. Hira's first son was Sisu. Hira prayed to Mahadev at Jalpeswar for another son and Bisu was born.

It is stated in p. 81 of the History of Cooch-Behar by Amanatulla (Bengali edition) that at the time of Damambu a king called Sailaraj was ruling in the Eastern portion of Bhutan called Twang. His wife was Mira. A daughter named Hira was born to her by Saila Raja (Sailapati). Some say that Sailaraja lived in Punnakhata (Punnakha) in Bhutan.

It is difficult to believe the stories. But quite a new light is thrown on the history of Sisu and Bisu.

a Brahmin Jamadagni. While Bisu himself was declared to be the son, not of humble Haria Mondol, but of the god Siva who, assuming Haria's form, had intercourse with his wife. Hira herself an incarnation of Siva's wife Parvati'.²

Bisu assumed the name Biswa Singha and his elder brother Sisu became Siva Singha or Sishwa Singha, while many other followers discarded their old tribal designation and called themselves Rajbansis, (Gait, History of Assam, p. 47). Amanatulla in his history of Cooch-Bihar states in page 80 of the Bengali edition, that this Parasuram was probably Narasingha Parasurama of Mahasthangar, capital of Pundrabardhan (present Pabna and Bogra).

'Vishu was not content with the instructions of the Kolitas who seem to have been the original priesthood of his tribe, nor with the learning of the Brahmans of Mithila, who had been formerly introduced, he procured some men of piety (Vaidiks) from Srihatta (Sylhet) and gave them the title of Kamrupi Brahmans: and these formed the second colony of the sacred order that had settled in this country' (1) Hunter, Cooch-Bihar-1876, Vol. X, d. 403, (2), Martin, Eastern India, 1838, Vol III, p. 414.

Biswa Singha rebuilt the temple of Kamaksha after it was partly destroyed by disuse and brought Pandit Ballavacharjya from Puri (Orissa) and placed him in charge of the temple. Biswa Singha and his followers embraced Hinduism and were initiated, it is said by Pandit Kalicharan Bhattacharjee (of Nadia). The newly initiated Hindus called themselves Rajbansis. Biswa Singha worshipped Siva and Durga. According to some authors it was Hajo who was initiated into Hinduism. After the reign of thirty one years Biswa Singha retired and went to his birth place on Mount Chikna for meditation. Thus it appears that Hinduism had a strong hold in Cooch-Bihar from the very early period.

After the retirement of Biswa Singha his eldest son Narasingha popularly called Nara-Singha (a lion amongst men) abdicated in favour of his younger brother Naranarayan (a god amongst men), it is said in fulfilment of a promise made to the wife of the latter at her marriage (Choudhury, p. 229). The same story with regard to Sisu and Bisu is repeated in this case also. According to Gait, Narasingha seized the throne after Biswa Singha but Naranarayan drove him out and he fled to Bhutan and founded a kingdom there. (Chatterjee P. N., The resettlement of the town of Cooch-Bihar, 1913, Chap. i, p. 1.)

It may be argued that a sort of ultimogeniture was practised in Cooch-Bihar but only two stories in support of this are available.

Biswa Singha divided his territory between his two sons Naranarayan and Sukladhaja. 'The western division, which fell to the share of Naranarayan comprehended the whole of the Northern part of the Chhonnokosh (Sankosh) to the Mahananda and from Sarkar Ghoraghat 25° 15' long. and 89° 20' lat., to the mountains of Bhutan, being a very fertile tract of country about 90 miles from the north west to the south west and 60 miles from north east to south east. The north west portion of this tract was settled with the descendants of Siva Singha. This portion producing an income of Rs. 32,000/- a year was called Battrishazari. (Martin, *op. cit.* p. 418). Sukladhaja got the territory the east of River Sankosh; Naranarayan between the Sankosh and the Tista and Sons of Siva Singha the northern part of land between the Tista and the Mahananda'.

Naranarayan became king of Cooch-Bihar in 1555 A. D. His other name was Mallanarayan. He introduced the famous Narayani rupee minted in Cooch-Bihar. His brother and military general Sukladhawaja better known as Chila Ray, conquered the entire Pragjyotishpur and unified the whole of the present Assam under one sovereignty. His kingdom extended from the Karotowa on the west, the Boronadi on the east, Bhutan on the north and Ghoraghat on the south. Chila Ray made his home near Tufangunj about 12 miles east of the present town of Cooch-Bihar. The places Chilmari, Chilhati and the temple of Bodeswari in the district of Rangpur appear to be associated with his name.

Naranarayan worshipped Durga but the image had no Luxmi, Saraswati, Kartik and Ganesh. It is in this form that Durga is worshipped in the Boro-Devi-Bari in Cooch-Bihar town up to this day. He built the temple of Visnu in Cooch-Bihar. The deity is now worshipped as Madan-Mohan according to Vaisnava rites. He rebuilt the temple of Kamaksha after it was destroyed by Kalapahar in 1563 A. D. and also rebuilt the temple of Jalpeswar. Naranarayan installed the goddess Durga in Kamaksha temple when it is said 'the occasion was celebrated by immolation of no less than 140 men whose heads were offered to the goddess on salvers of copper'. (Gait, *op. cit.* p. 56).

Luxminarayan one of the kings of this series gave his daughter in marriage to Mansing, a Rajput general of the Mughal king Akbar, and another daughter Sankala to the Ahom king Su-khem-Pa in 1585 A. D. During his time Sankar and Damodar two great Vaisnava preachers used to live in the eastern part of Assam. The grand-son of Chila Ray was ruling there. His name was Parikshit. He drove them away from his kingdom. They came to Cooch-Bihar and were well received by Luxminarayan. The Dhams of Madhupur and Damodarpur bear testimony to his tolerance of Vaisnavism.

Luxminarayan's son Birnarayan ascended the throne in 1621 A. D. Although his name was Bir (strong) he was a weak king. Bhutan, so long a vassal of Cooch-Bihar broke off allegiance and ceased to pay tribute. The Raykut of Baikunthopur refused to hold the Royal Umbrella at the coronation and ceased to be a tributary.

His son Prannarayan reigned from 1625-1665 A. D. He completed the rebuilding of the Siva temple at Jalpeswar. He built a temple at Gossanimari in 1665 A. D. and kept the amulet of Bhagadatta in the temple and engaged a Moithili Brahman

2. Imperial Gazetteer of India (1908) vol. xiv, p. 32.

Chowdhury H. N.—Cooch-Bihar State and its land settlement, p. 228.

as priest. Pran-narayan was a great Sanskrit scholar. During his reign Mirjumla invaded Cooch-Bihar and took possession of it. Pran-narayan fled and took refuge in Bhutan. During the absence of Mirjumla he came back with a large army and drove away the Mohammedans. Prannarayan gave his sister Rupomiti Devi in marriage to Protap Malla the Kshatriya king of Nepal.

Rupnarayan a king of this line reigned from 1693-1714 A. D., He was profoundly versed in all religious knowledge. He re-built the temple of Madan-Mohon, installed an idol of the deity and arranged for its worship.

Dhairjendra Narayan was the last independent king when the State became a feudatory of the British by virtue of a treaty signed in 1773 A. D.

In the year 1793 A. D., Maharaja Harendra Narayan married two girls. One was a daughter of Jadunath Isore (a Rajbansi) and the other was the daughter of Padmanath Karji (a Mech). Four years later in 1797 A. D., another marriage was contracted with the niece of Bijoyeswar Karji (a Mech) and also with the daughter of Darpo Deo (a Rajbansi) of Baikunthopur. The last one was called Boro-Madhyama-Aye-Dehati. Again in 1800 A. D., Maharaja married another girl the second granddaughter of Darpo Deo and the new queen went by the name of Choto-Madhyama-Aye-Devati.

Maharaja Nripendra Narayan was installed as king in 1863 A. D., when Cooch-Bihar became a Native State. (Semi Independent). His mother was Rajmata Nishimoyee-Deo-Aye-Devati. He married in 1878 A. D., Suniti Devi, a South Bengali Brahmo girl, daughter of the great Brahmo reformer of Calcutta, Sri Keshab Chandra Sen. His eldest son Jitendranarayan married Indira Devi of Baroda (a Kshatriya girl) and one of his sisters was married to the Maharaja of Joypur (a Kshatriya) and one sister with the ruler of Agartola (a Kachari). The last king of the dynasty was Jagat Dwipendra Narayan.

The rule of Biswa Singha dynasty in Cooch-Bihar ended on the 12th September 1949 A. D. when the State became a district of West Bengal under the Cooch-Bihar Merger Agreement between the Governor General of India and His Highness The Maharaja of Cooch-Bihar signed on 28th August 1949 A. D.

Thus fifteen independent kings ruled in Cooch-Bihar from 1510-1773 A. D. that is for 263 years and six feudatory chiefs ruled from 1773-1949 A. D., that is for nearly 176 years. Thus Biswa Singha dynasty ruled in Cooch-Bihar for nearly 440 years.

Baikunthopur :

Baikunthopur Estate as stated before, was established by Siswa Singha in the year 1545 A. D. His capital was at first built at Siliacguri (Siliguri) in the village of Dabgram within the present Rajgunj P.S. (Jalpaiguri). The capital was called Niz-Baikunthopur. It was shifted to the present site in Jalpaiguri town by Jayanto Dev who ruled during the year 1793-1800 A. D. and the big tank which exists to-day near the palace was excavated at the time of Sarva Dev who ruled from 1800-1847 A. D. Jion Gomasta a mohammedan from Dinajpur and a Rajbansi from Jalpaiguri were employed as contractors. The writer heard from the son of Jion Gomasta that the payment was made in Cowries (conch shells) and not in coins.

Martin (Eastern India—1838. vol iii. p. 440) describes, Although the house of the Raykots, who possesses an extent of about 380 sq. miles of which 222 sq. miles are in actual cultivation, yet it contains no dwelling house of brick and only one smaller domestic place of worship of that material. All houses are thatched with grass having mat walls of reeds and very few had wooden posts inspite of the proximity of the forest. There is no town'. Hooker (*Himalayan Journal*—1854-pp. 271-273) describes 'Jalpaiguri is a large straggling village near the banks of the river Teesta a good way south to the forest. The natives are Cooches, a Mogul (Mongolian) race who inhabit the open country of this district replacing the Meches of the Terai forest. They are a fine athletic people, not very dark and formed the once powerful house of Coochpiguree.' Hooker also describes (p. 277), 'About ten miles north of Rangamally we came to an extensive flat occupying a recess in the high west bank, the site of the old capital (Bai-kunth-pore) of the Jalpaiguri Raja. Hemmed in as it is on three sides by a dense forest and on all by many miles of malarious Terai, it appears sufficiently secure from ordinary enemies during a great part of the year'.

Baikunthopur Estate was not included in any Sarkar of the Mohammedan division of the country (Hunter. *op. cit.* vol x, 402), though some accounts say that it transferred its allegiance to them and agreed to pay a nominal tribute. This is said to have happened in 1682 A. D. at the time of Suja Khan. After the battle of Plassey, the Dewani of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa came under the East India Company in the year 1765 A. D. This Estate was then temporarily included in the Dewani and was placed under Rangpur district and received the benefit of Permanent Settlement.

The Rajas of Baikunthopur paid tributes to the Maharaja of Cooch-Bihar and held the Royal Umbrella at the coronation up to the reign of Luxminarayan of Cooch-Bihar. In 1621 A. D., Mahi Dev the Raykut of Baikunthopur signified his independence by refusing to hold the Umbrella over the Cooch-Bihar Raja at the coronation of Birnarayan and also refused to pay the

Note :—From the very early period Aryan culture was introduced in Kamrup. Vaidic Brahmans were brought from Kanauj (Oudh) and Mithila (Tirhoot) in Assam. In Cooch-Bihar they were settled near Khagrabaree, Takagoch, Kaminir'ghat, Maynaguri and Baneswar. Brahmans of Khagrabaree were great sanskrit scholars. Purusattam Vidyabagis Bhattacharjee composed a sanskrit grammar Proyoga Ratnamala at the time of Naranarayan. Pandit Bikramananda Tarkalankar was a court Pandit of Narendra Narayan. Pandit Siddhanath Vidyabagish wrote a commentary named Ratnamala, Vyakarana. Pandit Rama Saraswati translated the Bhagavata Purana in the native dialect of Cooch-Bihar.

The Mustafis of Cooch-Bihar traced their descent from the Brahmans of Bengal.
(Chowdhury H. N. *op. cit.*, pps. 121-122, 128-129, 233.).

annual tribute. Even after that the Rajas of Baikunthapur, Bhuj Dev and Jagat Dev helped the Maharaja of Cooch-Bihar in 1680 A. D., to drive out the Bhutias who attacked Cooch-Bihar. But from 1687 A. D., onwards the Rajas of Baikunthapur and the Mohammedans repeatedly attacked Cooch-Bihar. Satyanarayan (according to some Santanarayan) the then Dewan of Cooch-Bihar defeated both of them and forced the Moughals to peace in 1711 A. D., whereby some Chaklas (tracts and land) of Boda, Patgram etc., were nominally ceded to the Moughals.

Thus Firminger writes (Bengal District Records, Rangpur, Vol-I, p. 13) 'Rangpur proper otherwise Cooch-Wara or Sarkar Cooch-Bihar is that portion of old province of Rangpur, which was last conquered by the Mohammedans from Cooch-Bihar Rajas. It included six chaklas or divisions. Boda, Patgram, Purbrabhadra form the zamindari of Cooch-Bihar, the other Fattchpur, Kankina and Cazarhat. In 1687 A. D., in the reign of Aurengzeb the Moughals under the leadership of Ebadat Khan occupied the chaklas.' (Baikunthapur was not included nor mentioned).

In the year 1773 A. D., Darpa Dev, the Raja of Baikunthapur, with the help of some bandits from Morong hills (Darjeeling and Nepal Terai) called Sannyasis and in collaboration with the Bhutias continued attack on the territory of Cooch-Bihar and East India Company's properties. Captain Stuart was sent to subdue the rising. He defeated both Darpa Dev and the Sannyasis and took possession of the town of Jalpaiguri. The letter of Captain Stuart addressed to P. M. Dacres, Chairman of the Committee of Circuit at Rangpur on the 3rd. February, 1773 is reproduced below :—

"At two in the afternoon I made a second march, and took possession in the name of the Hon'ble Company, of Jellpyegaurie, the Fortress and Capital of the Baikunthapur Country, which the Raja in the height of his consternation evacuated". (Some of the old English spelling avoided)

In the year 1774 A. D., after a treaty of Bhutan with the East India Company the Raykut Darpa Dev who was at the bottom of all troubles, was placed on the same footing as an ordinary Zaminder and was assessed a revenue of rupees thirty two thousand per year. The zamindari was thereafter named Batrishazari.

In the year 1789, a large body of Sannyasis occupied Baikunthapur forest whence they issued on their predatory excursions. They were defeated and practically starved out as the British soldiers closed all roads of exit. Within twelve months 549 Sannyasis were brought to trial before the Court in Rangpur with what results not exactly known and the rest fled to Nepal and Bhutan.

Bhutan was then occupying a large tract of land below the Himalayas of which the portion between the rivers Tista and Sankosh was called Western Duars. The relation between Bhutan and the East India Company became strained in this area on account of the oppression of Bhutia officials on the people of this area and negotiations to bring about peace became abortive. This led to Bhutan war and the whole of Western Duars was annexed by the British on 11th, Nov. 1865 A. D. Later on it formed a part of Jalpaiguri district.

The district of Jalpaiguri was formed on the 1st January, 1869 A. D., with Baikunthapur, Western Duars and the five Chaklas Patgram, Devigunj, Boda, Pachaghar and Titalia within the zamindari of Cooch-Bihar. Under the Radcliffe award of the partition of this district in 1947 A. D., these five chaklas were transferred to East Pakistan. The present Jalpaiguri district consists of the old Baikunthapur Estate and the Western Duars.

Thus the independent Baikunthapur Estate ended with Darpa Dev the 12th. ruler in 1774 A. D., after the reign of 230 years and the Zamindari was abolished in 1955 A. D. after 180 years, under the Bengal Estate Acquisition Act of 1954 A. D. The age of Baikunthapur Estate of Siswa Singha is therefore 410 years.

Several law suits regarding the succession of Baikunthapur Estate give an insight into some of the manners and customs of the people of this area. In the year 1800 A. D. Sarva Dev the 14th. ruler after Siva Singha succeeded his father Jayanto Dev. His title was disputed by his uncle Protap Dev on the ground that by family usage a brother succeeded a brother in preference to the surviving sons. The case was brought up before the Provincial (British) Court in Murshidabad but was decided in favour of Sarva Dev (Surrup Deo). This judgment does not rule out entirely the plea that at least in some cases a brother succeeded a brother in preference to sons.

Sarva Dev died in the year 1848 A.D. (according to Milligan in 1847 A.D.). He left seven sons. Doorga Dev was the eldest son. But he could not inherit as he was stated to be the son of a concubine. Rajendra Dev the sixth son inherited the property as his mother was married in Brahma fashion (Phul-Bio). His title was disputed by the second son Makaranda Dev on the ground that he was also the legitimate son of Sarva Dev as his mother was married in 'gandharba' fashion. The mother of Makaranda being a woman could not succeed according to the custom of the family. However the British Court of Rangpur decided in favour of Makaranda as both Brahma marriage of which Rajendra was the son and Gandharba marriage of which Makaranda was the son were legitimate marriages and Makaranda being elder was to succeed Sarva Dev.

Note :—The writer was informed by G. Sarbadhakshya an old state pleader of Cooch-Bihar and Jalpaiguri (Baikunthapur) that the former name of Rajgunj was Rudrakshapur or Rudrakpur. (Son of Dibbok a Kaivarta king of Goud was Rudrak. The name of the place might be associated with him or there might be some 'Rudraksha' (Bead-tree, Elaeo carpus Ganitrus, Rox.) trees from which the name might be Rudrakpur or Rudrakshapur.)

The site of the old capital of Baikunthapur as described by Hooker is an open space a 'phapri' in the Baikunthapur forest now called Suvarnaguri.

After the death of Makaranda his eldest son Chandra Sekhar succeeded but after Chandra Sekhar his brother Jagendra Dev became Raikut. In fact, the twelve Raikuts who successively had possession of the Estate prior to Sarva Dev, three were succeeded by brothers and one by a nephew.

In this connection a report by Dr. Campbell, Superintendent of Darjeeling, who went to Jalpaiguri, soon after the death of Sarva Dev, despatched to the Government of Bengal dated 20th January, 1848 A. D. states that :—

‘The Raja could not properly be called a Hindu, although ambitious of being considered within the privileged pale. His family is the Koch tribe, now however designate as Rajbansis and affecting to be equal to the Chattris, although retaining many usages and habits quite irreconcilable to their pretensions’.

After the death of Jogendra Dev in March. 1878 A. D., the 18th ruler of this dynasty, a succession case went up to the Privy Council of England between Phanindra Dev Raikut youngest son of Sarva Dev Raikut and Rajeswar Das (Jagadindra Dev Raikut) minor adopted son and half-brother of Rani Jagadeswari one of the three wives of late Jogendra Dev Raikut. Phanindra Dev was popularly called Bhola Saheb. [Vide-A. I. R. (Cal.), Vol. XI. 1884-1885 A. D., p. 463].

It was revealed in the judgment of the said suit :—

‘Although the Baikunthopur family had nominally come under Brahmanism, they had, at the same time, retained customs inconsistent with their being classed as Hindus, not being Hindus by race, and some other customs at variance with Hindu institutions.’

The said judgment further states :—

✓ ‘Among the customs of the family were (1) impartibility of the family Estate, (2) existence of two forms of marriage, one the Brahma, a superior marriage, and the other Gandharba, an inferior form of marriage, (3) the customary regulation of succession to the family estate, where there were sons of equal rank sprung from marriages of equal degree, the eldest alone succeeding, (4) failing sons, the eldest male agnate in the senior male line succeeded, females by custom, excluded by collateral males, as also were males deriving heirship through females (5) adoption of a son is not allowed by the family customs (which is at variance with Hindu law), (6) a woman never inherits the property left by her husband, no female can succeed as heir.’ ‘On the death of the Raja his eldest son, by his married wife, the son by a wife married in the Gandharba fashion succeeds to the Rajgi. An adopted son does not succeed to the Rajgi’¹

The Angiker Patra (the Deed of adoption) executed by the Raja Jogendra Dev Raikut in the year 1877 A. D. (1280 B. S.) to Jagadindra Dev Kumar (name given to Rajeswar Das after adoption) reveals many interesting points. The English translation of the Deed as could be found is as follows :—

“That your father the late Rangu Barua² in his life time in the presence of his agnetic relations, Nilkamal Barua and Nend Barua and my kinsman Budhan Chandra Das...Rajmata and others and also in the presence of Kanto Dev Sarma, the Purohit (priest), gave you away to me for adoption both verbally and under a written Deed. I accepted the gift and duly received the son (in adoption)...I authorised Srimati Rani Jagadeswari Devi, Srimati Rani Jaganeswari Devi and Srimati Rani Japeswari Devi to take sons in adoption.”

The Privy Council decided in favour of Phanindra Dev and held that the adoption was invalid stating ‘The Baikunthopur family, the head of which bore the title Raikut, belonged originally to the Koch tribe in the N. W. Frontier of Bengal and was not of Hindu origin’.

After the death of the 21st. ruler Prasanna Dev Raikut in the year 1946 A. D., his legally married wife Asrumati Devi (daughter of B. Chowdhury, of Rabha tribe of Dhubri-Assam) succeeded him and after the death of Asrumati Devi in 1954 A. D., her daughter Prativa Devi succeeded her as she left no male child.

Prativa Devi married S. K. Bose a caste Hindu. In 1956 her daughter Dipti married Dilip Ray Choudhury, a caste Hindu. It was argued before the Hon’ble High Court, Calcutta, where women succeeded to the Zamindary, that the original Koch family had by this time adopted all the customs of the Hindus and had completely been Hinduised having also entered into matrimonial relations with caste Hindus. The family is thus being completely merged into the Caste Hindu society.

CONCLUSION :—

A bare outline of the socio-political history of western Pragyotishpur (Cooch-Bihar and Baikunthopur) is introduced to show how various tribes had established themselves in this tract of India. The constant wars amongst them led to the mixing up of the population both physically and culturally. When one tribe was over-run by another certainly all the members of the defeated tribe were not annihilated. A portion of them mingled with the victorious race and was incorporated by inter-marriages. The mixing up with the Aryans by marriage relations and adoption of Aryan culture started from the mythological age. Thus it is very

1. Note :—The words Gandharba Bibaha and Brahma marriage were introduced by Dr. Hunter (*Op. cit.* p. p. 374-375) and later on accepted by the lawyers and judges of the British Court. In all probability these terms actually meant—Panichita Bio and Phul Bio respectively. These have been described in the text later on.

2. Note :—It was learnt from the sons of late Jagadindra Dev Raikut that the real name of Rangu Barua was Ranglal Adhikary (Barua) an inhabitant of the village Gourchandi (Haldibaree-Cooch-Bihar). The former name of Rani Jagadeswari was Mohoneswari Dasi.

probable that the population of North Bengal including the Rajbansis of to-day are a very much mixed people. But the original nucleus appears to be Mongolian.

Hunter (*op. cit.* p. 353) concludes 'Whichever the rival theories be adopted concerning the ethnological affinities of Kochs, there can be little doubt that the people commonly known as Koch, Rajbansi and Pali are a very mixed race'.

The history has brought to light some salient forms of social customs that were practised by the ancestors of the present generation and are even now practised by the Rajbansis living in North Bengal villages. They are as follows :—

1. Polygamy was very common and many forms of marriages were accepted by the society.
2. Intermarriage between—Koch, Rajbansi, Mech, Rabha, Kachari and Ahom of Eastern India and with Rajput of Northern India was free.
3. The kings used to keep concubines and their sons were not out-castes in the society.
4. Polyandry was never the custom nor ever practised.
5. In matters of succession females or adopted sons or the sons of the concubines could not succeed to the throne.
6. Human sacrifice was offered to the goddess Durga. (This was abandoned in later years but human effigies were sacrificed.)
7. Excepting Siva and Vishnu all other gods were females.
8. Saktism and Tantraism were the main forms of religion although there was much toleration towards Vaisnavism.

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Antecedents of the Northern Rajbansis.

(Historical and ethnological data)

The history of the origin of the Rajbansis is a mystery. It is said that they belong to the great Bodo family that entered India in the 10th century B. C., from the east and settled on the banks of the Brahmaputra and gradually spread over Assam and the whole of North and East Bengal.

The first introduction in the modern history of the people living in the furthest north of Bengal is found in the accounts of invasion of Baktyar Khiliji¹ when he entered Tibet in 1206 A. D.² (J. A. Vas in Rangpur Gazetteer, 1911, p. 8 places the date as 1203 A. D.). It is reported that at that time between the country Lakhanavati and Tibet lay the hill or rather the jungle tract which was inhabited by three non-Indian Mongoloid tribes, the Koch, the Mech and the Tharu. .

S. K. Chatterjee in Kirata Jana Kṛti (1951) p. 54, writes, 'According to Minhaj-S-Siraj, the author of the Tabaqat-i-Nasiri,

compiled in c.1261, Kamrupa was inhabited by the Kwnc, the Myj and the Th'rw (i.e. the Kōc or Koch, Mec or Mech and Tharu) peoples whose Mongoloid race and speech made a distinct impression upon the Turks, themselves also of the same race, these races had 'Turki countenances' i.e., slanting eyes, snub noses, high cheek bones and yellow complexion of the Mongols, and they spoke a 'different idiom' from the language of India proper.'

✓✓ Hodgson² reports in 1849 A.D. that Hajo founded the Koch kingdom. The Koch belong to Tamulian † extraction and lived before the Aryans came. Hajo's grandson Visva Sinha became Hindu, renounced the name Koch and adopted Rajbansi. In his opinion Kuvach was identical with Koch. In Assam the Koch were divided into three sects (a) Kamthali, (b) Madai, (c) Kolita. In Rangpur they had two sects (a) Rajbansi, (b) Koch.

✓✓ Dalton³ describes that the very appearance of the Kochs shows that they are non-Aryans. He considers them as belonging to the Dravidian stock and probably a branch of the great Bhuiya †† family.

Baverly⁴ comments that 'The Koch, Rajbansi and Paliya are for the most part one and the same tribe. Rajbansi is an indefinite term and some few of the individuals may possibly belong to other castes. In the lower delta, Rajbansiare said to be a sub-division of Tiyars, but by far the great majority coming from the districts of Dinajpur, Rangpur, Jalpaiguri, Cooch-Bihar and Goalpara are clearly the same as Koch and Palliyas'. Capt. Lewin⁵, a Deputy Commissioner of Cooch-Bihar while commenting on the census of 1872 observed 'The present inhabitants of Cooch-Bihar State do not belong to any particular race. The Meches who inhabit the Bhutan Duars coming into contact with the immigrants from the south, intermarriages have taken place and the descendants are the modern Cooch-Biharis'.

✓✓ Dr. Hunter⁶ observed that about the close of the fifteenth century one Koch king Hajo founded a kingdom at Kamrupa. His grandson Visva Sinha, together with his officers and all people of the condition apostatised to Hinduism. A divine ancestry for the Chief was manufactured by the Brahmins. The converts abandoned the name Koch and took that of Rajbansi. Hunter⁷ also notes that in Rangpur, Jalpaiguri and Cooch-Bihar, the name Rajbansi, which literally means 'Royal Race', is adopted by the cultivators and respectable men, that of Koch being restricted to labourers and specially to the palanquin bearers. (Hunter⁸ places the Rajbansi under 'Semi-Hinduised Aborigines'.)

✓ Rowny⁹ describes that intermarriage with Koch tribes with Hindus has considerably changed their old habits. They resemble the Bengalees more than any other people. One class of this tribe, the Rajbansis, worship Hindu deities and have adopted Hindu manners'.

H. Boileau, while commenting on the census report of 1891 of the district of Jalpaiguri, in his memorandum No. 387 J, 18th March, 1892, reports (p. 20) that 'The Koches or Rajbansis, are not within the pale of Hinduism, but are Hinduised aboriginal tribes of the district has been authoritatively fixed by the Privy Council ruling, in reference to the succession of the present Raikat Phanindra Dev of Jalpaiguri. The Raikats of Jalpaiguri, the Maharaja of Cooch-Bihar belong to the same family. Both the families trace their descent from the common ancestor Bisu Singha who was the offspring of Siva and Madhavi Devi, a Yogini, very highly praised by god Siva himself in the Yogini Tantra'. 'The Raikat of Jalpaiguri and Cooch-Bihar families are Kochhs or Kochhs and Mechs mixed. As both royal families call themselves Sivabangshi, so the mass of the Kochhs call themselves Rajabangsis as connected with royal families'. 'Some of the Rajbansis are now trying to prove that they are descendants of the Kshatriyas, who have taken shelter in North Bengal, being persued by a Brahman hero Parasu Ram who extirpated the Kshatriyas from the earth twenty one times. Some of them still call themselves Bhanga Kshatriyas. There is no historical evidence behind this assertion.'

✓ H. F. J. T. Maguire, in his comments on the census report of Rangpur of 1891, states, in his memorandum No. 706-X-1-3 dated 16th, March, 1892, that,

'Among the Rajbansis there is a distinction between those who have adopted the Vaishnav faith and the followers of god Siva. The latter appear to be Koches proper being of Mongoloid origin and having come from the north. They are closely allied to Kuris and form a small minority of the tribe of Rajbansis. The former are of Dravidian stock and are more numerous and respectable, forming the main body of the agriculturists. The Rajbansis have become to all intents and purposes Hindus and their claim to rank as Sudras (Kshatriyas) was admitted by the pandits of Rangpur Dharma Sabha'.

✓ O'Donnel¹⁰ writes:—'Another interesting tribe is the Rajbansi or Koch of North Eastern Bengal, the localisation of whose racial position has long been a subject of dispute. 'They are however, only the third wave of Mongols who have advanced through the eastern passes the first being the Chandal, the second the Koch and the last the Ahom'.

✓ Risley¹¹ describes that Koch, Koch-Mandi, Rajbansi, Palliya and Desi belong to a large Dravidian tribe of North Eastern and Eastern Bengal amongst whom there are grounds for suspecting some admixture of Mongolian blood. The transformation of Koch into Rajbansi, the name by which they are now known in Rangpur, Jalpaiguri and Kuch-Bihar, is

† Tamulian physiognomy:— Less height, less symmetry, more dumpiness and flesh, large cheek bones, excess of jaws and mouth, eyes less and less fully opened, large ears, thick lips etc. The colour of the skin is burnet but dark. [J. A. S. Bengal (1849) vol. xviii, part ii].

†† Bhuiyas—belong to Bodo, Koch, Mech tribes.

Mazumder R. C.—History of Bengal (1943) vol. ii, p. 53.

a singular illustration of the influence exercised by fiction in the making of caste.' 'Now the great majority of Koch inhabitants of Northern Bengal invariably describe themselves as Rajbansis or Bhanga Kshatriyas'. 'They keep Brahmans, initiate Brahmanical ritual in their marriage ceremony and have begun to adopt Brahmanical system of Gotras.' In respect of the last point they are now in a curious state of transition, as they have all hit upon the same gotra (Kasyapa) and they habitually transgress the primary rule of Brahmonical system which absolutely prohibits marriage within a Gotra'.

'They are thoroughly Koch under the name Rajbansi. There is no historical foundation for the claim of Rajbansis to be a provincial variety of Kshatriyas. It is a singular fact that the title Rajbansi serves much the same purpose for the lower stratum of Hindu population of North Bengal as the title Rajput does for the landholding class of dubious origin all over India'. 'The original nucleus of Rajbansi was certainly Dravidian'.

Grierson¹² comments, 'there can be little doubt that the original Kochs were the same as the Bodos. The Koch, Mech and Bara or Bodo all connoted the same tribe or at most different septes of the same tribe. The name Koch in fact connotes a Hinduised Bodo who has abandoned his ancestral religion for Hinduism and ancestral Bodo language for Bengali or Assamese. Rajbansis are the Hinduised Kochs of Rangpur and Goalpara'. 'Those Koch who are now Hindus, are principally known under the name Rajbansi. The Rajbansi dialect bears many close points of resemblance to the dialect of East Bengal'.¹³

'Gait¹⁴ describes the Rajbansis of North Bengal, 'as a synonym of Koch, this represents a real caste and in this sense only it may be entered in the schedule. The term is also a title of Tiyaars, Kaibarttas, Namasudras and other fishing castes, also of Barua Mugs in Chittagong and of Bagdis, Mals etc. In Tippra the term is applied to Tippras and to Hindus who have lost caste by eating with hill men. In Burdwan persons using this title are usually Baedis if fishermen and Kaibarttas if cultivators'.

Gait also describes Dhimals of Darjeeling and Nepal Terai as Rajbansis. 'They often call themselves Rajbansis. Their title is Maulik (Mallik)'. 'The Koch are cultivators and same as Rajbansis'. 'The Koch-Monde of East Bengal are the Kochs who are still non-Hindus who speak their own language Koch-Monde'. It is stated in the Imperial Gazetteer of India, Vol-X (1908), p. 383, 'Though the Koches freely call themselves Rajbansis, it is believed that the two communities sprang from entirely different sources, the Koch kings of Mongoloid origin, while the Rajbansis are a Dravidian tribe who probably owned the name long before the Koch kings rose to power. In Cooch-Bihar the persons now known as Rajbansis are either pure Koches, who though dark have a distinctly Mongoloid physiognomy, or else a mixed breed in which the Koch element usually predominates'.

O'Malley¹⁵ states :—'The Rajbansi or Barua Mugs are the offspring of Bengali woman by Burmese men or more generally of Arakanese mothers by Bengali fathers'. He also reports¹⁶ that 'a most persistent agitation was carried on by Rajbansis of North Bengal with the object of being recognised as Kshatriyas by descent. They desired not only to be recorded separately from Koch, but also to be distinguished by the name Kshatriyas. The former request was granted without hesitation as there is no doubt that at the present day, irrespective of any question of origin, the Rajbansi and the Koch are separate castes. It was however out of the question to allow them to be returned by the generic and archaic name of Kshatriyas'.

* Thompson¹⁷ states :—'The Rajbansis are the indigeneous people of Northern Bengal and the third largest Hindu caste in the province. Their total number has been exaggerated by the fact that a number of fisherman caste in Mymensingh, Nadia and Murshidabad returned themselves as Rajbansis. In 1901 many Koches in North Bengal were returned as Rajbansis. Many of the Rajbansis have now taken sacred thread and were prepared to use force in support of their claim to be returned as Kshatriyas'.

Thompson also writes¹⁸ :—'No part of the census in 1891, 1901, 1911 aroused so much excitement as the return of caste which caused a great deal of heart burning and in some quarters with threats of disturbance of the peace'.

Rajbansis claimed to be included as — Kshatriya, Bratya Kshatriya, Barua Kshatriya

Kayastha and Hari	...	as — Kshatriya
Kamar	...	as — Kamar Kshatriya
Pod	...	as — Poundra or Bratya Kshatriya
Malo	...	as — Malia or Bratya Kshatriya
Koch	...	as — Koch Kshatriya
Jalia Kaibartta and Tiyer	...	as — Rajbansi.

'The feeling ran so high that the census would have broken down completely in Rangpur if this had not been promised'.

* Porter¹⁹ comments 'some more gotras other than Kasyapa were introduced amongst the Rajbansis. They are : 1) Kasyapa, 2) Sandilya, 3) Bharadwaja, 4) Goutama, 5) Savarna, 6) Kapila, 7) Thandi, 8) Batsya, 9) Maudgala, 10) Arti, 11) Parasara, 12) Kausuka, 13) Viswamitra.

Porter then comments, 'The Rajbansis have now to some extent regularised the anomalous position in which they found themselves until recently owing to the fact that upon assumption of the Kshatriya status they had all adopted themselves into

the same gotra (Kasyapa) with the result that all marriages amongst Rajbansis as Kshatriyas would, upon a strict interpretation of Hindu law, have been invalid owing to their being within the same gotra'.

'But even amongst those families which have been invested with sacred thread, it is apparently only the literate section who claim to belong to any gotra and those, when it is necessary to disclose a gotra at all, plump for the Kasyapa gotra as a matter of course.'

✓Porter also states²⁰ :—Koch, Palia, Rajbansi were originally the same. The Kaivarttas of Assam and North Bengal have more affinity with Rajbansis. They all claimed to be recorded as Rajbansis and all Rajbansis claimed to be a recorded as Kshatriyas at the beginning of the 19th century. The more backward and illiterate members of the Rajbansi caste still maintain practices inconsistent with orthodox Hindu belief.

Chatterjee²¹ writes, 'The masses of North Bengal areas are very largely of Bodo origin or mixed Austric-Dravidian-Mongoloid. They can now mainly be described as Koch i.e., Hinduised or semi-Hinduised Bodo who have abandoned their original Tibeto-Burman speech and have adopted the northern dialect of Bengali'. 'They are proud to call themselves as Rajbansis and to claim to be called Kshatriyas'. 'Nothing much is definitely known about the Kochs of North Bengal prior to 16th century; they may be described as western Bodos, an extension of the great Bodo race of Assam and East Bengal which at one time peopled the entire Assam valley from Sadia right up to North Bengal.' 'With the full Hinduisation of the Koches, and the rise in power of their chiefs, Ksatriya origin was, as was natural, found out or suggested for them'. 'Bisu or Bisa was the real founder of Koch power. He ruled from 1496-1553 A. D. Bisu embraced Hinduism and took the name of Biswa-Sinha.' 'He himself was a worshipper of Siva and Durga, revived the Shakta Shrine at Kamashya. This is an old shrine of hoary antiquity and of Mongoloid or possibly even earlier Austric origin'. 'It witnessed the final Brahmanisation of a pre-Aryan cult. It is a symbol of the final Aryanisation or Hinduisation of the Indo-Mongoloids of North Eastern India.'

COMMENTS :-

The above observations point to the fact that the Kochs are non-Aryan in origin. Some of them adopted Hinduism and became Rajbansis. These Rajbansis later on claimed to be Kshatriyas.

There has been a controversy regarding marriage within one Gotra. It is true that a Hindu male cannot marry a girl of the same gotra or Pravara. This rule does not apply to the Sudras who are said to have no Gotra of their own, but it applies to the Kshatriyas and the Vasiyas although it is alleged that neither of them have any Gotra nor Pravara of their own. The Gotra of these castes are said to be those of the gurus or preceptors or the priests of their ancestors²². These gurus or preceptors are probably the same as 'Paruas' of the Rajbansis. This has been described in detail in the text of this book in the chapter of 'Marriage'.

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Antecedents of Rajbansis (Census figures)

The census reports of 1872, 1881 and 1891 enumerated Koch, Rajbansi and Paliya etc., under one head Koch. O'Donnel in the census report of 1891 enumerated 33,472 as Koch in the district of Darjeeling, 297, 852 in Jalpaiguri, 352, 409 in Cooch-Bihar, 481, 591 in Dinajpur and 522, 604 in Rangpur. In the break up of Koch figures stated hereafter, the number in each sub-head in 1891 is stated. The term Bhanga-Kshattriya first appeared in 1891 census and hence there was a great fall in number of Rajbansis in Jalpaiguri in that year.

It is reported in 1901 that all sub-sections of Koch were recorded as Rajbansis and in 1911 and 1921 Paliyas were also recorded as Rajbansis. In 1921 many Rajbansis were recorded as Kshattriyas. Thompson reports in 1921 census, Vol. V, Part-I, pp. 356-358: 'at the census of 1911 Koches were enumerated as belonging to the Rajbansi caste. In statistics of 1921 Koches were treated as quite separate from the Rajbansis. In 1901 many Koches in North Bengal were returned as Rajbansis. F. O. Bell (1942) p. p. 11-13, in the Final report on the survey and settlement operations in Dinajpur 1934-1940, states: 'Formerly they (Rajbansis, Rajbansi Kshattriyas, that are found in large numbers in Rangpur, Jalpaiguri and Cooch-Bihar) were known as Paliys or Paliyas. Officially in the census they were listed as Rajbansi Kshattriyas. There has always been some difficulty in distinguishing them from Koches, if indeed there is any distinction The Koch, Rajbansi and Paliya are really the three names for the same thing.'

From a study of the census figures it appears that in Jalpaiguri there were 297,852 enumerated as Koch in 1891 and the figure dropped down to only 1,009 in 1931 and 516 in 1941. The number of Rajbansis was 137, 135 in 1872. This figure gradually went up and reached the figure of 331, 168 in 1931.

In Cooch-Bihar there were 111,125 enumerated as Koch in 1872*. It went up to 352,409 in 1891. The number came down to only, 1,230 in 1931. The number of Rajbansis was recorded as 318, 846 in 1931. There were 54,152 Tiyars in 1881 and only 7 in 1891 and none recorded since 1921.

In Dinajpur 86,351 were enumerated as Koch in 1872. The number went up to 481,591 in 1891 and then dropped down to 6,163 in 1931 and to 2,252 in 1941. The number of Paliyas was 326,971 in 1872 and it dropped to 4,219 in 1941. The number of Tiyars was 17,364 in 1872 and it came down to 380 in 1941. The figure of Rajbansi was recorded as 429,525 in 1931.

In Rangpur the number of Tiyars was 141,213 in 1872 and it came down to only 68 in 1931. The number of Koch was 399,407 in 1872 and 444,974 Rajbansi was recorded in 1931.

The question now remains to be solved where the large number of Koches, Paliyas and Tiyars had gone. It is quite probable that they merged into the Rajbansis and the census figures give a clue to it.

It may be mentioned in this connection that from a study of census figures of other districts of Bengal it appears that several other tribes and castes broke away from their original fold and recorded themselves as Rajbansis. They were a part of Jalia-Kaibarttas, Tiyars, Namasudras, Bagdis, Malos, Barua-Mogs, Dhimals¹, Pods², Rabha, Garo Paliya, Desi, Koch, Mech, Kantai.³ They were scattered in North and West Bengal. The converted Rajbansis of West Bengal e g., of Mursidabad, Nadia, 24 Parganas. Howrah, Hoogli and Midnapur have nothing in common with the Rajbansis of North Bengal.

It is on account of such variety of mixtures amongst the Rajbansis, that Dalton⁴ classed them amongst the Dravidians and probably a branch of the Bhuiya family⁵, Hunter⁶, Risley⁷, Gait⁸ and Hutton⁹ as Dravidian with admixture of Mongolian blood, Price¹⁰ placed them amongst the Nisads having sub-divisions as Koch, Chatbhag, Paliya, Pania and Rajbansi; Maguire¹¹ notes the Rajbansis 'of the district (Rangpur) are descended from a Dravidian stock. They are now a distinct class of Rajbansis who claim to be classified as Bratya-Kshattriyas.' In fact the present Rajbansis are a very mixed race.

* Hunter (1876) Cooch Behar p. 341.

1. Gait—1901 (Census) Bengal-Appendix I. p. xxxviii.

2. O'Malley—1911 (Census) Vol. V, part I. p. 445

3. (a) Risley—Tribes and Castes—Vol-I, p.p. 491-500.

(b) Hunter—1876 Cooch-Bihar, p. 353, Jalpaiguri, p. 253 (Semi Hinduised aboriginals)

(c) Mitra—1951 (Census) Jalpaiguri-Appendix III p.p. cxxxi-cxxxvii

4. Dalton—Descriptive Ethnology, 1872, p.p. 69-72. Mitra—Tribes and Castes, 1951, p. 226.

5. Mazumdar R. C.—History of Bengal, 1943, Vol-II, p. 53.

'The land (Kamrup) was divided amongst Bara-Bhumys of the Bodo. Koch, Mech Tribes. These Bara-Bhumys who ruled in modern Cooch-Bihar, Goalpara and Kamrup formed a sort of loose political confederacy.'

6. (a) Hunter—Imperial Gazetteer of India-Bengal and Assam 1909, p. 29.

(b) Hunter—Cooch-Bihar, 1876, p. p. 350-353.

7. (a) Risley—*Ibid*-p. 491.

(b) Mitra—*Ibid*-p. 251.

8. Gait—History of Assam, 1906, p. 2.

9. Hutton—1921 (Census) Vol V, part I, p. 317.

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COMPARATIVE TABLE OF CENSUS FIGURES

	1872	1881	1891	1901	1911	1921	1931	1941	1951
Darjeeling									
Rajbansi	1872	1881	1891	1901	1911	1921	1931	1941	1951
Koch	23,124	30,381	33,472	29,006	28,944	23,191	26,969	21,852	15,894
Palya	—	—	392	454	65	141	122	18	—
Jalpaiguri									
Rajbansi	137,135	208,322	297,852	321,023	315,257	310,545	331,168	281,045	172,710
Koch	—	—	—	—	4,967	1,380	1,009	516	194
Palya	128	—	103	48	—	—	150	68	—
Tiyar	—	35,896	99	1	3	2	13	—	3
Cooch-Behar									
Rajbansi	111,125	299,458	352,409	338,299	338,623	329,268	318,846	—	252,069
Koch	—	—	—	—	1,317	1,261	1,230	—	9
Tiyar	—	54,152	7	14	4	—	—	—	6
Dinajpur									
Rajbansi	86,351	—	—	180,599	442,990	429,525	360,368	334,614	67,489 *
Koch	30,605	407,923	481,591	231	36,754	42,810	6,163	2,252	331
Palya	326,971	—	—	252,059	—	—	33,509	4,219	10,044
Tiyar	17,364	3,001	1,814	—	727	584	380	372	1,421
Rangpur									
Rajbansi	3,99,407	432,459	522,604	—	—	461,374	444,974	—	—
Koch	6,345	—	—	—	—	9,702	6,523	—	—
Tiyar	141,213	92,790	34	—	—	119	68	—	—

* 1951 figures are after partition of the district (Partly in India and Partly in Pakistan). The figures in 1951 within Indian portion only are recorded here.
In 1872, 1881, 1891 all Rajbansi were recorded as 'Koch'.

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BREAK UP OF KOCH FIGURES IN 1891 CENSUS

Districts	Koch	of whom	Bhanga Kshattriya	Desi (Poli)	Kantai (Kantal)*	Khen	Poliya	Rajbansi	Koch	Mandal (Namasudra)
Dinajpur	481,591	„	28,515	37,802	338	3,807	283,491	68,638	59,000	—
Rajshahi	233,781	„	13,692	18,369	186	1,866	136,410	34,091	28,901	—
Rangpur	522,604	„	53,873	—	—	13,355	—	449,027	6,349	—
Bogra	32,685	„	—	—	8	6	742	4,264	11,017	—
Pabna	2,865	„	4	—	—	—	—	2,360	501	—
Malda	62,975	„	—	8,730	—	—	04,471	18,597	21,177	—
Darjeeling	33,472	„	21,752	—	1	—	392	9,185	2,142	—
Jalpaiguri	297,852	„	265,436	—	216	3,748	103	18,897	9,452	—
Cooch-Bihar	352,409	„	—	—	—	4,755	—	47,463	191	—
Purnea	136,558	„	—	—	—	—	21,009	52,356	63,193	—
Rajshahi Divn.	1,378,095	„	369,580	37,802	1,563	21,580	284,809	565,340	97,421	—
Dacca Division	70,571	„	556	—	—	—	48	10,830	55,756	3,381
Bhagalpur Divn.	199,609	„	—	8,730	—	—	35,505	70,953	74,421	—

O'Donnel...Census (1891) Caste Tables...p. 44

Bengal Secretariat...District Census Reports...Rajshahi Division (1891)

*Kantai or Kantal...(1) A Group of Rajbansis by profession palanquin-bearers (A Mitra...Tribes and Castes...(1953), p. 78)

(2) District Census Reports (1891) p. 68-Boileau-H-Jalpaiguri, p. 22.

PERCENTAGE OF THE RAJBANSIS TO THE TOTAL POPULATION

Districts :—	Years						
	1872	1881	1891	1911	1921	1931	1952
Darjeeling	24	20	4.5	12	9	9	3
Jalpaiguri	33	35	2.5	33	30	33	16
Cooch-Bihar	20	50	55	56	52	55	40
Dinajpur	6	25	4.5	24	25	20	—
Rangpur	5	22	22	—	18	13	—
Bogra	Less—1	2.5	0.5	—	1.5	1	—
Maldah	3.5	8.5	—	6	4	4	—
Pabna	Less—1	—	Less—1%	—	—	—	—
Rajshahi	—	1	3	—	1.5	1.5	—

PERCENTAGE OF THE RAJBANSIS TO THE HINDU POPULATION

Districts :—	Years						
	1872	1881	1891	1911	1921	1931	1951
Darjeeling	50	25	6	15	12	14	5
Jalpaiguri	70	60	3	58	60	50	25
Cooch-Bihar	86	85	90	85	80	80	55
Dinajpur	12	55	8.5	55	52	45	—
Rangpur	33	50	62	—	58	60	—
Bogra	1.5	15	3	—	8	5	—
Malda	7.5	14	—	12	10	10	—
Pabna	0.5	1	0.6	—	4	3.5	—
Rajshahi	1.5	3	12	—	7	8	—

In 1891 there was a sudden fall in the % of the Rajbansis in all districts of North Bengal excepting Cooch-Bihar, as a large number of Rajbansis were recorded as Bhanga Kshattriyas. The % of the Rajbansis with the addition of the Bhanga Kshattriyas was subsequently found to be as follows in 1891 :—

Districts :—	Darjeeling	Jalpaiguri	Dinajpur	Rangpur	Rajshahi
% of total population	15	40	7	25	4
% of Hindu population	20	60	13	70	16

It appears from the study of the census reports that some of the Kochs of North Bengal preferred to be classed as Rajbansis and the census of 1872 recorded the Rajbansis as a special class of Koch. But in 1881 census such a difference was not recorded and Koch, Rajbansi, Paliya etc., were shown as one unit under the general head Koch. At the census of 1891 many of the Rajbansis recorded themselves as Bratya Kshattriyas as revealed in the break up of Koch figures of that year. The term Bratya Kshattriya at first appeared in 1891 but in later census they were not separately enumerated. In all probability some of them were recorded as Rajbansis and some as Kshattriyas. In 1901 all sub-sections of Koch were recorded as Rajbansis and in 1911 and 1921 the Rajbansis were recorded as Kshattriya Rajbansis and Paliyas, were recorded as Rajbansis. Hence the census reports up to 1921 appear to be misleading and this explains the wide variation

of the number of Rajbansis in different census reports. Between 1921 and 1931 many Rajbansis took the sacred thread and recorded themselves as Kshatriyas and so a fall in number of Rajbansis in some districts of North Bengal was observed. Such Kshatriyas were not separately recorded and hence their number could not be ascertained.

The percentage figures of Rajbansis to the total population and to the Hindu population as compiled from the census figures bear out the discrepancy. But this does not rule out the suspicion of the census authorities the Koch, Paliya, Rajbansi and the Bhanga Kshatriyas of North Bengal belong to the same stock.

Reference :

1. Beverly, Census—1872, General Statement V.B.p CXIV (Appendix).
2. Bourdillon, Census—1881-Vol. II. p. 240-Castes of Bengal.
3. O'Donnel, Census—1891-Vol. V. p. 44-Bengal-Caste Table.
4. Bengal Secretariat—District Census Reports—1891.
5. Thompson, Census—1921-Vol. V-Part I & II-p. 170 Part II.
6. Porter, Census—1931-Vol. V. Part I-p.p, 502-513 (Bengal & Sikkim).
7. Hutton, Census—1931-Vol. I. Part I—(Census of India).
8. Mitra, Tribes and Castes of West Bengal (1951 Census) Table IV.

Antecedents of Rajbansis—Inferential, based on Hindu Scriptures.

The Rajbansis of North Bengal claim to be Kshatriyas. They have their arguments based on Hindu Scriptures and Epics.

Rajbansis are Paundra Kshatriyas :—

In the hoary past Parasurama and Sagar of Bhrigu dynasty led a crusade against the Haihaya Kshatriyas who belonged to the Yadava branch of the Lunar dynasty. The Kshatriyas fled to places outside the Aryan territory and took shelter amongst the non-Aryan people living there. This appears to have happened between the years c.2550-2350 B. C. The names of Viswamitra, Jamadagni, Parasurama, Sagar of Bhrigu dynasty or the Bhargavas appear within this period. The name of Kasyapa also appears in Parasurama age when Parasurama donated the entire earth to his priest Kasyapa who expelled Parasurama from the earth to prevent further attack on the Kshatriyas. (Majumdar, R. C., Vedic Age 1951, p. p. 278-281).

The traditional history from the earliest times describes the struggle between king Sagara and the Haihaya Kshatriyas. After destroying the Haihayas, Sagara led his conquering hordes against their outlandish allies, the Sakas, Yavanas, Kambojas etc. He would have completely crushed them but for the intercession of his priest Vasistha with whom they sought refuge. Sagara let them off after imposing on them certain signs of symbolical defeat and disgrace: the Sakas were made to shave only half of their heads, the Yavanas and the Kambojas to have their heads completely shaved, Paradas were completely forbidden to shave or trim their hair of the heads and Pallavas to shave their beards, thus rendering them unfit for Vedic ceremonials. (Vedic Age, *op. cit.* p.p-281-287, Harivamsa, IV-3, Yogini Tantra-XIV, 34-38).

Manu Samhita (X-43, 44) refers to the same distribution of ex-communicated Kshatriyas in lands remote from the centre of Varnasrama culture, and to those Kshatriyas forming sub-castes in course of time in the name of the lands where they settled.

'Gradually the Kshatriyas left off the Sacraments such as receiving the sacred thread, reading the Vedas, living away from the Brahmins and thus degenerated into Sudras. The Kshatriyas who migrated to Paundra, Odra, Chin, Kirata etc., lost their duties of Kshatriyas and became Sudras'. (Kulluka's commentary).

The name Paundra appears in the list of places stated by Manu and others. The Paundras have been located in Bengal and Bihar by Mahabharata. They also lived in North Bengal with Paundravardhana as their capital town. The Paundras are probably the ancestors of Puros, an aboriginal caste of Bengal. (Vedic Age. p. 260).

Historians take it that the river Karotowa formed the eastern boundary of Paundra Desa. The land between the Karotowa and the Ganga was called Paundra Desa. In Mahabharata era Karotowa was a mighty river, the waters of the present Tista flowed through this channel till the middle of eighteenth century A.D. It flowed through the present Rajgunj P. S. of Jalpaiguri, Dinajpur, Rangpur, Bogra and Rajshahi districts. (King. J. A.,—Comprehensive report on road development project in Bengal, 1938 vol.1, p. 43, p. 60).

— Mahasthanghar once the capital of Paundra was situated on the west bank of the Karotowa in Bogra district. This Paundra Desa was called Goud by later historians.

The section of Kshatriyas who call themselves Rajbansis is said to have settled in this area. These Kshatriyas mixed up with the non-Aryan local people and lost their Kshatriya traits. —

Kulluka comments on X, 44 sloka of Manu, that the Kshatriyas living in Paundra lost the Vedic Sacraments and became Sudras'.

There are also Jatis or sub-castes, who may be pure Brahmin, Kshatriya or Vaisya, who for some reason or other had been excommunicated are called Vratyas. The sons of the upper castes when miss the regular Sacrament of Initiation into the Vedas or are irregularly initiated are to be known as Vratyas. (Manusamhita, II, 39. X 20,6.).

Thus the Paundra Kshatriyas (Northern Rajbansis) living in Paundra Desa or crossing the Karotowa migrated from there into Kamrupa in later years, may claim to be known as Vratya Kshatriyas or excommunicated Kshatriyas or Sudraised Kshatriyas.

Rajbansis of Jalpesha are Kshatriyas :—

It is said that some Kshatriyas being persued by Parasuram, son of Jamadagni, fled towards the east and took shelter in Jalpesha in Kamrupa. (Kalika Purana, LXIV, 54). In all probability they migrated to this place from Paundra Desa. They were disguised as Mlecchas, they adopted Sudra manners and their language; they worshipped god Siva and were secretly protected and preserved by their spiritual father Jalpesha. Kalika Purana gives an account of them. (Kalika Purana 77-slokas 1,30-31). The Rajbansis of Kamrupa are said to be descendants of these Kshatriyas.

This area of Kamrupa was known as Koch or Kirata land where the non-Hindu Kochs, Mechs etc., used to live. The original inhabitants of Kamrupa were outside the fold of the Aryans. Their habits as described in Yogini Tantra are distinctly non-Aryan. Kalika Purana says :—

'In Kamrupa animal food should not be discarded. The woman always chew betel leaves; ducks, pigeons, tortoise and hogs as food are not tabooed in Kamrupa. None should avoid eating them. (Yogini Tantra, Uttar Khanda, X-14,16). It is also stated in Kalika Purana (81—sloka 20, 21) that the entire population of Kamrupa became Mleccha due to the curse of Vasistha.

The area of Kamrupa is described in Yogini Tantra (XL16-18) where it is stated that the area between the Brahmaputra (Lauhitta) on the east where it emerges from the hills and the river Karotowa on the west, the junction of Brahmaputra and Lakkha on the south and the Himalayas on the north, is called Kamrupa. Thus Jalpesha is situated in Kamrupa. This has also been corroborated by Kalika Purana (64, sloka 54) where Jalpeshwara is mentioned amongst the deities of Kamrupa.

Granted for arguments sake that the stories narrated by the above Upa-Puranas are true, granted that some of the refugee Kshatriyas named in Mahabharata (Santi-parva) might be taking refuge in Koch land, yet the question remains in respect of the entire Rajbansi community of this area of North Bengal having Kshatriya ancestry. Refugees infiltrated into a pre-existing population must have been, in all probability, overwhelmed by the superior number of the non-Kshatriya Mlecchas or Sudra residents. The refugees must have adopted the ways of life of the non-Hindus so as to provide for them a truly impenetrable disguise.

The whole argument may be reconciled by supposing that some of the refugee Kshatriyas of Paundra Desa, at a later date migrated to Jalpesha and established a colony there. Thus a portion of the Rajbansis of this area may claim descent from these Kshatriyas. A correct geneological table, if ever found, may give a clue to this supposition.

Biswa Singha and his descendants are Kshatriyas :—

Yogini Tantra narrates the story of the origin of Bisu (Biswa Singha) in a fascinating manner. He is described as born of union of Mahadev and a Mleccha Yogini, Mahadev speaking to his consort Parvati :—

'There was a Koch land near Yonigortho. There was a yogini named Reboti. She was beautiful and famous. She knew Brahma. She was virtuous and chaste although belonged to the Mlecchas. I had been to her place many times on the pretext of begging alms. I had intercourse with her'.

The author of the Tantra at this stage gave the story another turn just to substantiate the main purpose of his accounts of the birth of Biswa Singha. The Yogini Tantra narrates that the Yogini was not originally a Mleccha but while she was in deep meditation she was cursed by a Brahmin to become a Mleccha (Sudra). Mahadeva then reveals to Parvati that Bisu Singha was born as the result of his intercourse with the said Yogini and asserts that Biswa Singha is his own son. (Yogini Tantra, XIII- slokas 2-19).

So the story goes that the mother of Bisu appealed to Mahadeva at Jalpesha to give her a son and that was granted.

In this way the descendants of Biswa Singha may claim to be Kshatriyas.

Comments :—

1. The story of invoking god Siva to have a child has its example in Mahabharata in the story of the birth of Karna by the Sun God in the womb of Kunti and also the birth of Yudhisthira by God Dharma.
2. The question of marrying within the same gotra has its sanction in Satapatha Brahmana (8,36) where marriage

within the same gotra was permitted under certain circumstances and also remarriage of widows was permitted. (Vedic Age—*op. cit.* p. 453).

3. Instances of pre-marital intercourse having a child before the actual marriage are found in Mahabharata where Karna was born before the marriage of Kunti with Pandu and Vyas was born before the marriage of Satyawati with Santanu.

4. Instances of levirate marriage are also found in Mahabharata when Satyawati wife of Santanu, requested Bhishma to produce sons in the womb of Ambika and Ambalika the widows of his half-brother Bicitrabirjya stating that it was the custom of the society and on his refusing to accede to her request Bicitrabirjya's another half-brother Krishna Dwaipayana Vyas was called to have intercourse with the widows of his brother and as a result Pandu and Dhritarastra were born.

The story of the birth of Vidura and Yoyutsu reminds the custom of begetting sons on women other than legally married wives. The sons born of such union held high places in the society and some of them ascended the throne. Instances of like nature are numerous in Mahabharata era.

5. Cases resembling Koina Patro of the Rajbansis are not rare in Mahabharata era when many women used to live in kings' houses without going through the usual rituals of marriage and had children who were not discarded by the society.

It may be argued that the customs resembling the above amongst the Rajbansis cannot be described as non-Hindu. On the other hand it may be said that the old customs, although discarded by the largest section of the Hindu society, are still to be found amongst the Rajbansis of North Bengal.

6. It is said that the Rajbansis are mainly cultivators and so they are Sudras. Parasara (Parasara Samhita—II Canto, slokas 1, 2, 7, 15) enjoins agriculture even to a Brahmin and a Kshatriya in the Kali era. The very name 'Rajbansi' suggests Kshatriya ancestry, also fighters and rulers are always given the status of Kshatriya. Amara, the lexicographer gives the meaning of the word 'Rajbansa' as 'Rajabiji' that is born of the seed of a 'Rajon'. The word 'Rajon' otherwise meaning a king and the word 'Kshatriya' are synonymous in the context of caste distinction.

Thus the modern Rajbansis may claim to be descendants of ancient Kshatriyas with their old Aryan habits lost in Kali era.

At a time when Rajbansis of North Bengal were going out of the Hindu fold and embracing other faiths, Babu Panchanan Burman of Rangpur raised the claim that the Northern Rajbansis were Kshatriyas and advanced the above arguments. His claim was accepted by the pandits of Benaras. The Rajbansis began to take the Sacred Thread and declared themselves as Kshatriyas. His contention may or may not be accepted by all scholars but it is certain that he saved the Northern Rajbansis from leaving the Hindu fold and this was his greatest contribution to the Rajbansis as a matter of fact to the Hindu society.

Chapter II

The Material Culture of the Rajbansis.

The Village :—There is no regular village in the districts of North Bengal as is found in the east and the lower Bengal. In this area some villages have grown up around the police stations with compact habitation. But they are mostly cosmopolitan in character having drawn people from other places as Government Officers, merchants etc. The Rajbansis are mostly agricultural people. Their villages are not found inside the forests but in the open space in the middle of their agricultural land. They prefer to build their houses on their own lands rather than selecting a common land to build a village for a group of persons having their cultivated lands elsewhere. A Rajbansi land owner (Jotedar) does not like to build his house on the land of another 'jotedar'. Thus a Rajbansi village consists of comparatively a bigger house of a landholder and a group of smaller and meaner houses of his share croppers (adhiars or borgadars). The 'adhiars' have practically no land of their own, they work as agricultural labourers receiving half share of the crop they grow. They build their houses on the land of the 'jotedar'. They have no right over the land, they can be ejected any moment, they do not pay any rent for the land they occupy. They depend solely on the assistance given by the 'jotedar' in the shape of advancing paddy for their food and sometimes money for other expenses. The rate of interest is generally 25% in the shape of crop. That is if one maund of paddy is advanced, the 'adhiar' should pay back one maund and ten seers of paddy. Sometimes the rate of interest is as high as 50%.

A Rajbansi village therefore consists of several dispersed groups of habitations. Each group called '*catal, cator or tari*' (চাতাল, চাতর, টারি) has the house of a 'jotedar' and several smaller houses of his 'adhiars'. A small cultivator owning five to ten acres of land and paying rent for the same to his superior landlord is called '*mulandar*'. He also builds his house on his own plot of land. There are also some cultivators who are 'mulandars' of their own land and also 'adhiars' on other's land. Such 'mulandar' cum 'adhiar' builds his house on his own land. Several such group of houses (catal, cators, taris) form a village. Each 'catal' contains twenty to twenty five houses and a village about one hundred and fifty houses.

There is therefore no well defined village boundaries under such conditions and they are not marked out with fencing or pillars. The villagers know the boundary of their village which consists of imaginary lines along some big trees or embankments on the cultivated lands called '*ali or ail*' (আলি, আইল). Hardly any village can boast of a conventional metalled road passing through it. An unmetalled road constructed by the District, Local or Union Board passes through some fortunate villages. Usually a winding cart track or a narrower foot track serves the purpose of a pathway.

According to census of 1951 the disposition of villages and population are stated below :—

District Jalpaiguri :—

Area in Sq. miles.	Number of villages.	Number of occupied houses.
2,378.3	776	1,88,215

On the average one village covers three square miles consisting of 242 huts, that is about ten groups of 'jotedars' and 'adhiars' having a population of nearly 1000 souls. The total population of the district is 914,538 of which 80% lives in the villages.

District Cooch-Bihar :—

Area in Sq. miles.	Number of villages.	Number of occupied houses.
1,334.1	1,198	1,45,469

On the average one village covers one square mile consisting of 122 huts that is about five groups of 'jotedars' and 'adhiars' having a population of 420 on the average. The total population of the district is 671,158 of which 80% lives in the villages.

District Darjeeling (Terai) :—

Siliguri Sub-Division :—

Area in sq. miles (excluding Siliguri Town)	Number of villages	Number of occupied houses
263	340	21,126

On the average one village has an area of nearly $\frac{3}{4}$ th. of a square mile consisting of 70 huts, that is about three groups of 'jotedars' and 'adhiars' having a population of 247 on the average. The total population of the villages in this area is 83,995.

Growth of villages :—The lands of North Bengal were not densely populated. When a king or a chief occupied the land his soldiers or his retenue took possession of as much land as they could grab. They brought labourers, cleared the forests and started cultivation. These people became 'jotedars' or landlords. The original inhabitants were gradually elbowed out. Thus Kholā Ray (age-80) of Rajgunj P.S. Jalpaiguri, told the writer that he saw, when he was a boy, a large

number of Meches occupying the present forest lands and the river side (the Tista). Not a single Mech could be found there now. The village Kundardighi he said, was once a Mech village. He heard from his father that after the Sannyasi rebellion a group of the party settled there. In Duars and Terai, with the growth of tea estates many labourers came from outside Bengal and some of them settled as cultivators and villages grew up. In Cooch-Bihar as the conquerors and the outsiders settled on the lands the original Meches moved towards Assam. Thus Mech, Santal and Oraon* villages are found around the tea estates and in the territory of Bhutan called Bengal Duars occupied by the British in 1865 A. D. and the Rajbansi villages are generally found towards the south.

Naming of village :—Villages are generally named after (1) the type of inhabitants living there, (2) the nature of soil and elevation of the land, (3) the previous owner of the village, (4) some incidents that occurred long ago, (5) the name of the deity. Thus :—

- (1) ✓Dakuapara, Pundibaree—Some robbers are said to have lived there.
 Bhatipara—Some people from the south lived there (People from the south of Rangpur and Dinajpur are called Bhatia.)
 Pandit-para—A reputed school master is said to have lived there.
 Malipara—Some image makers used to live and are living there.
 Nauapara—Some barbars used to live and are living there.
 ✓Gidalpara—Some singers used to live and are living there.
 Luccapara—A notorious man lived there.
 Ai-Sakla—A virtuous lady lived there. (Mother-Sakla).
 Bhudzaripara—Where some puffed rice makers used to live.
 Niranjāpat—Where a saint Nirājan had his Tole (School).
 Bamanpara—Where some Brahmins used to live.
 Pandapara—Where some men from Orissa were settled and are living there.
- (2) Dangapara—High land.
 Jhar Altagram : { A jungle grown on fresh alluvium. (Jhar-jungle, Alta-recent dry bed of a river. In this case—
 Dzhar Oltagram { (the river Jaldhaka). Olt—a kind of tree, the leaves of which are used for dyeing cloth.
 Jhar Magurmari : { Where a streamlet passing through a jungle had a large number of Magur (clarius batrachus),
 Dzhar Magurmari { fishes in its water.
 Gorgoria ghat—A deep stream with steep bank passing through this area.
- (3) Naharipara—One Sri Lahiri coming from the south was the owner of this village.
 Bosepara, Sing-para. Prodhan-para, etc.
- (4) Bhutijhora—Long ago a wild boar tore open the intestines of a person at this place. (Bhuti—intestines)
 Debi-jhora—This was a jungle where people came for hunting on the last day of Chaitra (Bisoba day). Now there is no jungle but a village has grown up.
 Voispara—Where buffaloes used to be herded.
- (5) Bhandani—There is temple of goddess Bhandani.
 ✓Kalirhat—There is a temple of goddess Kali.
 Dhapgunge—There is a temple of goddess Dhap-Chandi.
 Mogradanga—A high land where a ghost 'mogor' used to live.
 Baigon-tari—There was a brinjal market.
 Bogri-bari—There was a jungle of jujub trees.
 Boro-bari—There was a big house of a jotedar.
 ✓Haldi-bari—A market for the wholesale business of turmeric.
 Rheabari—Where Ramie (a fibre plant) was said to have been cultivated.
 ✓Palasbari—Where there were many Palas trees (Butea frondosa-flame of the forest)
 Tsuabari—The village where there were many wells. (Tsua-Well)
 ✓Mekligunj—There was a big market of a variety of jute cloth called Mekli.
 Madzhi-ali—A village developed in a land between two neighbouring streams.
 Kadzol-dighi—The place has a tank with deep water. (Kazol-Black)
 Dzhakuapara—A crowded village.
 Jalpaiguri—The place where there were many olive trees.
 Jamguri—The place where there were many black berry trees.
 Amguri—The place where there were many mango trees.
 ✓Kathalguri—The place where there were many jack fruit trees.

* Santals and Oraons were recruited from outside to work as labourers for the tea estates that grew up in Duars after British occupation.

Panchkalguri—The place where there were many 'chalta' (*Dellinia Indica*) trees.

Dumriguri—The place where there were many fig trees.

Betguri—The place where there were many cane plants.

Silguri (Siliguri)—The place where there were many stones.

Typical villages :

1. The village Òtagram is situated in the Western Duars in the district of Jalpaiguri. It is 14 miles × 5 miles in area. This village is subdivided into smaller units called Mouja. Each Mouja is again subdivided into Tari or Para. Thus :—Òtagram is subdivided into five Moujas (1) Dakshin (south) Òtagram, (2) Purba (east) Òtagram, (3) Uttar (north) Òtagram, (4) Mallikpara, (5) Moynatoli.

Dakshin Òtagram is again subdivided into five Taris, viz.,—

(1) Dakuapara (2) Bhatipara (3) Nolpara (4) Noluapara (5) Chapratola.

Purba Òtagram is subdivided into three Taris, viz.,—

(1) Dhair Tari (2) Vois Dhura (3) Pandit Para.

Uttar Òtagram is subdivided into two Taris, viz., :—

(1) Malipara (2) Dangapara.

Mallikpara is subdivided into six Taris, viz.,—

(1) Dzhalipara, (2) Boldipara, (3) Majhilapara, (4) Bamonpara. (5) Nuapara, (6) Pocchim Tari.

Note :—Boldia—Bullocks for hire to carry merchandise. Moynatoli has one Tari, viz., - Bhotpara (some Bhutias lived there)

Population :

The population of Dakshin Òta is about 2000, of Purba Òta is 1500, of Uttar Òta is 1000, of Mallikpara is 1000, of Moynatoli is 700.

The population of a Tari varies from 50 to 200 persons.

2. The village Jhar-Altagram (Dzhar Òtagram) is divided into four Moujas :—(1) Bhandani (2) Par-Kumila (3) Kursamari (4) Bogribari.

Bhandani is divided into two Taris :—(1) Gidalpara (2) Borobari.

Parkumlai has three Taris :—(1) Dantpara, (2) Luccartari, (3) Ai-Saklar-bhita.

3. The village Magurmari is subdivided into five Moujas :—

(1) Pacchim (west) Magurmari, (2) Purba (east) Magurmari, (3) Jhar Magurmari, (4) Kalirhat, (5) Niranjanpat.

Pacchim Magurmari has three Taris :—(1) Dzompara, (2) Dzhakuapara, (3) Olongotari.

The home of the Rajbansis

Building customs : (Bhiṭa Choa, Bhiṭa banda)

When a Rajbansi buys or takes settlement of a plot of land for house building, he calls a 'panjiar' (a Rajbansi Pandit) to see if the land would be suitable for the purpose. The 'panjiar' comes and draws some figures on the earth and thus determines the position of the stars and other astrological factors. He then gives his opinion. If there is no ghost or evil spirit (dēo) living on the land or nearby or if there is no evil eye of any malignant ghost on the land, the report is favourable and the owner is advised to build a house. In this respect the 'panjiar' is the final authority. If he considers the land unsuitable a Rajbansi will never build his house on the land.

There is a common saying about the plan of house. The house must have :—

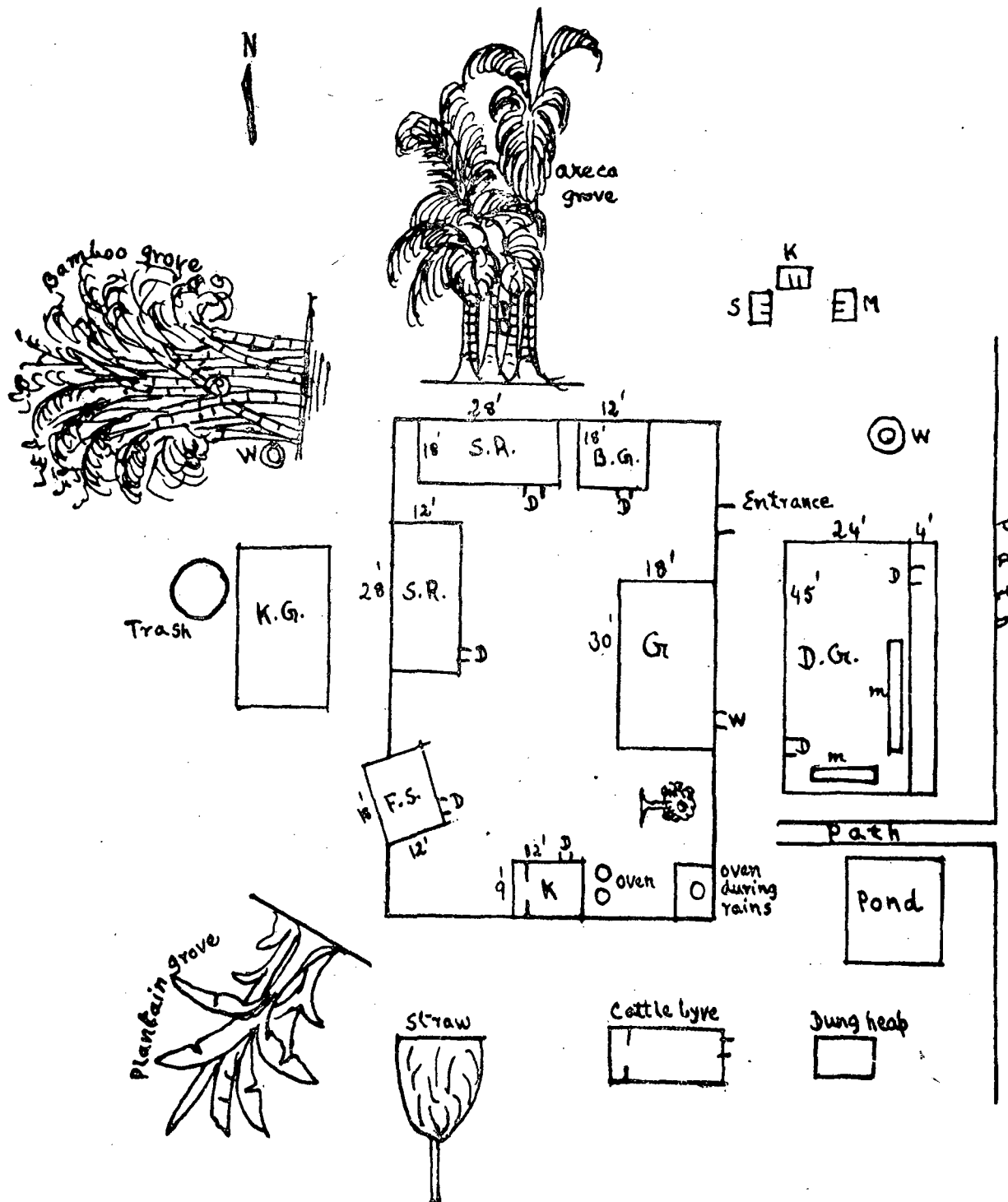
Utore gua	{	Areca on the north
Dokhine dhua		Open on the south
Pube has		Ducks (Pond) on the east
Poccime bas		Bamboo on the west.

(There is no nasalisation in 'has' and 'bas'.)

In this area a cold wind blows from the north and sometimes storm comes from the north. Hence an areca grove on the north serves as a wind break. Refreshing wind blows from the south and this side should remain open. The sun rises from the east. The pond that serves as a source of water supply should get ample sunshine and also the ducks that are kept in almost every house may swim on the water from the morning. The sunshine gives a pleasant warmth to the surface water. Western setting sun is not liked. They say it is not good for health. Storm (dun) comes from the western side in March-April. So a bamboo grove is grown on the western side. The idea may or may not be correct but this is the impression of the village people of this area.

Final selection of the house building site :—The 'panjiar' fixes one auspicious day. In the evening four small bamboo poles (dzhati) are fixed vertically on the earth at four corners of the proposed site of the hut and a long pole (muli poi) is fixed on one

Plate II House Plan of the Rajbansi



S. R.—Sleeping Room; B. G.—Bastu Ghar; G.—Grannary; D. G.—Dari Ghar; K. G.—Kitchen Garden;
 F. S.—Fuel Shed; T.—Thakurbari; K.—Kitchen; K. L.—Kali; M.—Manasha; S.—Siva; D.—Door;
 W.—Window; M.—Machang; W.—Well. (There is no facing of the outer yard)

side of the place where the door of the hut (mokha) is to be made. A bow and an arrow, some paddy, dub grass, one pair of betel leaves, two green areca nuts in shell and a small mango twig with leaves are wrapped in a piece of new cloth about a cubit long and half a cubit wide and all are tied at the top of this pole (mulipoi). Some rice or paddy and mustard seeds are placed at the bottom of this pole. A few male members of the family should sleep near the structure in that night. If in the next morning all are found undisturbed, the house building should commence. If any of the sleepers dreams that a house is burning, any animal falling into a well, any cow giving birth to a calf, a man has died or if the articles are found disturbed in the morning, the house should not be built there.

There is another method of selection of site. Four bamboo poles are fixed vertically on the four corners of the entire land. A jute string is tied along the top of these poles and is kept stretched. Some rice also is placed at the bottom of each pole. A few persons of the family of the owner of the land should sleep near the land in the night. If the string is found undisturbed in the morning the house building should commence. If the string is found torn, there is 'Khut Karay' that is there is something wrong and the work is abandoned. But if the string is found torn and the rice at the bottom of the poles is undisturbed then another chance is taken on the following night. If there is nothing wrong in the second night, the house may be built.

The idea of keeping some trusted persons near the land at night is to see that no animate being disturbs the site and the structures as only the disturbance from the unseen is to be taken into account.

Plan of a hut (Dzhatii—ଦ୍ଵାଡ଼ି) :

While erecting a hut the villagers adopt the following formula for measurements.

In case of two roofed hut (Bangla ghdr) :—

If the length of the entire room is 16 cubits, the length of the top (tuhi) of the roof should be $16 + 1 = 17$ cubits. The length of the rafter (ua) that is each side of the roof should be $16 \div 3$ cubits. The width of the inside floor should be $16 \div 3 + 1/3(16 \div 3)$ cubits. The length of the floor inside the room should be 14 cubits. In case of a flat roofed hut (dhèpa ghdr) if the length of the room is 16 cubits, the width of the floor should be $16 \div 3 + 1/3(16 \div 3) + 1$ cubits.

In case of a four roofed hut (cowari ghdr) :—

If the length of the entire room is 16 cubits, the length of the front roof at the eaves should be $16 + 2$ cubits. The top of the roof should be $16 \times 1/3$ cubits. The length of the side roof at the eaves should be $16 \times 2/3$ cubits. The rafter should be $16 \times 2/3$ cubits and the width of the floor $16 \times 2/3$ cubits. The length and width of the floor inside the room should be usually two cubits less than the entire covered area of the room.

Fixing the main pole (mulipoi) :

At a suitable site as determined by the plan of the hut and stretching the jute strings on pegs driven into the earth at four corners of the hut (dzhati), the 'mulipoi' is fixed. A hole (Khoni) is dug and the earth piled near the hole. Into this hole one pair of betel leaves, one pair of green areca and a little paddy are placed. Five friends hold a clean and strong bamboo pole (mulipoi) and lower it into the hole. The owner of the hut at first pushes some earth into the hole with his head. This he does five times. Then he draws the rest of the earth with his hands, puts it into the hole and the earth is rammed hard so that the 'mulipoi' stands erect firmly on the land. Then all present are fed with flattened rice and curd (dohu chura) served on plantain leaves. After feeding the soiled leaves are collected and thrown away at a distance by the owner of the hut himself. If the leaves are eaten by cows or licked by the dogs the luck is good. If kites, vultures, ravens or goats fall upon the leaves it forestalls bad luck.

The owner with three or four friends sleeps in the area that night. The night meal is cooked there. If after eating there is a little surplus in the cooking pot the luck is good but if all the food is eaten away the sign is not favourable as the man living there shall not be able to save any money.

A Rajbansi house :

After taking above the precautions the Rajbansi builds his house. A Rajbansi house has two parts. An outer portion with huts and yard and an inner fenced portion with separate huts and yard. The outer yard is called 'Kholat, Kholto, Khuli, Bahir agina or Chondar' and is used for business, sitting, gossiping, receiving guests, threshing corn and for such other purposes. The inner yard is called 'Bhitar agina, agina or eghina'. The inner portion of the house is the real living part with sleeping rooms, cook sheds etc.

The outer portion of the house consists of :—

1. A Dari ghdr (ଦାରି ଘର) :—This is the most important hut of a Rajbansi house. It is the parlour, guest room, meeting place and business room. It is therefore, the biggest hut in the house. Formerly such huts had four sloped roof. At present huts having two sloped roof are more common probably due to economic hardship. A well-to-do 'jotedar' builds such a hut with corrugated iron roof supported on wooden structures but without any conventional ceiling of wooden planks or bamboo mat. It is curious that none of the Rajbansis consider it necessary to erect a ceiling to cover the inner side of the roof to prevent radiation of heat.

An ordinary cultivator's Darighdr is a thatched hut about 45' long, about 24' wide and the height at the eaves

is about 7' off the floor. The floor is of solid mud about 2' high from the ground. There is usually a narrow varanda or 'cali' about 3' wide running along the whole length of the front side. This varanda is an integral part of the main hut. In smaller types of huts this varanda is usually absent. The Darighör is erected on the outer yard usually facing east, sometimes south according to the direction of the wind and at a little distance from the inner apartments. The roof is made of thatching grass (*Kusa, poa Cynosuroides*) or paddy straw about 4" thick secured in position inside a casing of bamboo slips and tied with jute strings to the bamboo strips of the roof casing. The roof trellis on each slope is made outside on the ground with a number of bamboos of requisite length tied between bamboo slivers with jute strings. It is then raised and fixed on the ridge poles and stringers, the rafters and purlins supporting the roof casing. Bundles of thatching grass are then arranged lengthwise and tied to the bamboo strips with jute string. Thatching is begun at the eaves and carried upwards to the ridge pole. The projecting straw at the eaves is cut away leaving a plain surface. This roof is water proof for about three years. Only the top requires renewal of thatch every year. Where the eaves are 6' high, the top is usually 18'. On account of the acute slant of the roof the rain water cannot soak through the thatch. The rain-fall in this terrain of North Bengal varies from 70" to 150" inches per year and sometimes goes up to 200 inches. The eaves project 2½ ft. off the walls. In places of high winds and frequent storms the eaves project up to 4' off the walls when entry into the room is not possible without stooping the body. Thatching is generally done by a class of people called 'Chökörbönda'.

The posts, stringers and purlins of a straw hut are all made of bamboo. The posts require renewal every five years but the stringers, rafters and purlins are practically everlasting. The walls (tati) are made of bamboo mats called 'Catai'. Sometimes areca tree trunks are split into two or four or crushed and are placed vertically and tied with jute string forming the wall. Sometimes dried reeds (nol ghash) or long grass (bena ghash) are placed vertically and secured in position by strips of bamboo placed horizontally on both sides of the wall and tied with jute string at regular intervals. Such walls are smeared with a mixture of sticky earth and cow dung for protection against rains. The walls are smeared every year in the winter. Wooden doors are few and far between. The door is usually an opening on one side of the greatest length of the front wall. It is about 6' x 3' lined on two sides by bamboo poles and upper and lower sides with split bamboo. Darighör has two such doors. The front door is on one side of the front wall about 6' from one corner and the back door on the back wall about 6' from the opposite corner of the back wall. The door cover (dzhap) is made of bamboo mat encased within a bamboo frame. The door latch (gōt-গোত) is a piece of a bamboo either hanging by means of a rope along the inner side of the door or a separate piece of bamboo kept leaning against the wall to be used when required. A jute string loop is attached and tightly fixed to the bamboo crosses of the door cover frame on the inner side near the middle. The bamboo latch is passed through the loop and fixed against the bamboo poles on the two sides of the door. Thus the door is closed.

There are no wooden windows. A part of the front wall on one side of the door and a portion of the side wall is stripped off the matting leaving the bamboo frame with openings. This is the window. It is usually 1'-1½' wide and 3' long. This serves the purpose of ventilation and of admission of light into the room. There is no window in the back wall. The window is closed with a bamboo mat cover encased in a bamboo frame. It is opened or closed by means of bamboo sticks pushing the cover up while opening and releasing the stick while closing when the cover falls down on the wall by its own weight or in the more advanced houses the cover is fixed on its upper side to a bamboo pole that slides through a bamboo tube. By this means the window cover may be pushed to one side to open the window and may be drawn back to close the opening.

The floor is made of beaten earth and the plinth is usually about 2' high from the level of the court-yard, sometimes it is as high as 4'. Both the floor and the plinth are smeared with a mixture of sticky earth and cow dung. This keeps the earth of the floor and the plinth in position and gives them a neat and clean appearance. This smearing is done once or twice a week. The Rajbansis keep their houses very clean and it is their habit.

On one side of the room preferably on the side where the bigger window has been cut out of the wall, a bamboo shelf (machang, cangra) about 6' wide and 9' long is fixed on bamboo poles at a height of 3' from the floor. Generally the 'machang' is erected in the space between the front door and one side wall of the room so that it is not visible from outside. The 'machang' is made of clean strips of bamboo or crushed and flattened trunks of areca trees placed sideways and secured in position with jute strings. The 'machang' is used for sleeping, sitting and gossiping.

The open space of the room on the other side of the 'machang' is used for storing jute or dried tobacco leaves where they are grown. In tobacco area mature green tobacco leaves are kept hanging from the inner bamboo casing of the roof for the purpose of curing (*Dok kōra-দোক কোর*). The dried jute fibres are made into bundles and stored on a bamboo

Hooker, 1854. *Himalayan Journal*, p. 272—about Jalpaiguri—

'The cottages are remarkable and have a very neat appearance presenting nothing but a low white washed platform of clay and an enormous high, narrow, black and neatly thatched roof, so arched along the ridge that its eaves nearly touch the ground at each gable and looking at a distance like a gigantic round-backed elephant. The walls are neatly platted bamboo; each window (of which there are two) is crossed by slips of bamboos. They have besides shutters of wattle that open upwards projecting during the day like the port hatches of a ship and let down at night. Within, the rooms are airy and clean; one end contains the machangs (bedsteads), the other some raised clay benches.'

(Note :- Clay benches are not found now-a-days).

It for this purpose on one end of the open space of the room. In some houses a bamboo mat is placed on the floor where jute fibres are stored there.

Recently well-to-do persons keep one or two crude armchairs, tables and benches made of wood, in the open space of the room.

The Darighor of a share cropper (adhiar) or of a poor peasant is a two roofed thatched hut about 10 cubits \times 6 cubits (9') in size with one door. The walls are made of thicker bamboo strips woven in the form of an ordinary fencing (sar). There is only one 'machang' for sitting or sleeping. Such a hut has no varenda.

Cattle byre :—It is a meagre thatched hut (gohali) with earthen floor about one foot high. It is built at a fair distance from the dwelling rooms. The walls are made of split bamboo. The size of the hut depends upon the number of cattle. If the owner has buffaloes also, the cows and buffaloes are kept separately by partitioning the cow-shed. The calves are kept in a separate enclosure inside the room. It is called Khopra (ਖੌਪੜਾ). A bamboo fencing running along the entire width of the room serves the purpose of a partition.

This hut is kept scrupulously clean and it is the duty of the women of the house. It is usually built on the western side of the outer yard with a two sloped roof.

Paddy straw is given to the cattle either inside the shed or sometimes outside. Uncut straw is given as dry food. Sometimes the straw is cut into small pieces, mixed with salt and water and served to the cattle in an earthen basin in the open yard. The basin (pohonai—ਪੋਹਨਾਈ) is generally encased in a bamboo net-work (Topa—ਟੋਪਾ or Kabu—ਕਾਬੂ) and placed about 1½ ft. above the ground so that the animals can eat or drink while standing.

At some villages the writer saw that a tree trunk was scooped out and the basin thus formed was used to keep water and salt or rice gruel and salt for the cattle to drink.

Granary :—A 'jotedar' or a 'mulandar' has a granary in one corner of the outer yard. It is built in the space between the Darighor and the inner apartments and generally facing west. The floor about 2' high is a strong bamboo platform made of half-split or complete bamboos tied sideways. The floor is supported on wooden piles. In majority of houses big tree trunks simply thrown below the floor act as supports. The roof is made of straw. The small granaries are round in shape and bigger ones are rectangular. The diameter of the round granary is about 6' to 8' and the height is nearly as such. The rectangular ones have a floor measuring 30' \times 18' and 9' high above the floor at the eaves. An opening just enough to admit an adult man cut out of the wall close to the roof serves the purpose of the door. The panels of the door cover is generally of wood in this particular case. It is not unusual to see bamboo mat (Catai) door covers in small granaries. Inside the granary the grains are simply deposited on the floor or kept in cylindrical bamboo mat receptacles. A big rectangular granary is called Gola or Matsa (ਗੋਲਾ, ਮਸਾ) and a small round one is called 'murki' (ਮੁਰਕੀ).

Thakuranir ghor, Than or Moura :—On one side of the outer yard a little away from the living rooms two very small huts of 4' \times 3' \times 4' high are seen within a bamboo enclosure. A few flower plants are also found within the enclosure. Usually the huts are erected under the shade of a tree. The northern hut facing south contains the clay image of the goddess Kali. The one placed at right angles to the former is for Monosa Devi (Snake goddess). This is the eastern hut facing west. These deities are much respected and also feared. In some villages another hut is also added. This is the western hut facing east in front of Monosa Devi's hut. This is for Mahadev. But Mahadev is a cosmopolitan deity and is the god of the entire village (Gramdeo) and his hut is generally erected in a bamboo grove just at the outer skirts of the village.

In some villages the writer saw the huts only reserved for the deities but there were no images. The villagers said that the gods and goddesses lived there even in the absence of the clay images. In some villages a heap of earth (pinda—ਪਿੰਡਾ) in the hut represented the deity.

Inner apartments :—

They generally consist of four separate huts on four sides with a courtyard in the middle.

Bastu ghor :—The hut on the northern side facing south is reserved for the family deity. It is called Bastu ghor or Gola ghor. An entire bamboo from the north west corner of a bamboo clump is cut. A piece five cubits long is separated from the middle portion of this bamboo. It is made smooth by stripping off all small branches growing from the nodes. This bamboo is vertically driven into the mud floor on the eastern side of the room. The base of the bamboo is covered with good sticky earth forming a platform of about 2' on all sides and 1' high from the floor level. The whole area is plastered with cow-dung solution. The raised platform thus made forms the seat of the deity (Bastu Thakur).*

Bastu deity :—The bamboo is wrapped in red coloured cloth. This decorated bamboo represents the house-hold deity. It is worshipped with flowers, and leaves of beal tree (Aegle Marmelos) placed on the platform and the deity is formally installed.

* The writer was informed by a respectable Rajbansi that before putting the bamboo representing the Bastu deity a hole is dug out and in it is placed one handful of earth from the inner yard or from the gate of the house of a prostitute. It is a common belief amongst many Hindus that a man entering a prostitute's house leaves all his virtues in the earth of the gate or of the yard. So the earth from these places is holy. After putting some earth collected from the prostitute's house the bamboo is lowered into the hole and the rest of the opening is closed and rammed with ordinary earth.

Everyday the earthen platform is to be plastered with cowdung solution and a lamp (piddim, gècha) is to be lighted there every evening.

Usually no body sleeps in this room. On one side of this room there is a raised platform of split bamboo where paddy for the daily use of the family members and sometimes, jute, tobacco, and potato seeds for sale or for use are stored. This room is sacred and is used on ceremonial or religious occasions. This room has one door and no window. The floor is of mud about 3' high above the ground. It has one or two mud steps or a tree trunk placed horizontally on the ground at the base of the floor serves as a step to enter the room. The wall is of bamboo mat and the roof is of thatch. There is no varenda. The usual floor area is 18' x 12'. Poor cultivators have no separate Bastughòr.

Cooking hut :—The cooking hut (andhòn ghòr-অন্ধন ঘর) is on the southern side of the yard facing north. It is a small hut having a floor area of about 12' x 9'.

Sleeping hut :—The sleeping huts (thakibar ghòr-থাকিবার ঘর) are built on the eastern and western sides of the yard. A poor cultivator has one sleeping hut. The sleeping hut is generally 30' x 18' x 7' high at the eaves. It is a thatched hut with mud floor and bamboo mat walls and has no window.

Thakur bari :—At the north east corner of the inner yard there is a Tulsi plant (Ocymum Sanctum). Usually two plants are grown side by side. One is Radha and another is Krishna. It is a sacred plant of the Rajbansis and in fact of all the Hindus. This special place is called 'Tulsi-Mòrchò or Thakur Bari'. Sometimes this 'Tulsi' is planted on a raised platform of earth. A white flag mounted on a bamboo pole is kept hoisted near the Tulsi plant. A Chita (Plumbago Zeylancia) or a Sòtòmul (Asparagus Racemesus.) or a Niltòk or Kalomegh (Andrograpis Peniculata) is grown near the Tulsi plant as a protection against any evil spirit entering the house.

Ovens : At one side of the inner yard is always found one or two ovens (akhas) dug into the earth with three raised earthen knobs (dzhik) to place a vessel and an opening in front about 6" in diameter dug at an angle to push fuel into the hole of the oven. These ovens are used to boil paddy for daily use, cloth for cleaning, for frying paddy to make 'Khoi' or for frying rice to make 'Muri' and for such other works. Daily cooking of food is not done on these ovens. Removable small ovens of sticky earth are also made and kept in each house. These are used during the rains and in severe winter when working in the open becomes difficult. In well-to-do families there is a separate hut for this purpose. This hut is called (khola bhadzi ghòr — খোলা ভাজি ঘর).

Inner fencing :—Although the Rajbansi women do not observe purdah, the inner yard is fenced off from the public view.

Latrine :—There is no latrine in a Rajbansi house in the villages. In fact latrines are not built in the villages of North Bengal. The males ease themselves in the fields and the women in the nearby small jungle or in the areca or bamboo grove adjoining the house. Now-a-days advanced people are building latrines but due to want of sweepers in the villages these are being abandoned. The latrines if any, are built near a drain or at the edge of a jungle where natural scavenging is done by animals.

Well :—A well is called 'Cua' (চুয়া) by the village people of North Bengal and also by the Rajbansis. A mud well is dug outside the living premises or on one side of the outer yard of a house. Ring wells are now coming into existence. Earthen ring is locally manufactured. It is 2' in diameter and 1'-1½' high. The thickness of the ring rarely exceeds one inch. It is made of sticky earth, sun dried and burnt till the colour is deep yellow or red. Each well requires 20-30 such rings according to the depth at which water is available. The rings are set from the bottom of the well upto 12" above the ground level. The cost of such ring well varies from 60-100 rupees. But most of the wells of the villages are 'kuccha' that is the well is dug into the earth and is left without any other support. The sub-soil being sandy the site for a 'kuccha' well is generally chosen inside a bamboo cluster where the roots of the bamboo act as support for the earth. The upper side of the well above the ground is protected with a net work of bamboo strips (khorung-খরুং) woven around the well up to a height of about 2½'. The sub-soil water being very near to the surface the wells are not very deep. A depth of ten cubits is generally enough. These shallow wells dry up in the summer and so there is water scarcity.

The District and the Local Boards have sunk many modern type concrete ring wells in the villages and lately a large number of reinforced cement concrete ring wells and iron tube wells are being sunk in the villages by the Government rural water supply department.

The primitive wells having no solid protective wall above the ground receive surface washings during the rains and flood waters pass over them and as such well water is liable to be polluted. But curiously cholera, typhoid and other water borne epidemics are extremely rare, but dysentery is common.

Kitchen garden :—Every Rajbansi house has a small kitchen garden (kbòn bari-খনবাড়ি). It is usually situated outside the living house compound. It is fenced on all sides with bamboo lattice (chegar). Here the Rajbansis cultivate their vegetable food e. g. lafa or nafa sag (লাফা, নাক্ষা শাক) a mucillagenous plant ; chillis (morich, moruch, mocci (মরিচ)-Capsicum Frutescens), potato (alu), garlic (osun, usuni-Allium Sativum), raddish (dhirna, mulai—Raphanus Sativus), brinjal (baigòn, bèngòn-Solanum Indicum), Onions (piaji-Allium cepar) etc.

A gourd creeper (Kodu—কডু) is generally allowed to grow by the wall and climb over the thatched roof of a hut in the

inner yard. It is of two varieties e.g. sweet gourd (viṭ-kumra-Cucurbita Maxima) and white gourd (pani kumra-Cucurbita Hispida-alba). The pumpkin (nau-Lagenaria vulgaris) is allowed to creep over a raised lattice work of bamboo strips (dzangla) laid out on bamboo poles at a height of about 6' off the ground built in one corner of the kitchen garden or in the inner yard of the house or sometimes it is allowed to spread over the thatched roof of a hut. A snake gourd (dudh kusi, dzhinga)—Luffa acutamab or cucumber (khira) is sometimes allowed to creep over a bamboo net work.

A part of the produce a Rajbansi cultivator sells for cash and a part is used for his food. One or two areca nut trees with betel (pan) creeping along the stem are found in many houses. A few short staple cotton (banga) plants in a cultivator's house in the Duars area of Jalpaiguri and part of Cooch-Bihar remind the old age practice of spinning yarn in every house with a spinning wheel (Charka), but none could be found at present. Charka has completely disappeared. Formerly, the writer was told, lighting of the house was done by burning castor oil seeds or its oil expressed in each house. Castor plants (enda—এঁদা) are seen growing even now in the villages. At present mustard oil or mineral oil (kerosene) is used for lighting purposes and castor leaves for medicinal purposes say for fomentations on painful parts of the body.

Refuge heap :—At the back side of the house compound a little away from the living quarters daily collection of cow-dung is thrown and the trash of the house is also thrown there to prepare the compost. This compost heap is called 'Chaner man'—(ছানৈৰ মান, chan-cowdung, man-heap). It is used to manure the jute and the tobacco lands. The surplus, if any, is sold. Sometimes the refuse is thrown directly on a nearby piece of land where jute or tobacco is to be grown, to be converted into compost *in situ*. In some houses shallow pits are dug out for throwing the cowdung and the trash. This pit is called 'khoni'-(খনি). The dust of the house after sweeping the inner yard is heaped around the stem of the gourd or pumpkin creeper and is said to act as manure.

House entrance :—After a new house is built a 'panjiar' is consulted. He fixes an auspicious day for entering the new house. On the day so fixed an 'adhikary' or in the more advanced families a Kamrupi Brahman is called. Several receptacles are made out of the pieces of plantain stem (petioles) called 'Dhona'. The priest sits on a wooden seat (pira) in front of the Tulsi plant (Ocymum Sanctum), places a 'Dhona' in front of him containing some clean water, Tulsi leaves, dub-grass and some flowers. The priest places an empty 'dhona' near the foot of the Tulsi plant and in front of him. Several other 'dhoneas' containing aloa rice (rice from sun dried paddy), ripe plantain, curd, betel leaves and areca nuts are placed on two sides of the priest. He then utters montros, worships the Tulsi plant with flowers and puts one flower on each 'dhona' containing the gifts. The writer was informed that it was really the puja of Visnu or Narayan to save the house and the inmates from the evil spirits. Sometimes goddess Monosha is also worshipped to ward off snakes from entering the house. After the puja the priest takes the 'dhona' in hand and sprinkles the consecrated water in the huts and also on all sides of the house. The house is then purified. A feast is given to the relatives (bhagi sagik) and to the village people. In the evening a Kirtan (Vaisnava song) is arranged. The singers are usually drawn from the village itself or professional singers are called from outside if the owner has the means to pay them which is about Rs. 5/- plus fooding. The song continues till late in the night. There is no other formality. The owner of the house or his wife (gitthani) enters the Bastu Ghdr, if there is any, and then to the sleeping hut and gradually into all other huts. The house is now open to all other members of the family.

A poor 'adhiar' simply salutes the Tulsi plant with the members of the family and enters the house. There is no other function.

Living conditions.

Males :—A Rajbansi cultivator leads a very simple life. With the advent of new civilisation living conditions are becoming more complex amongst the monied and the educated class. A common Rajbansi male cultivator is happy with his loin cloth (nangti) keeping the buttocks fully exposed and a thick short strip of the loin cloth hangs in front upto one and one and a half foot from the waist. The body is always bare, there is no head-dress and he moves about bare-footed. During the rains and in winter months he puts on wooden clogs (khdrbm) and warps a thin cotton cloth (gilap) round his bare body. Many years ago the 'gilap' was made of coarse silk (endi or eri) from cocoons reared, spun and woven in simple charka and loom in his house. A trace of the old habit is found in Kumargram area of Alipurduar bordering on Assam. He uses an umbrella which he buys from the market. Poor classes use a 'mathal'. It is a round structure about 24 inches diameter made of fine bamboo strips holding two layers of dried bamboo leaves within the network. Its central portion is slightly raised making a depression on the inner side to accommodate the head like a shola hat of the Europeans. This is water-proof for one year. This protects the head but not the body. In the western side of the river Tista e. g. in Rajganj and Siliguri this mathal is long. It covers the head and the whole of the back. It is called Dzghapi—(ডুগপি). When he goes to the market or to the town he puts on a full cloth and a simple shirt of any colour or make. Sometimes the cloth is dirty and the shirt is clean and sometimes *vice versa*. He does not bother about the decency of the colour match. He has one pair of shoes which is reserved for going to the town or for wearing on ceremonial occasions. It is not unusual to find limping villagers moving on the streets of the town on account of blisters appearing on the unaccustomed feet. The more advanced Rajbansis put on shoes easily and walk about without any trouble.

A Rajbansi male bathes every day in all seasons. He bathes in his loin cloth. After bath he removes the wet one and puts on another dry loin cloth. During the change he never becomes nude. Hair oil, always musturd oil, he uses but on economic

grounds he cannot afford to use it every day. He must smear his hair with oil when he goes out to a market or to the town. This he does after bathing and not before he takes his bath. Soap is not used in an ordinary cultivator's house. Musturd cake (Khoila), unrefined soda (saji mati) or sometimes burnt ashes of the base or stem of a plantain tree (khar or chëka) is used to clean the dirt of the body. After bathing he wrings out some water from the cloth and spreads it on a fence to dry. Cloth is changed every day. He would never be found wearing unwashed cloth for more than one day unless he is seriously ill.

Women :—A Rajbansi woman is happy with her 'phota'¹. This is a coloured cloth of five cubits long and 2½ cubits wide. This she ties just above the breast and it hangs down up to the knees. The two ends of the 'phota' are not sewn together. It is an open cloth. Within the last ten years 'phota' is going out of the market. The village weavers have to close down their business as requisite quantity of yarn is not being available at economic price so as to compete with the mill-made cloth. So the pleasing 'phota' of variegated hue is now being largely replaced by the mill-made sari of any description.

It is not the custom to use a blouse for the body nor a petticoat under the cloth. The arms and hands are bare, the body above the breast remains uncovered and the legs and feet are exposed. A Rajbansi woman never wears shoes. She does not observe purdah and so she has no head cover. This simple Rajbansi woman is generally very healthy and graceful. Her movements are cautious and she never allows herself to be an object of ridicule in the public. She is very clean in her habits. She must bathe every day (gaodhoa) before she takes up to the work of cooking for the family and also after coming back from the privy when she is considered as unclean (chua—ছুয়া). She does not remove her cloth when bathing. After the bath she dries herself lightly with a napkin or more commonly with a portion of the 'phota' or the sari from which water has been wrung out. She drapes a dry sari or 'phota' around her body and allows the wet one to slip off without exposing the body. She then washes the wet cloth, wrings it and spreads it on a fence of the house to dry. Soaps she never uses probably on account of the cost. Instead she cleanses her body with 'khoila, saji mati, khar or chëka'. Due to economic reasons she cannot use musturd oil every day for her hair. This she does after taking bath and not before. Only when she goes out to the house of a relative or to a friend (sagai) or to the market or town she smears her hair plentifully with musturd oil which sometimes trickles down her cheeks.

At present many educated and well-to-do Rajbansi women who come in contact with the town-people have started wearing sari in the conventional fashion of the south Bengali women, some are using blouse and petticoat and also soap and perfumed hair oil. A large number of these women are observing purdah and do not expose themselves to public view.

Sleeping and Sitting :—A simple Rajbansi cultivator has hardly any wooden cot in his house. A fairly rich 'jotedar' has this luxury article. But it is very crude in appearance in the hands of village cabinet-makers. The bamboo or areca stem 'machang' serves the purpose of sleeping. The dry floor of the living room is generally used for the purpose. Straw from the paddy plants is spread on the bamboo 'machang' or on the floor about 4" thick. A jute bed cover (dhokra) is laid on the straw and the bed is made. Cotton pillow is rarely used. Generally a wooden seat (pira) is the pillow (sitan). Mosquito-net is not used although mosquitoes are abundant. A fire is burnt in one corner of the room and the curling smoke from the embers drives out the mosquitoes. Dry cow-dung cakes serve the purpose of fuel and the fire therefore does not last long. In winter months when the cold is severe, dry wood collected from the near-by jungles are burnt and the heat keeps the warmth for a long time. Usually a fire is made in a wide-mouthed earthen pitcher that keeps the fire burning for a long time. This pot is called 'dzaga' (ডাগা). It can be moved from place to place. The body of the person is covered with a 'gilap' and one or two jute 'dhokra' are placed on it to protect against cold at night.

The influence of town life has penetrated into the villages and a few 'jotedars' and rich cultivators are using cotton mattresses, cotton pillows and cotton quilt but usually without any extra cover.

Sleeping of adults and adolescents :—Unmarried aged girls (gabur beti) sleep with the wife of father's elder brother or with the grand-mother or with any elderly lady of the house in a room separate from the one where their parents or other adult male members sleep. Younger children sleep with the parents. Unmarried aged boys (gabur beta) sleep in a separate room or outside in the Dari ghdr.

Meeting place. For sitting and gossiping, bamboo 'Machangs' are the only furnitures. They are erected within the rooms or in the yard under any shady tree of the house. The outer yard for the males and the inner yard for the women. The poor people generally sit on the 'pira' (পিরী)—a wooden seat without legs, mohora-(মোহরা)—it is a bamboo made cylinder having the sitting end closed with jute lacing (S. C. B—mora-(মোড়া), birua-(বিরুয়া, a low seat made of paddy straw), khara-(খারা, small bamboo made low stool mounted on bamboo made legs), or on the earthen floor. Crude and unvarnished chairs and benches are found in the houses of 'jotedars'. They are mainly used as a seat of honour for government officials or very respectable persons paying a kindly visit. The

¹ Martin, Eastern India (1838), vol. 111, p. 489.

Hooker, Himalayan Journal (1854), p. 273.

Hunter, op. cit—p. 270.

There is a common saying in the villages :—

'hajar takar kucuni tnao bandhe bukuni'—হাজার টাকার কুচুনী তাঁও বান্ধে বুকুনী. A koch woman even if she is rich ties the phota (bukuni) on her breast.

the village Union Board virtually the Mayor of the locality reserves a good wooden or cane chair for the Circle Officer or Divisional District Officer (S. D. O.) or the officer-in-charge of the nearest police station who are considered as V. I. Ps. In months when the cold is severe and cultivation work is less, it is a pleasure to see batches of people wrapping their body with 'lap' sitting around a fire (por-পোরা) made by burning paddy straw, dried cowdung, logs or small tree trunks in the open courtyard or in the Dari-ghor and gossiping till late at night and in the mean-while 'chillim' containing prepared tobacco (finely cut leaf mixed with treacle) is passing from hand to hand to warm up further, each with a sumptuous suck at the narrower end of the 'chillim'. 'Biris' are becoming more popular. Young people sometimes smoke hemp (ganja). This 'ganja' is nothing but Cannabis Sativa which grows wild. This is the only narcotic a Rajbansi indulges in. Alcohol is seldom taken by Rajbansi and opium is never a habit. In fact a Rajbansi is neither alcoholic nor opium eater.

A bad habit of the Rajbansis of the villages is that they have no scruple to spit inside the room and also on all sides of the room where they sit or sleep. The educated and modernised Rajbansis have abandoned such habit.

Cleaning of clothing : Every cultivator prepares the 'khar' (alkali) in his own house. It is the duty of the women to collect the 'khar' and to clean the clothing.

The wood ash of the oven or the ash of the dried root and stem of the plantain tree is heaped daily in one corner of the courtyard. Coal is not used in the villages. A little water is sprinkled over the ash so that it may not be blown away by the wind. It is collected for one week and by this time a good quantity is accumulated. A bamboo basket (dhaki) is taken, some dry straw or an old cloth is spread at the bottom and the collected ash is heaped on the straw or the cloth in the basket. A wide-mouthed earthen pitcher or a big earthen basin (gamla) or the 'Chum' for paddy husking is placed under the bamboo basket. Some water is slowly poured on the ash. This ash is now called 'pithani' (পিঠানি). Every woman passing by pours some water on the ash. The soluble matter is filtered through the straw or the cloth and a clear reddish solution accumulates in the vessel underneath. This filtration is allowed to go on for two days. Then the solution is taken away and dirty things are boiled in it. The boiled articles (dho-dhoa-ধো-ধো) are then washed thoroughly in well water or in a pond or in river water if any happens to be near the house. The clothes are forcibly dashed on a wooden platform and not beaten with a hard stick. They say that cleaning with 'khar' is much better than cleaning with soap and the life of the cloth is longer by frequent washing. Modern civilisation has made many women indolent. So in some houses garments are boiled in saji-mati solution. It is bought from the market. Professional washermen are seldom found in the villages. Ironing of washed clothing is unknown in the villages as the villagers do not know the art.

Cleaning of utensils : Bell-metal or brass utensils of daily use are cleaned every day. They are rubbed with wood ash and washed clean with water. The non-ferrous cooking pots are sometimes rubbed with dry sand and straw to remove all black soot and then washed clean. After drying, the outer side is given a light coating (neoani-নোয়ানি) of sticky earth (citkali mati-চিটকালি মাটি). This saves the metal and prolongs the life. Such cleaning is done twice a week. The iron pan (korai) and the earthen pots are cleaned by rubbing with straw and then washed with water. It is done twice a week. The inner side of such pots are cleaned every day.

Daily life.

Duties of men — Daily life centres mainly round the problem of daily bread.

A Rajbansi adult male cultivator is up from bed before the sun rises. He rubs his teeth with a small twig of Bag-bhendā (বাগভেড়া) which grows in abundance around his garden fence and goes to a distant field to ease himself. Bag-bhendā juice is soapy and is said to be good for teeth. If it is not available some wood ash from the oven is used as tooth powder. He rinses his mouth and washes his face, hands and feet with cold water drawn by himself from the well. He prepares one 'chillim' of tobacco and sets fire to it by pushing into it burning paddy straw from a 'bhuti'. 'Bhuti' is a thick and long rope made of paddy straw which is kept slowly burning all day and night and used for lighting a 'biri' or prepared tobacco in a 'chillim'. He smokes tobacco on a bukka for some time. He then goes to the cattle shed, brings out a pair of bullocks or cows, the iron pointed wooden plough and other tilling implements and goes to the field for ploughing. When the sun rises a little high say by 8—9 A. M. he comes back home, gives food and drink to the tired animals and himself sits down for rest. After resting a while he eats either the rice cooked in the previous night (khokora-bhat or pontha) * with salt and onion or tea with flattened curries or puffed rice (muri) and treacle (gur). Tea habit is very common in the Duars area of Jalpaiguri and the Terai of Darjeeling — the places where tea is grown. In the southern section of the districts and in many places of Cooch-Bihar cold water is taken instead of tea. It is not the custom of the Rajbansi Hindus to have the food carried to the field.¹ A Rajbansi cultivator will never touch any food until he washes himself clean after his field work.

* Khokora bhat—cooked rice kept over night without addition of water to it. Pontha bhat—cooked rice kept over night with addition of water.

1. It is only in the transplanting of paddy season that the mid-day meal is carried to the field when the cultivators have hardly any time to come back. It is done in July-August for about twenty days.

Soon after finishing his morning meal and a smoke on the *bukka* he goes out again with his plough and cattle. He works as long as he can bear the heat of the sun. He comes back, feeds his animals, takes some rest meanwhile indulging in another smoke of tobacco and goes to bathe in a nearby pond or river or takes his bath by drawing water from the well of the house by means of a metal bucket tied to a long rope of jute. He washes and bathes his cattle once a week. He takes his usual mid-day meal of rice and vegetable curry, sometimes fish curry, if he can catch some or buy. He can afford meat only once or twice a month. Goat's meat is usually taken. He again smokes tobacco, rests or sleeps for an hour or two. By about four o'clock when the heat of the sun abates (*bela bhati*) he again goes out with his plough and cattle and works till evening. He comes back, feeds his cattle and ties them in the cattle byre and keeps aside the plough etc. to their places, generally by the side of the cattle shed, sometimes within the shed, ploughing implements are rarely stolen even if they are kept outside. He washes himself clean and in hot days bathes again. He smokes tobacco for sometime and then eats some 'tsura' or 'muri' with or without tea. He throws 'tsura' or 'muri' in a bowlful of liquid tea and eats. It is not the practice to dip the 'tsura' in water for sometimes to soften as is done in South Bengal. He takes it raw and hard. He says that it keeps down hunger for a pretty long time. A little salt added to the 'tsura' makes a delicacy. In one village the writer was entertained with hard salted 'tsura' and tea. The cultivator then goes about gossiping and singing. Generally the 'adhiars' collect in the outer yard or in the Dari-ghdr of their land-lord (*giri*) and talk together while indulging in smoke all the time. One line of a song of an 'adhiar' is interesting. It is this.—

'Bera herani dia suk duker katha kohinu hðe'

'বেরা হেরানি দিয়া সুক দুকের কথা কোহিনু হðে'

Leaning against a fence I speak about my own luck.

✓ A Rajbansi cultivator becomes fit for cultivation work (*halua*) when he is about ten years old. He then goes out in the field for ploughing with the elders. ✓

Harvesting of paddy.—When paddy is ripe both men and women cultivators engage themselves in harvesting. The grains with the stalks are cut with a sickle leaving about one foot of the stump (*nara*—নারা) with the earth. The cuttings are collected into small heaps and left in the field for one to three days. Then they are made into small bundles and carried from the field and piled (*pundzi deoa*) in the yard specially set apart for the purpose (*kholan*). It may be somewhere in the field or in the outer yard of the cultivator or in the outer yard of the land-lord if the cultivator is a share cropper. After some days a little of the cuttings are thinly spread over the earth and the grains are separated from the stalk by making two or four cows walk over the spread in a circle (*dai*—ডাই) several times. The grains are not separated by beating with a stick. The straw is removed by hand, the separated paddy grains are then placed on winnowing fans (*kula*) and thinly spread on the ground and then fanned with the 'kula' (*huk deoa*—হুক দেওয়া) whereby the dusts are blown away by the wind created by the movement of the fan and the paddy is cleaned. The paddy is not cleaned by allowing the paddy to fall from the winnowing fan to the ground. Gradually the entire heap is worked out. Both men and women do this work. The separated and clean paddy is stored in the granary and the straw is kept in the open in a tightly packed heap mounted on a bamboo platform with a long pole of bamboo passing right through. The straw heap (*poaler pundzi*) is cone shaped. Its base rests on a platform of bamboo and the top ends in a point. This saves the straw from being soaked and putrified in the rains. This is reserved as a cattle fodder. A part of it is used for fuel and for making or repairing the roof of the huts. The writer saw in Baro-Haldibaree, Cooch-Bihar, a roof being thatched with paddy straw only.

Harvesting of jute.—When the jute plants are mature that is when flowering begins, the men cut the stems leaving one to two inches of the stem (*murha*—মুর্হা) with the root in the field. The upper cut portions are made into bundles and left in the field for about four days. By this time most of the leaves fall out in the field. These bundles are called 'dhap' (দাপ). The stems which are now nearly free of leaves are made into bundles of three or four feet in circumference and tied with the jute bark. The bundles are transferred to a pond and steeped in water for about two weeks for retting (*cak* or *dzak*—চাক, ডাক) when the bark is fermented loosening the fibres from the stem. The pond is generally excavated at the highest point of a cultivator's land so that the water in which the jute is steeped may flow over to the paddy land below in the rains. This water is said to be a sort of liquid manure. When it is not possible to excavate a pond in the paddy land, the bundles are carried to a nearby tank or to a stream and left in the water with turfs and clod of earth (*cokori*—চাকোরি) or plantain stems placed on the bundles as weight to keep them under water. The bundles are tied to a bamboo pole fixed on the bank to prevent them from being carried away by the current. After the retting is over the bundles are transferred to a fresh water pond or stream and washed. The bark is taken out, washed clean and spread in the open on horizontal pieces of bamboo erected on bamboo poles (*tar*—টার), about five feet above the ground. The jute when dry is stored on the 'machang' in the Dari-ghdr. The fibres from one bundle containing about fifty stems is also called 'tar' (টার), four such 'tars' form a 'necha' (নেচা) Ten 'nechas' make a 'dhop' (দাপ) and two 'dhops' make one maund of jute. The stems of the jute plant after the bark is extracted is allowed to dry and then stored in one corner of the outer yard or in the fuel shed if the cultivator has any. The stems look milky white and are called 'sinja' or 'sindza' (সিন্জা). They are used as fuel, for fencing and also for roofing of temporary

sheds. The jute work being a hard job is done by the men. If the cultivator is an 'adhiar' the jute is prepared and stored in the way as his land-lord directs.

Duties of women.—A Rajbansi woman of a village is up from bed before day-break. She washes her face with cold water, cleans her teeth by rubbing powdered wood ash from the oven or a piece of wood charcoal (angra-অংরা) is taken from the oven, crushed between the teeth and rubbed with the index finger. She then rinses her mouth with cold water and washes her hands and feet. She may or may not at the same time go to the nearby jungle to ease herself. This she does when nature calls. She takes a broom (badini-বাদিনি) and sweeps the house, the varenda and the courtyard. She also fetches water from the well for cooking and drinking. She then puts some paddy in an earthen pitcher and pours enough water on it and places the pitcher on the oven dug out on one side of the inner yard. She sets fire to some dry leaves and then a few dry cow-dung cakes are pushed into the oven and when the fire is on, introduces some dry logs through the side hole and allows the paddy to boil. Then she takes a bundle of jute (nethani-নেথানি), dips it in cow-dug emulsion (ghol-ঘোল) and plasters the floor of the kitchen and if necessary repairs the floor, plinth and walls of the huts if there be any crack in them. If any small plant grows on the mud floor she pulls it out and repairs the part with sticky earth and cow-dung emulsion. Other rooms are plastered once a week. She then goes to take her bath. After bathing she smears the ground of the Thakur-bari with a fresh 'nethani' and a little cowdung emulsion and salutes the plant by bending on knees and touching the forehead on the earth in front of the plant (bhakti dibe). She would never smear the Thakurbari until she is pure after bathing. This she observes also when smearing the Bastu-ghôr. She then washes herself clean and prepares the food for the men (halua) and in the meantime takes off the pitcher of boiling paddy from the oven, upturns the pitcher over a bamboo basket to drain off the water. She then spreads (athari-আথারি) the paddy on the earth to dry. The children also get up by this time, wash themselves clean and get ready for the morning meal. After the men have returned from the field they and the children are served with food. Rice cooked in the previous night is the main article of food. 'Tsura or muri' with salt or treacle and tea are sometimes served. The women also take the stale rice (khokra bhat or pontha) if anything is left after the men have eaten otherwise 'Tsura and muri' are taken. When the men have gone out for ploughing for the second time the women have some leisure and they enjoy a smoke of tobacco or biri. The children also smoke in presence of their parents. It is not considered an insult to elders if the youngsters smoke in their presence. It is an age old custom. After the pleasant morning puff she again moves the boiled paddy on the yard with her legs for quick drying. Now she takes the wooden mortar and pestle (chumgain), puts some boiled and dried paddy of previous day in the hole of the wooden mortar and with the help of the other women of the house starts striking the paddy with the pestle to separate the husk from the grain and extract clean rice (dhan bhukae). The separated paddy is winnowed (pachura-পাচুরা) to blow out the chaff. The rice with its red cover (pericarp) intact is then cooked for food. Freshly prepared rice is cooked in a cultivator's house and it is said to be nutritious and tasteful.

'Tsura' is also made by the women. The paddy is steeped in cold water for twentyfour hours and then lightly warmed in a metal or earthen pan. The water is drained off and the paddy is kept in a basket to cool. The cold paddy is again slightly warmed in a pot and pressed in a mortar (chumgain) with very hard strokes while hot. This flattens the rice in the husk and also removes the husk. 'Muri' (Usha muri) is prepared from paddy which after boiling is kept immersed in hot water for one to two days. The paddy is dried in the sun and clean rice is extracted. This rice is lightly heated in a pan with a little water and salt (ghôsa para-ঘোষাপারা) and is then transferred to another earthen pan where some sand is being heated. The salted rice is put on the heated sand and vigorously shaken with a small bamboo-made broom (cello-চেলো). The rice swells up in the form of 'muri' with a cracking sound. The 'muri' is immediately taken out of the hot sand with the broom. The 'muri' does not keep crisp for more than one day if it is not kept air tight in a perfectly dry vessel. 'Aloa muri' is also prepared when the paddy is not boiled in water. It is immersed in water and kept exposed to the sun to be heated. It is a laborious process. These works are generally done in the afternoon.

The adult males are served with food at noon. In the summer and in the rains the food is eaten inside the cooking room. In the winter they eat sitting in the open courtyard in the sun. The boys also sit with the male members for eating. The women eat after the males have finished their meal. The adult women never take food in presence of the adult males. The female children take food with their mothers. The adult daughters never sit with their father for eating.

After the mid-day meal the women wash the utensils. They are cleaned by rubbing with burnt ash from the oven or with sand and then washed with cold water. The women keep their vessels very clean and tidy. They sweep the place where food was taken, with a broom and a little cow-dung emulsion.

The women then chew the 'pan gua' and sometimes enjoy a smoke and take some rest but not a siesta. They then go out to collect dry logs for fuel and also sticky earth for plastering. They are always busy.

(There is no bar for a Rajbansi widow to eat fish, chew pan gua and smoke tobacco. They are not tabooed.)

In the after-noon (bela bhati) flattened or puffed rice with tea or cold water are served to the men and to the children if they feel hungry.

In the evening the women prepare food for the night meal. The night meal is taken soon after the sun-set. The poor cultivators cannot afford the expense of burning oil up to late at night.

(The women never till the land with the plough. But they help the men to weed the jute, paddy or tobacco land, to prepare and sow paddy seeds for nursery of winter paddy (aman dhan), to transplant aman seedlings in the fields (oa-gara) and help cutting the paddy plants when the paddy is ripe. The women also look after the kitchen garden, the cattle byre and remove the refuse to the dung heap. They go to the weekly market to sell the produce and to make purchases. They also go to nearby jungle to collect dry logs, make cow-dung cakes and expose them to the sun to dry and collect clean jute stems from the jute washing field to store them as fuel. In fact a Rajbansi woman is the main worker and a great asset to the family.

Duties of children.—The children have their tasks too. The boys, as soon as they are old enough (halua), herd the cattle and the goats if there be any, help tilling the land and run errands for their parents. The girls assist their mothers in all household works. The children remain under the care of their parents till they grow old enough to look after themselves. At present education is spreading fast in this country. Many of the children are now being sent to the nearest primary school to have a taste of literacy. Which their fathers had no chance to have previously.

Duties of elders.—The elders, when they cannot work the plough, look after the work of the youngsters and give them instructions. They generally form the Panchayet and sit on judgment of the affairs of the village. They are respected and their advice is followed. They are the leaders and organisers of community worship, songs and feeding.

Well-to-do class.—A landlord owning twenty acres of land or more does not usually plough the land himself but supervises the cultivation work. He is the head of the village and adviser in all matters. His Darighor is the village court and he is the head of the Panchayet of the village. He is called the 'Deunia' (ଦୈନିଆ). His duty is to receive any important person visiting the village.

The woman of this class does not usually go to the weekly market (haṭ-ṛṇṇ) although she does not observe purdah. She is free to move about but rarely speaks to an unknown visitor nor approaches him. But she does all household works herself. Cooks are not engaged to prepare food. It is the duty of the woman to cook and serve the food.

Life in winter months. In the winter months when the rush of cultivation work is on the wane, the cultivators enjoy some rest. It is only the tobacco and mustard sowing season. All the cultivators are not interested in it. A male cultivator gets up a little late in the morning, finishes his morning-washings, wraps a cotton 'gilap', (usually a do-suti chuddar) round his body, puts on a pair of wooden clogs (khòròm) but still in his loin cloth sits on a 'pira' and basks in the sun for a long time while smoking on the 'hukka.' He then repairs the fencings and roofs of the huts, looks after the cattle and sometimes do a little bit of gardening. He may go out to plough the field to allow the falling dews to be absorbed into earth. This they say, cools the earth and the dew carries some manure from the sky and gives it to the earth (os khawa). This ploughing is for the 'aus' paddy the seeds of which are to be broad-cast in Choitra (March-April). The threshing work if anything left, is done.

This is the time when songs and dances are arranged. A big singing or open air competition collectively called 'Dham' or 'Jatra' is held. One batch starts a play and as soon as it is finished another batch starts afresh and thus the play continues endlessly for three to four days, sometimes up to one week. The males take up the female dress and play the part of the females. Women never sing or dance in the public in the presence of the male members of the society although they sit and enjoy along with the men.

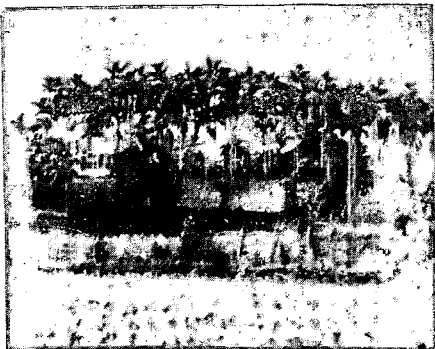
A pandal with bamboo poles and a roof made of jute sticks is erected which is called 'Chori' (ଛରି). A raised earthen platform of about one foot high and sixteen feet square is erected in the middle of the auditorium. This is the stage. Before starting the song all the players after dressing sit on this stage. The concert is started with 'dhol', 'kartal', 'khanjani' and now-a-days with harmonium. The players stand on each side of the square in turn facing the hearers and salute them by kneeling and touching the earth with the forehead. Then they touch the musical instruments by hand and salute them. After all have taken their seat the leader of the party the 'Hadi' (ହାଡ଼ି) gets up and starts a song as a prelude in which modern social, economical and political problems are introduced. In such a song in December 1958 where the writer was present, the Government was severely criticised on account of the food ration policy. This they do as a sort of a joke. The parties come from distant places and bear their own cost of transport and fooding and never become a burden on those who arranged for the songs. The organisers only bear the expenses for erecting the pandal and arranging the lights. The play usually begins at nine o'clock at night after the day's work and continues till the break of the day. Every speech is repeated in the songs with dances following. All the players sit in a circle in the middle of the stage leaving some space on all sides where the actors, singers and dancers do their part. The players do not go out of the stage. They sit amongst other players as soon as their play is over. The dancers also dance in the outer space with sudden about turns. One party takes over the stage as soon as the other party finishes. Such play goes on for about a fortnight, sometimes a month. The prize for the best performance is declared by a committee formed by the organisers. The prize is not money nor medals nor cups. Some male goats are given away as prize. The winners kill the goats and eat the meat with rice in great merriment. No wine, no intoxicants are taken at the time of such revelry.

This is the season when 'Garam' pujas are held. It is worshipping the village Deity (to be described hereafter). This is the community puja where the whole village takes part for the welfare of the villagers. This is invoking the blessings of Mahadev or Mahakal, Mahakali or Kali and Monosha Devi to drive out the evil spirits and to bestow good health and good crop to the village. Every 'puja' in South Bengal begins with the puja of 'Ganesh' but the Rajbansis begin with the puja of 'Monosha'.

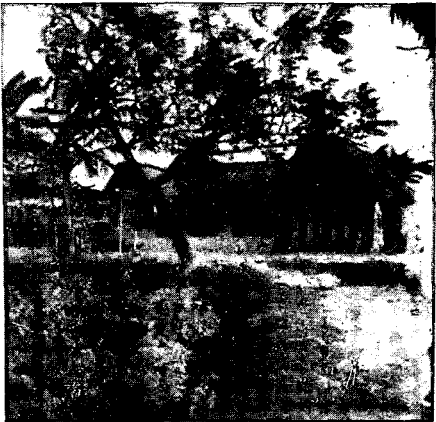
Plate III
HOUSE OF RAJBANSI



Rajbansi Village



House of a Rajbansi Landlord



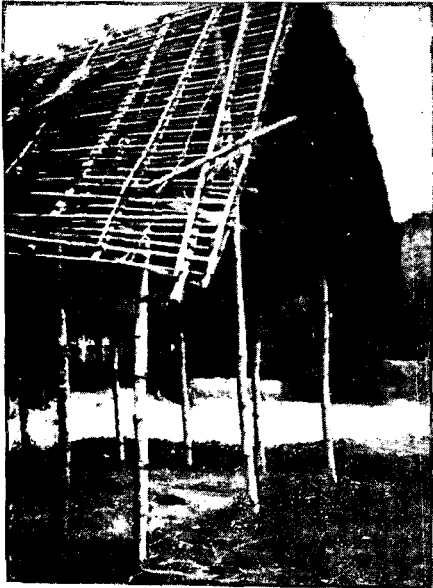
A Complete House



A Hut



A Well in a bamboo grove. Mouth of the well protected with round bamboo lathice wall.



Roof in Making



Roof Frame

- | | |
|----------|----------|
| 1. Bata | 3. Sarak |
| 2. Teori | 4. Rua |

Plate IV RAJBANSIS



Villegers



Villegers



A Cultivator in loin Cloth



A woman out for fuel collection



A woman with her collection



A woman with her child



Paddy Threshing



Paddy Husker



Straw Sellers

(The women go out to the houses of their relatives and enjoy a feast (sodor khoa). Then even go to distant markets to make purchases, to enjoy the congregation and to meet friends.)

In fact, this is the period of leisure which the Rajbansis fully enjoy.

Dhan bhukar gan (paddy husking song)

(1)

শ শ শ
তিল নারু খা
তিল হোল গটা
নোখালিয়ার হোল বাটা
মোর হোল নাতি
কাম করিবার হাতি।

Sò Sò Sò
tila naru kha
til hol gòṭa
nokhaliar hol bèṭa
mor hol nati
kam koribar hati.

(2)

শ্যাও শ্যাও শ্যাও
ধানত ভুকি দ্যাও
দুয়ারের আগত ভইস
ধান বাধর হাইল
ষত্কে ভাতার নড়ে চড়ে
তত্কে ধান ভুকি পরে।

Sèò Sèò Sèò
dhanot bhuki dèò
duarer agot bhois
dhan bakhòr hoil
ḍḍòṭke bhatar nòre ṭḍòre
tòt-ke dhan bhuki pòre.

Parts of a house

Huts :—

1. Ghòr (ঘর) - hut, house.
2. Dhèpcala ghòr (ঢাপ চালা ঘর) - hut with flat roof.
3. Cokha ghòr (চোখা ঘর) - hut with conical roof.
4. Dari ghòr (ডারি ঘর) - Out house.
5. Baṭ ghòr (বাট ঘর) - Guest room.
6. Goali, Gohali (গোয়ালী ; গোহালী) - cow shed, cattle byre.
7. Gola, Matsa, Murki (গোলা, মাচা, মুরকি) - Granary.
8. Devi ghòr (দেবী ঘর) - hut for the deities.
9. Thakibar ghòr (থাকিবার ঘর) - sleeping hut. (thaka—to lie down, to sleep)
10. Andhòn ghòr (আন্ধন ঘর) - kitchen, cooking hut.
11. Haisal ; Angsal (হাইসাল ; আংশাল) - portion of the kitchen reserved for cooking.
12. Bastu ghòr (বাস্তু ঘর) - hut for the family deity.

Open space :—

Agina (আগিনা) - court yard.
Chòndar, kholat, khòlto, bahir egina, khuli (ছন্দার , খোলাত ; খলতো ; বাহির এগিনা ; খুলি) - Outer yard.
Bhitor egina, egina (ভিতোর এগিনা ; এগিনা) - inner yard. ('egina' usually means inner yard)
Thakur bari (ঠাকুর বাড়ি) - part of the inner yard where Tulsi is planted.
Kainṭha Khuli, Kaincha Khuli, Khuksi, Kainṭa (কাইন্ঠা খুলি, কাইন্ছা খুলি, খুক্সি, কাইন্টা) - the lane between two huts : the space behind a hut where washings and sweepings are thrown.
Dzhal-kasi (জাল-কাসি) - The space behind and below the eaves of a hut where water falls from the roof.
Dzòlsa-bari (জলসা-বাড়ি) - the place where washings from the well accumulate.
Ṭsua (চুয়া) - well.

Type of a hut :—

Bangla ghòr (বাংলা ঘর) - hut with two sloped roof.
Cowari ghòr (চৌয়ারি ঘর) - hut with four sloped roof.

Nokhalia — Cow-boy.

Bakhòr — Husked.

Husking is done in three stages :—

- 1st - ek bakhòr — Contains a lot of unhusked paddy. It is winnowed. The unhusked paddy is again put into 'cham' (mortar).
- 2nd - do bakhòr—The remaining paddy is husked and winnowed and the rice looks red. The rice is again put into 'cham' and husked.
- 3rd - Kara — The rice becomes white.

Note :— 'C' or 'ṭṣ', 'j' or 'ḍṣ' have been used according as, they are pronounced. Such as 'Cokha ghòr' is not pronounced as 'ṭṣoka ghòr'.

Parts of a roof :—

Chitkòñ, Pindzira (ছিটকন, পিঞ্জিরা) - a complete bamboo frame of a roof.

Batti, Bata (বাতি, বাতা) - fine and clean bamboo lattis making the roof frame.

Phatṭa (ফাট্টা) - unclean bamboo lattis.

Tēoal, Teori (তেঁওাল, তেওরি) - fine bamboo slips placed vertically interlacing and binding the broader bamboo slips (bata) placed horizontally to make lattis of the roof frame tight. Used in place of jute strings.

Rua, Ua (রুয়া, উয়া) - Rafter. Bamboo poles supporting the roof frame. They are placed vertically on the inner side of the frame as a part of it. (S. C. - Kāic—কাইচ)

Saròk (সরক) - slips of bamboo placed on the lower side of the Rua to fix it to the roof frame with jute strings.

The roof :—

Cali, Cal (চালি, চাল) - a complete roof.

Basua-cal (বাসুয়া চাল) - when the widest end of the bamboo forming the rafter is placed near the eaves of the roof.

Poduka cal (পোদুকা চাল) - when the widest end of the bamboo rafter is placed near the top end of the roof.

Olthia, Chanca (ওলথিয়া, ছান্চা) - eaves of a roof.

Dzhalkāthi (জ্বালকাঁথি) - the part of the roof at the eaves.

Thorpokia, Pokhia (থোরপোকিয়া, পোখিয়া) - the part of the projecting roof at the eaves. The part of the front roof is called 'Thor' and the part of the side roof is called 'Pokhia' or 'Pokhria'.

Tar (টার) - horizontally placed bamboo to support the projecting roof at the eaves.

Panibata (পানিবাতা) - the last bamboo lattis supporting the projecting portion of the roof at the eaves.

Bara cal, Bara cali (বারা চাল ; বারা চালি) - (1) the portion of the roof above the varenda if it is a separate piece.

(2) The smaller roofs on two sides of a cowari ghor. This is also called 'Bari cal' (বারি চাল).

Bbro cal (বড়ো চাল ; বরো চাল) - the two main front and back roofs of a hut.

Andari (আন্দারি) - pieces of bamboo mat or tightly packed straw placed between the roof frame and the thatching grass to prevent leakage of water through the roof.

Andari mara (আন্দারি মারা) - setting the bamboo mat or tight straw in the roof frame.

Phurfuri, Phorfori (ফুরফুরি ; ফোরফোরি) - the tips of projecting straw after thatching the roof.

Frame work of a hut :

Poi (পোই) - vertical bamboo post of a hut.

Muli poi (মুলি পোই) - vertical bamboo posts driven into the earth from the floor to the roof at the longest ends of a Bangla ghor to give extra support to the roof. It is fixed to the wall inside the room (main post).

Mokha poi (মোখা পোই) - vertical bamboo poles on two sides of the front door.

Kon poi (কোণ পোই) - Corner post.

Dhoka (ঢোকা) - props on two sides of a two sloped hut. They are set at an angle from outside. (S.C.B.-payala - প্যালা).

Sor, Dhorna (সর, ধরনা) - supporting parallel bamboo poles running overhead across the floor from the top of one vertical post to the other. They are generally set in the notch at the top of the vertical poles. (S.C.B.-dāph - ডাঁফ)

Tir (তির) - small vertical bamboo posts above the Sor to support the roof of a four roofed hut.

Marole (মারোল), Maroal (মারোয়াল) - post plates of bamboo running horizontally over the vertical posts of the wall frame (S.C.B.-paier - পাইর).

Còk (চক) - complete frame of Marole of a cowari hut.

Caṭi, Ṭaṭi (চাটি, টাটি) - bamboo made wall.

Candoari, Canderi, Candari (চান্দোয়ারি, চান্দেদি, চান্দারি) - triangular piece of wall at the gable ends placed above the Ṭaṭi (wall) of a two roofed hut.

Thatching of a roof :-

Thatching starts from the eaves. The first part of the thatched roof is called Thorpokia. Then the first layer of straw is laid in vertical lines and fixed with the roof frame by placing horizontal bamboo slips over the straw and tying with jute string. Another set of bundles of straw is placed just above the bamboo slip so fixed and these bundles are tied to the roof frame by placing another bamboo slip over them and tying as before. The distance of the roof between any two of the horizontal slips of bamboo is called Pahi (পাহি). One side of a roof of a standard house has 8-10 Pahi. Generally the distance or width of a Pahi is about one foot.

Thatching is also done with Nara (নারা) which is the paddy clump left in the field after the paddy crop is cut away.

There is a common saying of the Chkòrbòndh (roof maker) :-

'Phorforia puri geise tao ghorot ogun na nage'

ফোরফোরিয়া পুড়ি গেইসে তাও গরত ওগুন না নাগে

The projecting straw has been burnt away still the hut does not catch fire.

Calka (চালকা), Mokha (মোখা) - the portion of the wall above the front door.

Candra, Canra (চান্দ্রা, চান্দ্ৰা) - the entire portion of the wall above the door. (general name)

('c' is sometimes pronounced as 'ts')

Doors and windows :

Duar (দুয়ার) - Bamboo made door.

Dordza (দরজা) - Wooden door.

Dzhap (বাপ) - bamboo made door cover.

Koar (কোয়ার) - bamboo mat sliding door or bamboo made window cover.

Dzanla (জাংলা) - a cut out window of the wall.

Khirki (খিরকি) - wooden window.

Palla (পালা) - wooden door or window cover.

Floor :

Madzhia (মাঝিয়া) - earthen floor of a hut.

Tsali, Dhap (চালি, ধাপ) - varenda, porch.

Dhari (ধারি) - the exposed part of the earthen plinth. (S.C.B. Doa-ডোয়া).

Contents on the floor :

Khara, Tsangra, Matsa (খারা, চাংরা, মাচা) - bamboo made platform built on bamboo poles for sitting or sleeping.

Khat (খাট) - bamboo made bedstead.

Chowki (চৌকি) - wooden bedstead.

Tsaka (ঢাকা) - earthen shelf for keeping household goods. (S. C. B. - Tak). This is not used in Jalpaiguri. It is usually found in Rangpur.

Hindzila (হিন্জিলা) - A bamboo or jute string suspended horizontally in a room for keeping clothing etc.

Household articles

The Rajbansis use the following articles in their household.

(arranged alphabetically as far as possible)

1. Ayna (আয়না) - Looking glass.
2. Akha (আখা) - Oven.
3. Barun (বারুণ) - Broom made of reeds.
4. Bādni, Badini (বাঁদনি, বাড়িনি) - Broom made of bamboo twigs or dried stems of jute plant.
5. Bichani (বিছানি) - a cotton bed-sheet.
6. Bida (বিদা) - small bamboo made broom for hair dressing of women.
7. Khōrra barun (খরুরা বারুণ) - broom made of finely fabricated bamboo sticks.
8. Boṭi dao (বোটি দাও) - a big knife vertically fixed on a wooden stand for cutting vegetables or fish.
9. Bauni, Couṭo (বাউনি, চৌটো) - A pair of tongs to take a hot vessel off the fire. It is made of iron or brass.
10. Chani (ছানি) - a bamboo made seive for cleaning the grains from dust.
11. Chela (ছেলা) - a round tray-like winnowing fan.
12. Tselo, Chelo (চেলো, ছেলো) - a bamboo-made small broom for stirring paddy at the time of frying.
13. Chipa (ছিপা) - a bamboo-made broom for making puffed paddy (khai).
14. Larōn, Tsello (লারোন, চেলো) - a bamboo-made broom for making puffed rice (muri).
15. Tsiruni, Kakoi (চিরুনি, কাকোই) - a comb.
16. Chama, Shama, Shamo (ছামা, শামা, শামো) - an iron ring fixed to the lower end of the pestle (pounding handle) of a mortar to prevent it from cracking.
17. Chum, Uron (ছাম, উরোন) - a wooden mortar for pounding or removing the chaff from the grain. It is scooped out of a tree trunk constricted in the middle on the outer side. The bottom is plain and the upper side forms a cup of about 2' in diameter and 1½ feet deep.
18. Tsōrka (চরকা) - a spinning wheel where a spindle of iron or bamboo is attached by means of a cotton or jute string belting stretched between the wooden wheel on one side and the spindle on another. The wheel is rotated by hand with a wooden handle and the belting rotates the spindle. It is now seldom found in the villages.
19. Tsukai (চুকাই) - a very small earthen pitcher of ¼ th. pound liquid capacity.
20. Dala (ডালা) - a round bamboo mat plate for keeping 'pan-gua'.
21. Deli (ডেলি) - a big bamboo mat cylinder for keeping paddy. Capacity varying from two to forty maunds.
22. Diari, Pidim, Gēcha (ডিয়ারি, পিদিম, গাছা) - an earthen lamp.
23. Dhokra, Dhakra (ধোকা, ঢাকা) - a jute sheet used as a body cover in winter and also as a bed sheet.
24. Dhaki (ঢাকি) - a bamboo basket for keeping paddy, rice or vegetables. Capacity - 15 seers of paddy.
25. Dhama (ধামা) - a cane basket for keeping rice or paddy. Capacity - 20 seers of paddy.

26. Deg, Dëg (ডেগ, ড্যাগ) - brass cooking pot with wide mouth. Capacity - five seers to one maund.
27. Dhera (ধেরা) - bamboo made spindle notched near the sharp upper end with a weight at the bottom. It is used for making jute strings.
28. Dhara Tsatai (ধারা. চাটাই) - bamboo matting for sleeping or for sunning the grains or for making walls of huts.
29. Dol (ডোল) - same as Deli.
30. Doon, Don (দুন, দোন) - cane or bamboo mat basket for measuring paddy. Capacity varies from eight to fifteen seers according to local measurements.
31. Dzik (ডিক্) - mud props on the top of the oven.
32. Dzatha, Katari (জাঠা, কাটারি) - a folding knife with wooden handle.
33. Dzhap (ডাপ) - a cotton quilt, a body cover, door cover.
34. Dzaola (জাওলা) - a long jute bag having opening on two sides forming two bags that hang on two sides of a beast of burden or on the shoulder of a carrier for removing merchandise.
35. Dzharòn (ড়ারওন) - Broom (general).
36. Dzhalòng (ড়ালং) - a twill bed sheet made of cotton, (do-suti).
37. Dzòk (ড়ক্) - a bamboo stand for keeping utensils. One end of a bamboo pole is driven into the earth, the other end is split into fine strips and kept apart with bamboo slips to form a trough.
38. Gacha, Gècha, Gecha (গাছা, গ্যাছা, গেছা) - a wooden lamp stand. (S.C.B. —Pilsuj).
39. Gain (গাইন) - a wooden pestle three to four feet long, constricted near the centre used for pounding or husking grains.
40. Gelash (গেলাস) - a metal cylinder for drinking liquid, capacity $\frac{1}{2}$ seer.
41. Ghaṭa Thekra, Ghaṭini (ঘাটা, থেকরা, ঘাটিনি) - a bamboo ladle for turning grains while being pounded in 'Chum Gain'.
42. Ghoṭi (ঘোটি) - a brass pitcher for keeping liquids.
43. Hata (হাতা) - an iron or brass ladle.
44. Hamo-dista, Pankuṭa (হামো-দিষ্টা, পানকুটা) - small iron or brass mortar for making a paste of 'pan-gua'.
45. Kerkhi (কেরখি) - a bamboo or iron cylinder and an iron rod sharp at one end for making a paste of 'pan-gua'.
46. Kapa (কাপা) - a scraf worn round the neck and the waist forming a big pocket in front of the abdomen to keep tit-bits.
47. Kantai (কান্তাই) - an iron pan for boiling or frying food.
48. Kache, Godzi (কাছে, গোজি) - a coloured cloth $1\frac{1}{2}$ yds \times $\frac{3}{4}$ yds. worn by little girls.
49. Kachari, Tsengari, Khaca (কাছারি, চেন্গারি, খাচা) - a nearly flat bamboo basket (almost a plate) for carrying goods. It is generally suspended from a horizontal bamboo pole (bankua) with jute strings.
50. Khantra (খানত্রা) - The hard neck of a broken earthen pitcher used as utensils stand.
51. Kaṭha (কাঠা) - a cane basket for measuring rice. Capacity—one to five seers of rice. Generally $2\frac{1}{2}$ seers capacity.
52. Kerka (কেরকা) - a wooden machine for ginning cotton. Now almost extinct.
53. Kula (কুলা) - a winnowing fan.
54. Khoshla, Khosla (খোসলা, খসলা) - a mattress made with the straw from paddy plant.
55. Khunti (খুন্তি) - a flat ladle of iron for cooking.
56. Khonta (খন্টা) - a flat piece of iron sharp at the flat end and attached to a bamboo pole, used for digging earth.
57. Khutsi (খুচি) - a small bamboo basket. Capacity $\frac{1}{2}$ a seer of rice.
58. Kolsi, Ghara (কোলসি, ঘারা) - an earthen or metal pitcher.
59. Khora, Maloi (খোরা, মালোই) - a small metal cup (baṭi)
60. Mekhri, Orna (মেখরি, ওর্না) - a fine scarf $2\frac{1}{2}$ yds. \times $1\frac{1}{2}$ yds. worn by women on ceremonial occasions or when going out to markets.
61. Mekhli (মেখলি) - an ornamented scarf or mat made of cotton or jute yarn. It was manufactured in Mekliganj of Cooch Behar. It is now rarely found.
- *62. Nakri, Nakari, Nakhiri (নাকরি, নাকারি, নাকিরি) - a bamboo made ladle or cross with a long handle for cooking curry.
63. Nangti, Dhar, Paḍzol (নাংটি, ধার, পাড়জল) - a loin cloth worn by male cultivators. It is usually $1\frac{1}{2}$ yds. \times $\frac{1}{2}$ yd. It is called Pajol in Teral (Darjeeling)
64. Natsuni (নাটুনি) - a bundle of jute for cleaning kitchen and cooking utensils.
65. Nethani (নেথানি) - a bundle of jute or cotton cloth for wiping the floor.
66. Paṭani, Bokuni (পাটানি, বোকুনি) - a coloured cloth $2\frac{1}{2}$ yds. \times $1\frac{1}{2}$ yds. worn by girls. It is tied just above the breast and hangs up to the knees. It is coarser than 'Phota'.
67. Pauli (পাউলি) - a metal water pot.
68. Phauri (ফাউরি) - a wooden semicircular shovel for heaping dried paddy.
69. Pira (পিরা, পিড়া) - a bamboo or wooden flat seat without legs (bāser pira, khuṭar pira)

* Sakghata nakri, dalghata nakri etc.

70. Poila (পোইলা) - a small earthen pitcher.
71. Porsun, Dhakòn, Dheksa (পোরসুন, ঢাকন, ঢেকসা) - a shallow earthen plate about 8" diameter used for covering pitchers.
72. Pati (পাটি) - a mat made of reeds or cane.
73. Sedzari (সেজারি) - a bed made with loose jute. Generally spread on the floor.
74. Sedza (সেজা) - a bed.
75. Shadzi (শাজি) - a bamboo made basket with a hanger for keeping flowers etc.
76. Shòp (শপ) - a reed mat for sitting or sleeping. (finer variety).
77. Shamta (শামটা) - a broom made of bamboo or from the sticks of coconut leaves for cleaning floors and living rooms.
78. Senia (সেনিয়া) - a jute matting placed between the bedstead and the bedding.
79. Sòrta (সোরতা) - a folding metal knife for cutting areca nuts. (S.C.B.—dzanti)
80. Sikia (সিকিয়া) - a triangular frame of bamboos suspended from the roof with rope or loops of strings for keeping utensils.
81. Sitol pati (সিভোল পাটি) - a cane mat usually 6' × 3' for sitting or sleeping.
82. Sitan (সিতান) - a pillow. Usually a wooden pillow is used. Cotton or straw pillow is now used in some houses. Straw is cut into small bits and packed inside a jute bag making a pillow. Sometimes flowers of *kasia* grass are packed in a cotton or jute bag to make a pillow.
83. Sarasi (সারাসী) - pincers of iron or brass.
84. Taku, Takur (টাকু, টাকুর) - a spindle.
85. Tari (তারি) - a very small black bottle of burnt earth for keeping mustard oil for cooking, capacity $\frac{1}{8}$ th of a pound.
86. Torsi, Thala (তোরসি, থালা) - a metal plate for eating food.
87. Toka, Tarka (টোকা, তারকা) - a calabash - a vessel made from dried gourd for storing water.

Fuel :

88. Ghosi (ঘোসি) - dried cow-dung cake.
89. Pathar ghosi (পাথার ঘোসি) - dried cow-dung cake where the dung is collected from the open field.
90. Gòhòra (গহোরা) - cow-dung mixed with paddy husk, made into long sticks and dried in the sun for fuel.
91. Muta (মুটা) - cow-dung thickly smeared round one or two jute sticks and dried in the sun for fuel.

Parts of a bed (sedza) :

Drawing of a bed may be seen in picture plate.

Kinds of Brooms.

Badini, Bida, Khorra, Barun, Tselo, Chelo, Chipa, Laròn, Tsello, Dzharòn, Shamta.

Personal decorations.

Rajbansi men usually do not wear ornaments. Some of them are found wearing a thin silver ring on the right index or little finger.

Rajbansi women use variety of ornaments. Most of them are made of silver. They are usually thick and heavy. Ornaments are women's bank. The surplus money is deposited in the form of ornaments as is the custom with the orientals. With the advent of new civilisation the ornaments have become smaller and thinner. Gold ornaments are now being used by the well-to-do but the general mass use silver probably due to high cost of the gold and the thinner transformation of the old type of ornaments is mostly due to the loss of economic stability.

The ornaments described below are not always worn. Many of them are reserved for ceremonial occasions. A vermilion mark at the parting of front hair or sometimes on the fore-head is found amongst the married women but not on the widow re-married. Use of vermilion is limited to ceremonial occasions. Tattooing marks upon the skin, ornaments for the teeth, tongue and chin are not found amongst the Rajbansis. Amulets or talismen of silver are worn round the neck or arm as a protection against demons or disease.

The following personal ornaments (gahena-গাহেনা) are worn by the Rajbansi women.

For the head.

1. Shitha-pati (শিথা পাটি) - A silver chain with or without pendant fixed on the hair along the middle line where the hair is parted above the fore-head.
2. Shed-bòn (সেদ বন) - A silver helmet.

For the ear.

1. Onti, Enti (ওন্টি, এন্টি) - Plain round earring worn on lower part of the ear.
2. Machia-pat (মাছিয়া পাত) - Earring with pendant (gold or silver) worn on upper ear.

3. Gudzi (গুজি) - small gold or silver flower with a stalk fixed through a hole in the lobe of the ear
4. Shona, Sisa (সোনা, সিসা) - Gold or Silver earing with a chain passing round the ear, a little bigger than 'Onti'.
5. Tsaki (ঢাকি) - Double earings worn in the upper part of the ear, covering the whole of the ear.
6. Makiri (মাকিরি) - earing of gold or silver, ornamented, worn on the lower part of the ear.

(Note :- One should use either 'onti' or 'Shona' 'Sisa' or 'Makiri' at the same time. One should use 'Sithapati' on head and 'tsaki' on the ear at the same time as the chain of 'Sithapati' will be fixed to the 'tsaki' to keep it in position).

For the nose.

Ornaments are worn in the front soft part of the nostril or of the nasal septum which had been pierced when the woman was quite young.

1. Nòth (নথ) - a gold or silver ring worn through the hole in the lower nasal septum.
There are two kinds of 'Nòth' :—
(a). Solia (সোলিয়া)
(b). Dzòltupa (ডলটুপা). It is chained to the ear.
2. Bali (বালি) - same as 'Nòth'.
3. Nolak (নোলক) - a bead suspended from the lower nasal septum.
4. Phul (ফুল) - Gold or silver nose flower.
5. Phur-Phuri (ফুরফুরি) - nose-flower or ring with pendant.

For the neck.

1. Sujjo-har (সূজ্যহার) - A heavy necklace. It is now rarely used on account of the high cost. It costs about Rs. 700/- at the present market value. The weight is about 60 tolas.
2. Tsòndrò-har (চন্দ্রহার) - An ornamented necklace weighing about 40 tolas costing nearly Rs. 400/-. These two types of necklace are worn by the very rich families.
3. Shikli-har (শিকলি হার) - Necklace with silver beads.
4. Kàthi-mala, Chòra-kàthi, Chala-kàthi (কাঠি মালা, ছোরা কাঠি, ছালা কাঠি) - The beads of the necklace are large and round, sometimes rectangular, chained at angles.
5. Modhu mala (মধুমালা) - a necklace with square beads.
6. Boal-kàthi (বোয়াল কাঠি) - a necklace with rectangular beads.
7. Taka-tsara (টাকা চারা) - a necklace with Silver rupees.
8. Sikka-har (সিককা হার) - a necklace with Sikka rupees.
9. Kutjia-mar-har (কুচিয়া-মার-হার) - a necklace with three layers of silver beads.
10. Hasula, Hasuli (হাসুলা, হাসুলী) - a short and thick silver necklace.
11. Poal-mala (পোয়াল মালা) - a red coral necklace.
12. Kàthi-kala-mala (কাঠি-কাল-মালা) - necklace of glass beads.
13. Got (গোট) - necklace made of silver rings.

For finger.

Angti (অংটি) - a silver ring.

For wrist.

1. Goṭa-kharu (গোটা খারু) -
Gokul-kharu (গোকুল খারু)
Moṭa-kharu (মোটা খারু)
Muṭhia-kharu (মুঠিয়া খারু)
} Ornamented silver wristlet worn round the right wrist. Worn by woman with husband alive. A widow may wear Moṭa Kharu on the left wrist and Goṭa Kharu on the right.
2. Muṭha-Kharu, Baoti (মুঠা খারু, বাওটি) - a wristlet $\frac{3}{4}$ "-1" wide.
3. Tsur, Tsurati (চুর, চুরাতি) - Silver bracelet.
4. Ròtòn-cur, Ròtòn-tsur (রতন চুর) - Worn on the back of the palm with chains attached to finger. It nearly covers the dorsum. Used by rich people at the time of marriage.

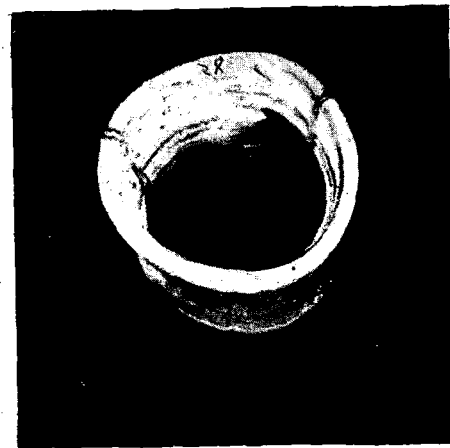
For the hand.

1. Moṭa-kharu (মোটা খারু) - Wide ornamented silver bangle covering almost half of the hand.
2. Sākha-kharu (শাঁখা খারু) - Conch-shell bangles. Worn on the left hand. Twelve bangles are placed one above the other and pasted with gum or lac, covering nearly half of the forearm. It is worn by woman whose husband is living. It is broken off after he is dead and never worn even if she is married again.

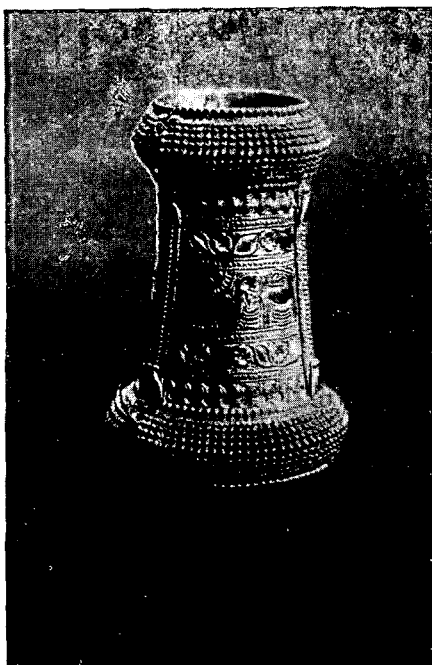
Plate V ORNAMENTS



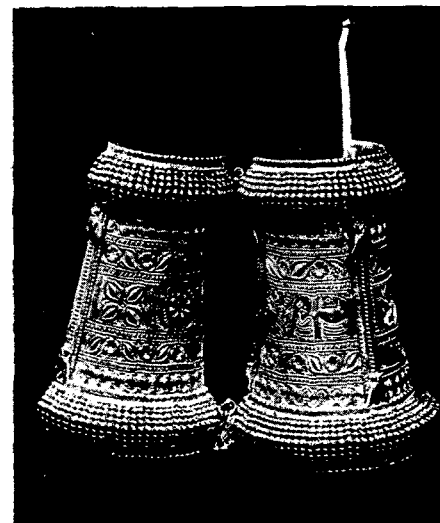
SANKHA KHARU



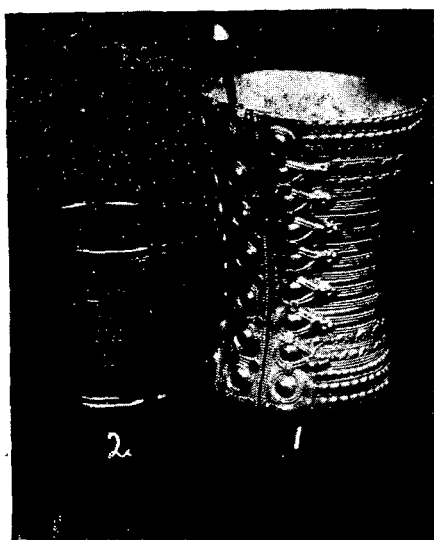
SANKHA KHARU (Inner view)



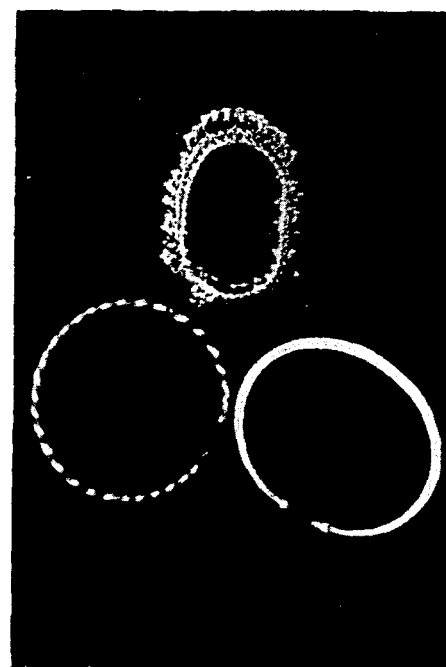
MUTHA KHARU



MUTHA KHARU (Open)



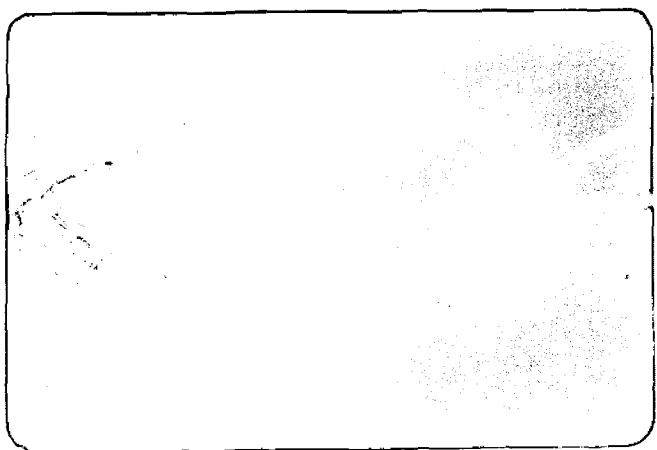
GOTA KHARU



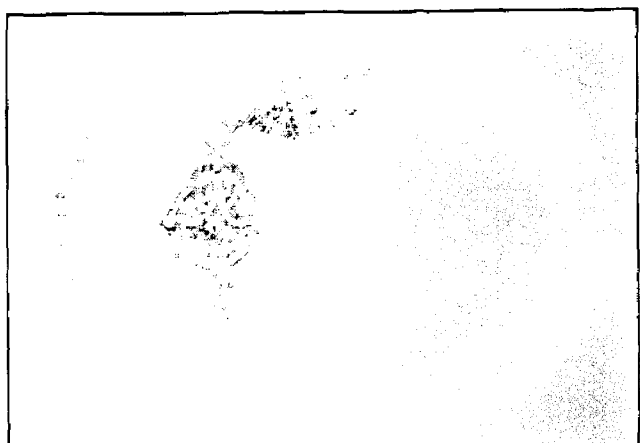
1. THENG KHARU. 2. CHOR KHARU
3. PAR KHARU

Lower right (1); Lower left (2); Upper (3)

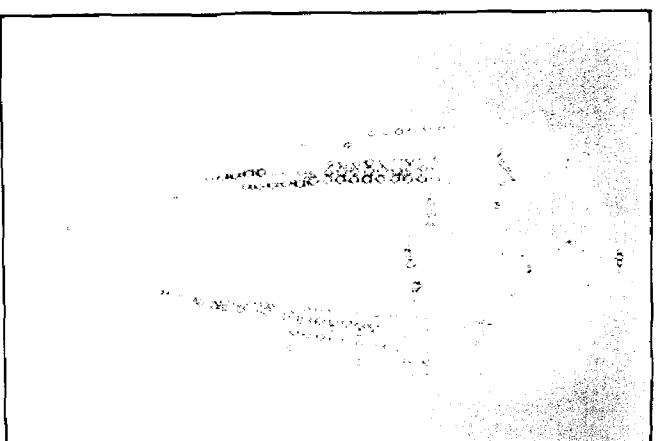
Plate VI ORNAMENTS



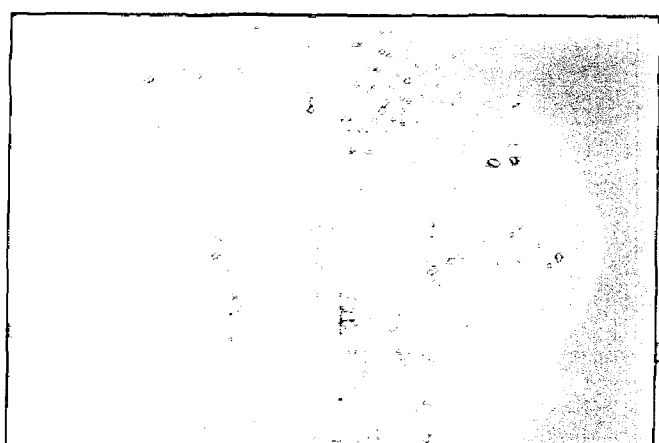
SURJYA HAR



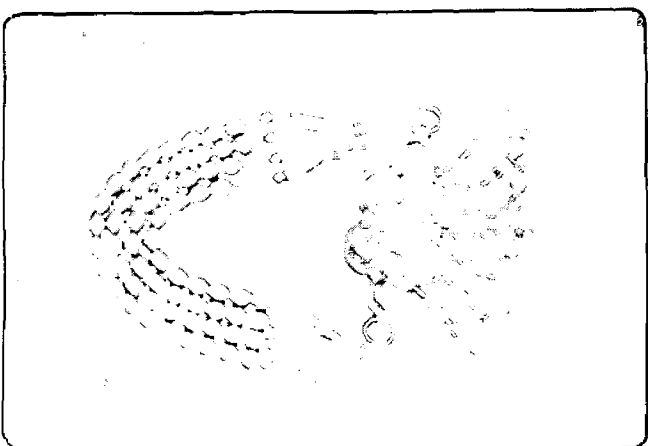
SURJYA HAR (another view)



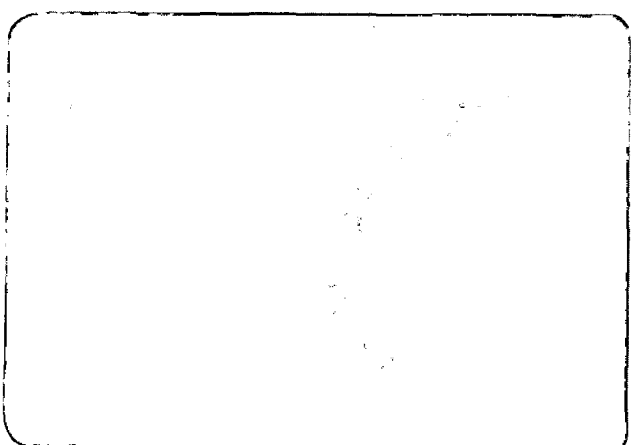
CHANDRA HAR



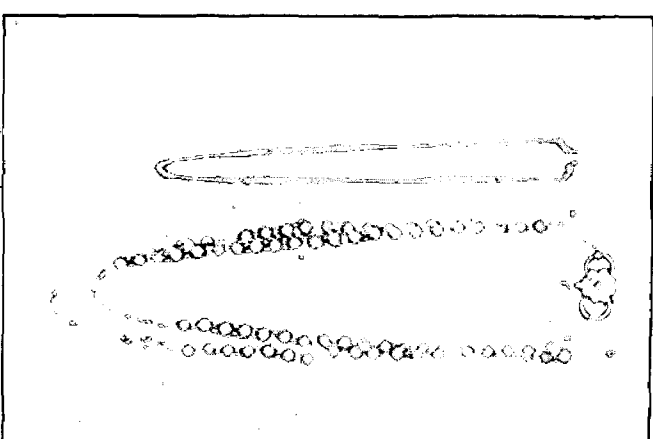
Chandra Har—neck piece enlarged



CHORA KATHI



SIKKA HAR



MODERN NECKLACE

3. Bāhu-Kharu, Gōdzra, Sompandzi (বাঁহ খারু, গজরা, সোমপাঞ্জি) - Ornamented silver bangles 2"-4" wide.
4. Kōnkon (ককন) - It is like mota kharu with pendant. It is very heavy, about 20 tolas in weight.

For the arm.

1. Kata-badzu (কাটা বাজু) - A silver band, $\frac{1}{4}$ " - $\frac{1}{2}$ " wide generally with two and half turns.
2. Tar-badzu (তার বাজু) - A twin ornamented armlet $\frac{1}{2}$ " wide.
3. Bas-patari (বাস-পাতারি) - A thick band 1" wide armlet of silver. Now nearly obsolete.

For the waist.

No ornament is used. It is said that 'Bačar Chanir Komorot Sikoi' (বাসার ছানির কোমরোট সিকোই) - Low class woman has ornament round the waist. Sikoi-chain, ornament.

Now-a-days sometimes Silver ornament round the waist is used in parts of Jalpaiguri and Cooch-Bihar at the time of marriage when Sari is worn. It weighs about 40 tolas. It is called 'got' (গোট)

For the leg.

1. Thèng-kharu (ঠাং-খারু) } - Silver anklet.
2. Bāk-kharu (বাঁক-খারু) }
3. Par-kharu (পার-খারু) - Thick and heavy anklet.
4. Chōr-kharu (চর-খারু) - Plain or twisted silver circles. Two to three on each ankle.
5. Mōl (মল) - Silver rings with six facets ending in knobs.

For the foot.

1. Pāidzo (পাঁইজো) }
2. Pādzor (পাঁজোর) } - Silver lattice work ornament covering the dorsum of the foot and tied with chains to the fingers of the foot.
3. Pandza (পাঞ্জা) }
4. Angti (আংটি) - Silver ring worn round the great toe with a ball or bunch of small balls resting on the exterior aspect of the great finger.

Fishing

Fishing is not only a sport but also a part of economic life of the villagers. It is also a side business of a few of them to earn some more money by selling the catch.

It is a delightful sight to see the burning torches of jute sticks moving by the side of water accumulations, or a drain or a river in the night. Generally two persons form a batch. One holds the torch and starts moving so that the edge of the water is lighted. The other man takes a kata, koka or Dao in his hand to pierce or cut any fish that comes ashore attracted by the light. Thus the march goes on for three to four hours after night-fall. Sometimes big fishes are caught and dragged out.

In the month of March-April-May when the severity of winter is just over and the rivers and ponds dry up considerably batches of young and old men each with a Chapdzal or small fishing nets fall upon the water and ransack a big area by dipping and raising the net to have a catch of small fishes which are at once placed inside the 'kholoi' tied to the waist of each one. This goes on for nearly the whole day starting from about 8 A.M. in the morning.

Small ponds and tanks are found in this season studded with human heads with Dzhoka (ডাকা) in each head, dipping in the water and searching for any fish by thrusting the hand through the cone. This is Dzhoka or Polo (ডাকা, পলো) fishing.

Fishing with traps, large nets and angles are done in the rains when water is plenty and there is every possibility of big fishes coming up.

Traps

Fishing implements

Dharka, Dhōrka, Dōksa (ধাকা, ধরকা, ডক্সা)

A bamboo made cone shaped trap with a bamboo cylinder attached to the other end and placed against running water. Fish entering into it are caught.

Dhoru, Dero, Dīroi, Dhiroi (ধরু, ডেরো, ডিরোই, ধিরোই)

A bamboo made rectangular or round (about 5' long trap) placed into an opening made through an embankment (ali).

N. B. :—Designs and patterns of the ornaments are shown under 'Illustrations'.

When the level of water on two sides of the embankment are different the water passes forcibly through the trap and the swimming small fishes are caught. This opening or the hole is called 'bhul'.

Sometimes the trap is set in the opening of the embankment made by cutting away a part of it. The cut portion of the embankment is called 'Dari or San' (ডারি, সান)

The outer cylinder of a Dhãroi is a net formed by placing fine bamboo slips very close together to allow only water to pass and then tying the slips with jute strings. One end is open through which is pushed a finer bamboo cane with the tapering end near the middle of the outer cylinder. The other end of the outer cylinder is closed with a bamboo seive. The inner trap is called 'Dhari' (ধারি) and the seive that covers the furthest end of the dhiroi is called 'Chenti' (ছেত্তি).

Dheuli, Darki, Dihiri (ধৌলি, দার্কি, দিহিরি)

It is a rectangular bamboo trap having several chambers inside. It is placed against the stream of water. Small fishes are caught.

Thurki, Thorko, Thorka (থুর্কি, থোর্কো, থোর্কা)

It is a bigger 'Dòksa'. It is a cone shaped cage with one end open and a long bamboo pole is attached to the other side. It is dipped in water. If a fish is inside the trap the man holding the pole can feel from above. His assistant then dives into the water and closes the open mouth with a bamboo plate. The trap is then drawn out of water. Big fishes are caught in this way. The handling of this trap is different and only the physically strong man and a good swimmer can do it.

Barung, Darki, Dzan (বারুং, দার্কি, ড়ান)

It is a cage made of fine bamboo strips. It is placed in the opening of an 'ali' (earth embankment) with a bamboo mat spread over it. The water is made to flow over the mat. The water passes out and the fishes are caught on the mat. This bamboo mat is called 'Serki' (সের্কি)

Dzakhoi (ড়াখোই)

It is a bamboo cage with one bamboo pole attached near the bottom and another at the top. There is another long bamboo pole placed horizontally at the top and a loop of thick jute string attached to the middle of the pole. The trap is dipped in shallow water and kept steady by holding the pole with one hand and the cage is drawn by the loop string with the other hand. A fish is forcibly drawn into this cage through a hole at the bottom.

A small Dzakhoi is called 'Khakri', a bigger one is 'Dzakhoi' and a very big one is called 'Hènga' (হ্যাংগা)

Dzòlònga, Dzalanga (ড়োলংগা, ড়ালাংগা)

It is a rectangular shape trap made with fine bamboo slips with a mouth at one end and two cones in the middle. The cones are called 'Dhari' (ধারি). The plate containing the opening at the top is woven like a seive and is called 'Cheni' (ছেঁনি). The trap is placed across a stream of water running into a pond or drain. A fine bamboo made fence (Tsats-চ'চ') is placed across the stream and two Dzòlòngas are placed face to face on two sides of the stream in front of the fence and attached to it. The fish gets the first obstruction on the fence and then runs to this or that side and naturally enters through the mouth of the trap and is caught.

Beki (বেকি)

It is a type of Darki but made into a triangle with two cages bent at an angle. The mouth of the front side is closed with a seive. It is placed across a running water in the opening of an embankment.

Dzhòka, Polo (ড়ঝকা, পলো)

It is a cone shaped trap made of bamboo sticks with an opening at the top just to admit a hand. It is dipped in shallow water with the spreading end about 36" diameter and fixed in the mud below. Any fish coming inside the case is drawn out through the upper hole. The upper opening is called 'Mathera' (মাতেরা)

Fishing Nets*

Chupni dzal, Chap dzal (small) Napi dzal (medium) Dzhàti dzal (big) (ছুপ্‌নি জাল, ছাপ জাল, নাপি জাল, ঝাটি জাল)

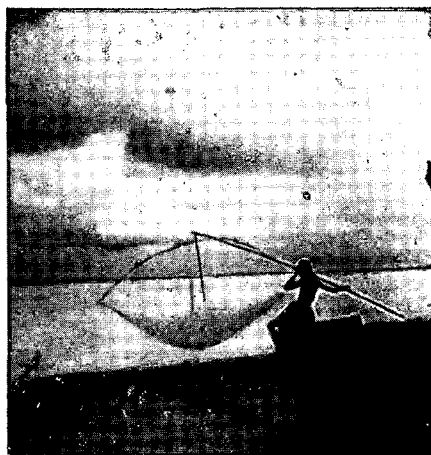
A cotton string or ramie string net of 4' to 6' square fixed to a bamboo cross and tied to a bamboo pole. It is used to catch small fishes in shallow water or dipped from the bank near the edge of rivers.

Bhasani dzal (ভাসানি জাল)

It is a large square net about 8' across tied to a bamboo cross. It is suspended and dipped into shallow water by means of a long bamboo pole tied to the top of the cross at an angle. When the net is lifted out of water the water passes through the net and the fish, if any, is caught.

* Fishing nets are woven with the strings made from the fibres that are extracted by immersing the stems of an indigenous plant Koronga (like Ramie) for about four days in water.

Plate VII FISHING



Fishing in the river Tista (Jalpaiguri) in the rains when the water is deep and current strong.



Winter fishing sport in the river Dharla (Mekligunj, Cooch-Bihar) when the river is nearly dry.

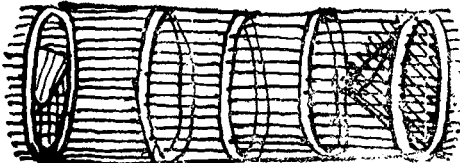
Plate VIII FISHING IMPLEMENTS



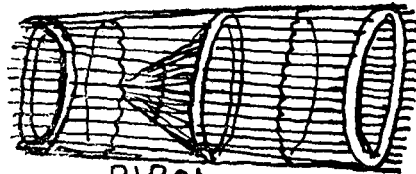
DHARKA DOKSA



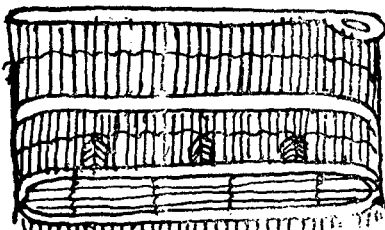
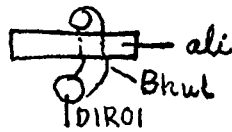
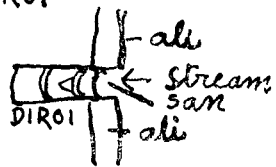
AM DIROI



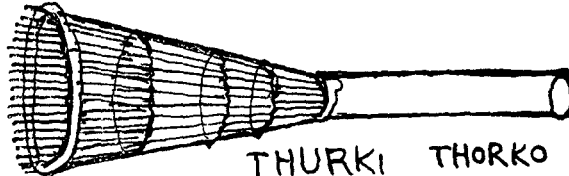
DIROI



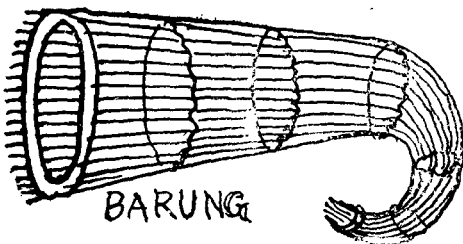
DIROI



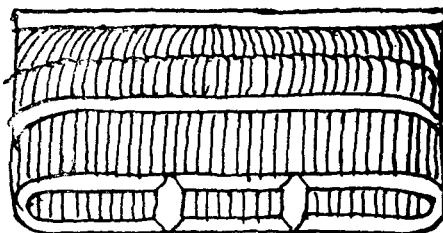
DHEULI



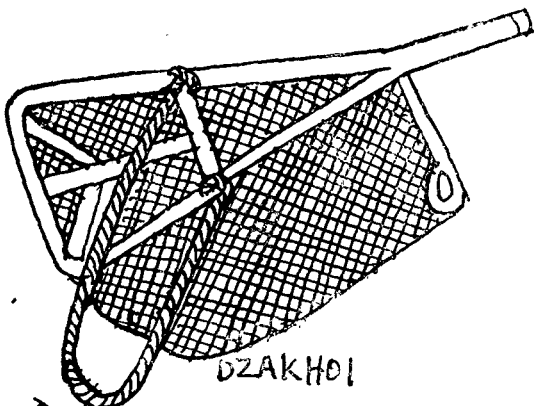
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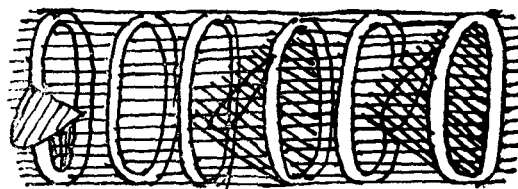
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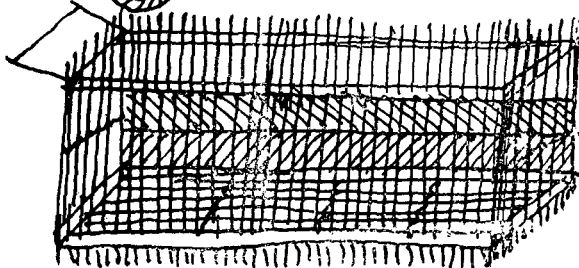
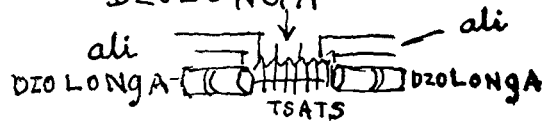
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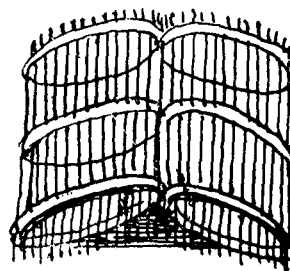
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DARKI



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Plate IX FISHING IMPLEMENTS

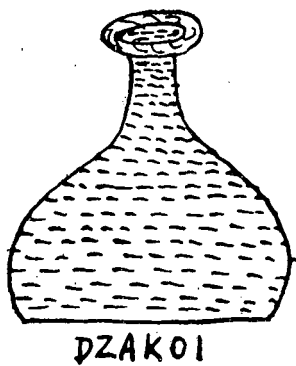
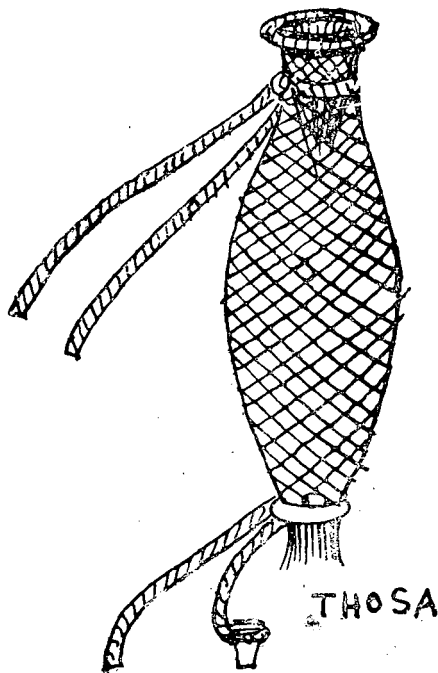
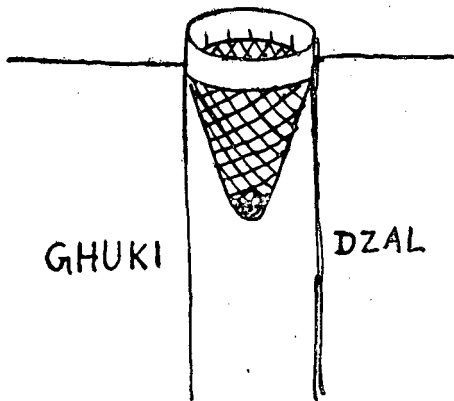
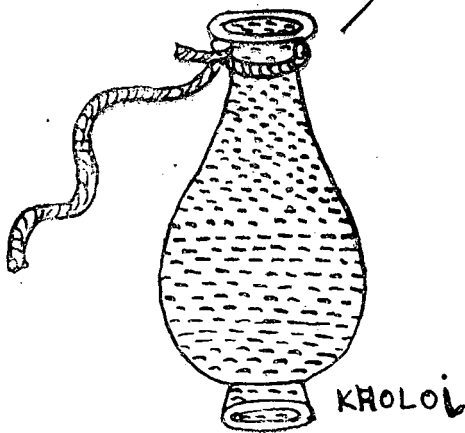
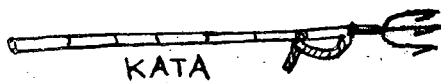
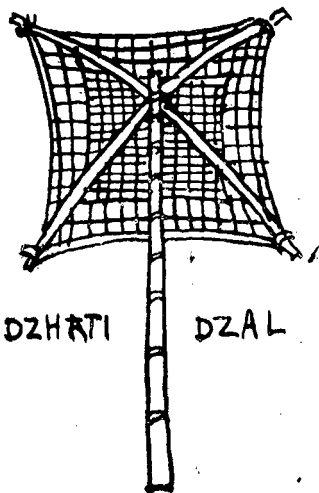
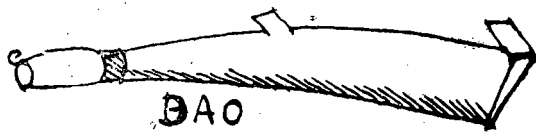
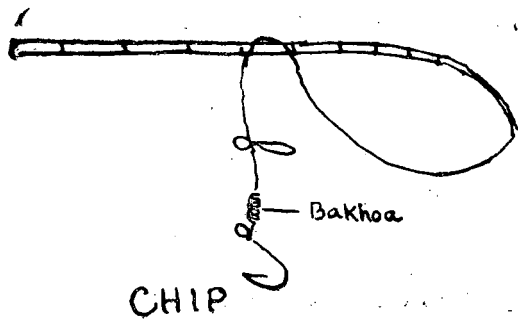
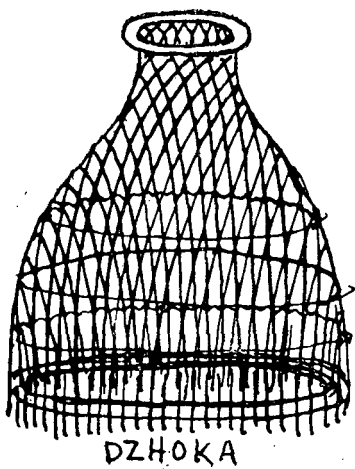
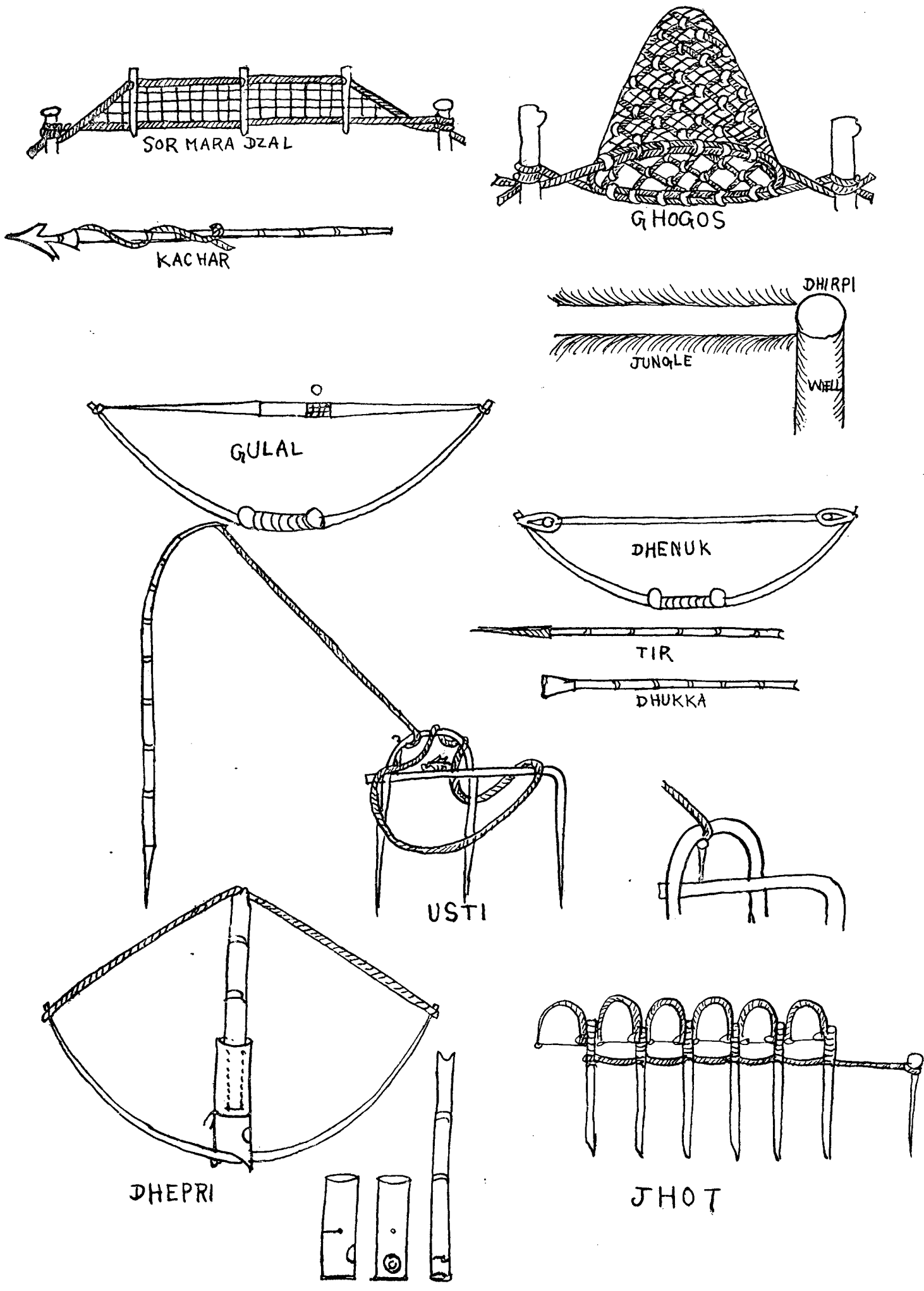


Plate X TRAPS



Bhasani-dzal (ভাসানি জাল) :—

It is a large square net about 8' across tied to a bamboo cross. It is suspended and dipped into shallow water by means of a long bamboo pole tied to the top of the cross at an angle. When the net is lifted out of water it passes through the net and the fish, if any, is caught.

In the south of Cooch-Bihar, in the lower reaches of the river Jaldhaka and Toorsa in Jalpaiguri Duars, Bhasani dzal is a rectangular net stretched with bamboo strips and tied on two sides of a small boat. The boat is allowed to float along the current and fishes are caught in the net.

Chok dzal, Chabi dzal, Bhauri dzal (small size), Boali dzal (medium size), Dora dzal (big size), Angta dzal (very big size) (ছক জাল, ছাবি জাল, ভাউরি জাল, বোরালি জাল, ডোরা জাল, আংটা জাল) :—

A circular net with dippers is thrown into deep water and held with a rope tied to the centre of the circle. When it is drawn out of water and shaken fishes in the net are thrown on the dry land. It is a cast net.

Naga dzal (নাগা জাল) :—

It is a long net stretched across a river or a tank. Fishes are driven towards the net by striking on the water. A large number of fishes are thereby caught in the net.

Duba-bhauri dzal (ডুবা ভাউরি জাল) :—

It is a very big round net with a diameter of about 36'-40'. It is spread on water by some men swimming with it. It gradually sinks and holds fishes in the folds of the margin. A man goes down in water and if any fish is seen in the net it is slightly raised and the fish is caught.

Ghuki dzal (ঘুকি জাল) :—

It is a small round net. It is used to catch fish in a well. The villagers generally sink a shallow well at the bottom of the pond. In December-January when the water of the pond dries up all fishes go into the water of the well. Then this round net is spread about one foot under the surface of the well water and the sides are fixed at intervals with bamboo pegs driven into the earth. A stone is placed at the centre of the net to sink it further. After about two hours fishes in the well come up through the spaces between the pegs and are caught in the net.

Other Implements

Kata (কাতা) :—A spear to hook the fish. It is generally used for night fishing. A burning torch is held near the water. Any fish coming near attracted by the light is at once stabbed. (S.C.B. তেঁতা-টোটা)

Dao (দাও) :—It is a big knife to strike at a fish. It is used for night fishing.

Kotsa, Koca (কোচা) :—It is a long bamboo pole with iron spikes attached to one end. It is a fish spear.

Chip (ছিপ) :—A fishing rod.

Kholoi (খোলোই) :—A small bamboo basket with a narrow neck for keeping fishes after they are caught.

Thosa (ঠোসা) :—A long cylindrical bamboo basket with a narrow neck for keeping caught fishes.

Dzakoi (ডাকোই) :—A wide mouthed bamboo made cylinder with flat base to keep big fishes.

Hunting

Hunting is a sport with the Rajbansis. They hunt with spears, bamboo made clubs, bow and arrow with iron points or with earthen shots made with sticky earth and hardened either in the sun or by heating in the fire. Now-a-days many of them are using guns for which they get a license from the Government. Instances of tiger and wild boar hunting are not few. The most exciting is the trapping.

Boar hunting :—A large net made of strong and thick jute string is spread along one side of a jungle where boars are suspected to be living. One side of the net is fixed to the earth with bamboo poles loosely driven into the earth and the net is kept stretched with bamboo slips with notch at both ends to fix the ropes above and below and the upper side is stretched at about five feet up from the ground. The strong ropes above and below the net (soar mara dzal) are called 'Daman' (দামান), the bamboo slips are 'chiti' (ছিটি), the poles at two ends keeping the upper side of the net stretched are 'khuti' (খুটি) and the spaces in the net are 'ghop' (ঘোপ).

A few persons with sticks advance into the jungle from one side making a great noise and the boars run in the opposite direction towards the net. They at last dash against the net with a great force. The poles are uprooted and the animals are

entangled. The more they try to extricate the more they are entangled. The men come and kill the helpless animals with spears and sticks.

Sometimes a strong net is made with jute strings and shaped like a big Jar or urn (ghogos-ଘୋଗୋସ) with a wide mouth having a noose to close the mouth. The wide mouth is kept gaping with bamboo slips on the way of the boar and the other closed side is loosely tied to a nearby tree. The boar being scared away as above runs into the trap with a great force and is immediately entangled, the mouth of the trap automatically closes due to stretching of the sides of the trap net. It is then killed with spears and clubs.

Pig sticking :—

It is a daring and exciting game. The Rajbansis enjoy this specially on the 'Bisoba' day (last day of Choitra). The boar hunting instrument is 'Kachar'. It is a kind of spear but of different make. The top is a spear made of iron with a sharp pointed end with two sharp projections below. The lower end contains a hole through which passes a loosely fitting long bamboo stick (Chr). One end of a long jute string is tied to the neck of the iron part of the spear and the other end is tied to the middle of the bamboo stick. As soon as a wild boar comes near, the spear (Kachar) is forcibly pushed through the skin of the abdomen and the stick is allowed to go off the hands of the hunter. The boar runs away. The iron 'Kachar' remains in the body of the boar and the loose bamboo stick attached to the rope is dragged by the boar. No sooner the wild boar enters into a jungle the bamboo stick gets stuck in the rows of the trees. The stout jute string tied to the stick does not allow the boar to go further. In the meantime a batch of hunters come and kill the boar with clubs and spears.

Hare hunting :—

Hares are caught in a curious way. Hares generally choose a clean path to go. A small pathway is made and kept clean of weeds in a jungle. A big hole about four feet deep is made at the end of the path. The mouth of the hole is closed with fine jute sticks and covered with fresh grass or green vegetable. The hare (sesa) comes leaping along the clean pathway and eventually leaps on the trap and at once goes down into the hole and cannot get out as the sides of the hole are straight and vertical. Next morning the hunters come and catch hold of the animal. This trap is called 'Dherpi' (ଦେରପି).

Bird hunting :—

Birds are also trapped. But bows (gual) and shots are used to strike at the birds. At noon village boys are seen moving in the bamboo groves with a simple bow in hand in search of birds. There are many types of traps. They are 'usti' (ଓଟି) and 'Jhòt' (ଝଟ). These traps are made of Kunkura or Koronga (Ramie) string or the hair of the tail of a horse (ghorar nengorer cul or Dum (ଘରାର ଲାଂଗରର ଚୁଲ, ଡୁମ୍) and fixed to the bamboo twigs bent at an angle. Some food is placed below the trap. Any bird lured by it sits on the trap, at once the twig to which the trap is attached shoots up and the bird is caught. 'Usti' (ଓଟି) catches at the neck and 'Jhòt' catches the legs. 'Gual' is the bow with two strings. About one inch space in the middle portion is closed with a little jute string passing round. A small stone is placed here and hurled at the bird with great force by stretching and releasing the bow. Bow and arrow are also used but rarely (tir dhonuk), the arrow having a knob at the head is called 'Dhukka' (ଧୁକ୍କା) and the arrow with sharp head is called 'Tir' (ତିର).

Rat trap : Dhepri - (see illustration).

A strong bamboo (a) is encased in a wider bamboo cylinder with two holes in it (b,c). Through the small hole (b) a jute string is passed and tied to the cylinder outside. Some food for the rat is tied to this string. One end of the bamboo (a) rests on this string and the other end to the stretched bow string. The hole (c) is for the rat to enter. The rat enters through the hole (c) and cuts the jute string to get at the food. As soon as it is cut down comes the bamboo (a) on the rat and crushes it to death. This trap is placed on the fields where the rats destroy the plants and eat away the ripe paddy. This trap is also placed in the granary.

Foods and their preparation.

The Rajbansis are rice eating people. They usually take three big meals a day, one in the morning usually puffed (Muri) or flattened rice (Tsura) or previous night's cooked rice 'Khokora bhat' or 'Pontha bhat', after coming back from the early morning ploughing work and before going out with the plough for the second time, one at noon usually freshly cooked rice and curry and one at night the same food as in the noon. Wheat and millet are not generally taken. They eat cooked vegetables, pulses, fish and goat's meat. Hindus do not eat fowl, beef or meat of buffaloes nor pork of domesticated animals. They take milk and milk products of which curd is the main item. They rarely take clarified butter (ghee) on account of its high cost nor do they like it. They use mustard oil (Chatsi tēl-ଛାଟି ତାଲ) for cooking and for smearing on the head and body after bathing. They use no other oils.

The main food stuffs are listed below :—

Grains :—Rice (grains of *Oriza sativa*). There are several kinds of rice e.g.

- (i) Aloa-rice prepared from sun dried and unboiled paddy (S.C.B.-Atap).
- (ii) Usha-rice prepared from boiled paddy (S.C.B.-Ushna).
- (iii) Bhadoi-rice prepared from winter paddy (S.C.B.-Aus).
- (iv) Heuti-rice prepared from rains paddy (S.C.B.-Aman).

The Bhadoi rice is difficult to digest and is usually taken by the cultivators who do hard manual work so that they do not feel hungry soon.

Pulses : Musur (*Ervum Lens* or *Cajanus indicus*),

Motor (*Pisum quadratus* or *Dalichos lablab*),

Buṭ (*Cicer Arietinum*) - gram,

Kheshari (*Lathyrus Sativas*),

Kalai (*Phaseolus radiatus*).

Oils—Musturd oil from *Guisotia abyssiniea*.

Fats—Milk of cow or buffalo.

Milk products—Ghee (clarified butter)

Gaoa-ghiu (from cow's milk).

Bhonesha ghiu (from buffalo's milk) (ভঁষা ঘিউ)

Curds—Dohi, Dohu

They prepare several varieties of dohi. They are listed below :—

Curds : Gḍleya dohi (গল্‌য়ে দহি) :—

Some buffalo milk is taken. About $\frac{1}{4}$ th of the cream is churned out. The milk is mixed with about the same quantity of water and boiled. When it is nearly cooled down it is poured into earthen jars and some old curd is slowly mixed with the milk along the edges of the jars. The milk is allowed to brew for 12 hrs. and the curd is made. It is not very sour to the taste. It is given as food to patients suffering from malaria, pox and measles.

Tenga dohi or Dzhèltenga-dohi (ট্যাঙ্গা দহি, ড্যাঙ্গা ট্যাঙ্গা দহি) :—

When the same preparation is allowed to be brewed for three to five days the curd assumes a mucillagenous appearance, sometimes small vermins move about in the curd. Then the curd is ripe. It is very sour to the taste. It is a favourite food in the summer. For preservation some water is slowly poured on the curd which forms a protective layer over the curd.

Nalua-Dohi (নালুয়া দহি) :—

When the curd assumes a very mucillagenous form.

Garosti-dohi (গারস্তি দহি) :—

It is usually brewed in bamboo cylinder called 'Karia'. Some unboiled pure milk usually of buffalo is kept either in a 'karia' or in fresh earthen jars of small size. No brewing agent is added. The milk is kept aside for 12-24 hrs. in the summer and upto 72 hrs. in the winter. It forms a hard curd that floats on the clear fluid below. No sweet is added. The taste is good (not sour) and it is full cream curd. It is used in 'pujas'.

Chṛtsi-dohi, Chatsi-katsa-dohi (ছাঁচি দহি, ছাঁচি কাচা দহি) :—

It is prepared both from cow's milk or buffalo milk. It is also full cream. The milk is boiled and when nearly cools down some old curd is slowly added and allowed to brew for 12 hrs. It forms a hard curd and is not sour to the taste. This curd is prepared in fresh earthen jars but heated on the oven before putting in the milk.

Katsa-dohi (কাচা দহি) :—

It is prepared from buffalo milk. It is generally prepared in the winter. The unboiled milk is kept in a freshly heated new earthen jar or in a bamboo cylinder (karia). No brewing agent is added. In some areas a little tamarind is added to the milk. Every day some fresh unboiled milk is added. After six to seven days a curd is formed and when it is spongy the curd is said to be ripe.

Note :- In Cacak village in the Serbian portion of Yugoslavia some special kind of sour milk is sold which is three years old and kept in barrels. The farmers in this part of the country living almost exclusively on this three year old milk grow 100 or more years old. The milk in Serbian language is called Kisselo (Sour) Mecks (milk) Staro (old).—A. A. B. Magazine (Bengal) Jan. 1957 Vol. E. No. 1.

Ama-katsa-dohi (অমা কাচা দহি) :-

It is prepared from full cream milk of cow or buffalo or sometimes both are mixed together. The milk is brewed with some fermenting agent usually old curd, for 12 hrs. The curd is hard and full of fat. It is generally made in winter and is stated to be a first class curd.

Danga-dohi ; Dakra-dohi (ডাঙ্গা দহি, দাক্কা দহি) :-

It is prepared from cow or buffalo milk. The entire cream is churned out and about half the quantity of water is added and boiled. Some fermenting agent usually old curd, is added when nearly tepid and is set aside. After 12 hrs. a curd is formed which is good to the taste and after 24 hrs. it becomes very sour. The latter is liked by many. This is served to the guests and this curd is taken to relatives' house at the time of first visit.

Nalua-dohi ; Nanua-dohi (নালুয়া দহি ; নানুয়া দহি) :-

It is prepared from cow or buffalo milk. To the whole milk about half the quantity of water is added and boiled. When nearly cool a few washed live earth-worms (cèra) are added to the milk. They act as fermenting agent. The curd is formed within 3-5 days. The earth worms settle on the bottom of the jar and so the curd is free from worms. The taste of the curd is sour. In some areas the juice of earthworm is added instead of live worms.

All curds are eaten with treacle (gur-miṭhai) or with salt. Sugar is a luxury on account of its high price.

Meats (Mòsòm, মসম)

Goat, hare, wild boar, wild fowl, duck, sheep, crane, dove, pani kaua (*Phalacrocorax niger* or *Javanicus*), Dahuk (*Gallinula javanica*) turtle and fish (all kinds).

Vegetables (sak)

1. Alu-potato (*Batatus edulis* or *Solanum tuberosum*).
2. Baigon, Bèngon :—egg fruit or brinjal (*Solanum indicum*, *Salanum melongena*).
3. Bandha kobi—Cabbage.
4. Bhinḍi—Ladies finger (*Hiliscus esculentus*).
5. Bilati alu, Mats alu, Matz alu,—Big sized potato (*Solanum tuberosum*) S.C.B.-meṭe alu.
6. Bilati Keshur, Sak alu—Red sweet potato (*Pachyrhizus angulatus*).
7. Bḍra kalai—Peas (*vigna Sinensis*, V. Catjang) (S.C.B.—Borboti).
8. Chima—(*Dolichos lableb*), (S.C.B.—Sim).
9. Dherua—Very young radish (*Raphanus sativus*). The leaves of radish are also called Dherua.
10. Dud kushi—Snake gourd (*Memordica Cochinchinensis*) S.C.B.—Chichinga.
11. Helenca—Bitter sag (*Hingcha repens*).
12. Khira—Cucumber (*Cucumis sativus*).
13. Khoksha—Figs (*Ficus cunja* or *Ficus Glomerata*).
14. Kolmi sak—(*Impomea serpiaria*).
15. Kolla—(*Memordica muricata*)—S.C.B.—Korola.
16. Kodu—Pumpkin (*Beincasa carifera*).
17. Man kotsu or Baksho kotsu, Dol kotsu—(*Alocasia Indica* or *Colocasia antiquorum*).
18. Manimuni—(*Hydrocotyle Asiatica*)—S.C.B.—Thankuni.
19. Miṭha-kumra, Ghiṭ Kundha, Bhiṭ Kundha (*Cucurbita maxima*)
20. Mortsi, Moruts—Chillis (*Capsicum frutescens*)
21. Mulai—full grown radish (*Raphanus sativus*).
22. Nau, Kodu—Bottle gourd (*Lagenaria vulgaris*)
23. Napha sak—A mucillagenous plant.
24. Osuni—Garlic (*Allium sativum*)
25. Pani-kumra, Pani-kundha—White gourd (*Cucurbita hispida alba*)
26. Piadzi—Onion (*Allium ascalonicum*)
27. Paṭa sak—Tender twigs of jute plants (*Corchorus capsularis*)
28. Phul kobi—Cauli-flower.
29. Kotsa sak, Pui (*Basella rubra* or *alba*).
30. Sozi kotsu (*Aurum campanulatum*).
31. Toroi (*Luffa acutangula*)—S.C.B.—Jhinga.

Fruits :

1. Bèl (বেল)—*Aegla marmelos*.—S. C. B.—Beal.
2. Bogari (বগারি)—Jujube. *Zizyphus jujuba*—S. C. B.—Kul.
3. Bangi, Khira (বাঙ্গি, খিরা)—Musk-melon—(*Cucumis memordica*, *Cucurbita moschata*).

4. Dhorni-kathol (ধোরনি কাঠোল)—Pine-apple (*Ananus Sativus*).
5. Dzhadi (ডাডি)—Pomelo, grape fruit. S.C.B.—Batapi nebu.
6. Kðthoal (কঠোয়াল)—Jack fruit.
7. Kãts kðthoal, kanda (কাঁচ কঠোয়াল ; কান্দা)—Unripe jack fruit.
8. Paka koðhoal (পাকা কঠোয়াল)—Ripe jack fruit.
9. Pãts-kol (পাঁচ কোল)—*Dillenia indica*—S.C.B.—Chalta.
10. Kabenga or kereddi (কারেঙ্গা ; কেরেদি)—*Bilimbi*, *Averrhoa bilimbi*, S.C.B.—Kamranga.
11. Kal-dzam—Black berry—*Eugenia jambolana*.
12. Khormundza (খোর মুন্ডা)—Water melon.
13. Kðlo (কলো)—Bananas (*Musa sapientum* or *Musa paradisaica*) S.C.B.—Kðla.
14. Naoa (নাওয়া)—Custurd apple. (*Anona Squamosa*) S.C.B.—Ata, nona.
15. Ram (রাম)—Mango—*Magnifera indica*—S. C. B.—Am.
16. Soadi-tènga (সোয়াদি টোঙ্গা)—Sweet green mango. S.C.B.—Kãca miðha am.
17. Tam Supari (টাম সুপারি)—Guava (*Pasidium guava*).
18. Teteli (তেতেলি)—Tamarind (*Tamarindus indica*).
19. Tormudz, Tormuts (তোরমুজ, তোরমুচ)—Papaya (*Carica papaya*) S.C.B.—pèpe.

Bananas, Plantains

1. Athia kðlo (আঠিয়া কলো)—S.C.B.—Bica kðla.
 2. Campa kðlo, Chðgðr Tsini kðlo (চাম্পা কলো, ছগর চিনি কলো)—S.C.B.—Cini campa.
 3. Modhua kðlo (মধুয়া কলো)—S.C.B.—Mortoman kðla.
 4. Manik kðlo (মানিক কলো)—S.C.B.—Malbhog kðla.
 5. Dokhina kðlo (দখিনা কলো)
 6. Sak khoa kòlo (শাক খোয়া কলো)
- } Green plantain.
7. Kangur pir kðlo (কাংগুর পীর কলো)—Small plantain containing many seeds, taken ripe in the summer season.

Condiments and spices include Nðbðn, nun (salt), Cini (sugar), Miðhai, Gur (Treacle), Moruts, Motstsi (chillis) Gol Moruts,

Gol motstsi pepper—(*piper Nigrum*).

Lal Moruts, Nal Motstsi—(red chillis).

Jira—cumin (*cuminum cyminum*).

Holdi—Turmeric (*curcuma longa*).

Elaci, Elãtsi—(cardamom).

Dalstini, Dalcini—Cinnamon (*Amomum Subulatum*).

Lðng, Nðng—Cloves.

Ada—Ginger (*Zingiber Officinale*).

Some special foods of the Rajbansis

Chðba (ছবা)

This is a roast. Baigon or Bèngðn chðba is brinjal roast. The uncut entire brinjal fruit is burnt in the smouldering fire of the oven. As soon as the skin is burnt and turns black the brinjal is taken out of the fire. The skin is peeled off and eaten with a little mustard oil, green chillis, onion or garlic and salt. Alu chðba (potato roast) is also prepared and eaten in the same way. Much chðba (fish roast) is prepared by burning fish over a small fire and when the outer skin is burnt the fish is taken out, the skin is peeled off and eaten with mustard oil, chillis, onions and/or garlic and salt. Mðsðm chðba (meat roast) is prepared by burning pieces of uncooked meat in fire. When the outer portion is lightly burnt the meat is taken out, cleaned of the ashes if there be any, and eaten with salt, mustard oil, chillis, onions and/or garlic. The chðba is a delicacy of the Rajbansis.

Sidza (সিজা)

This is boiled vegetables. Alu sidza (boiled potato) is prepared by boiling potato in hot rice, in plain water or in boiling paddy (when paddy is boiled in water prior to husking) and eaten with salt, mustard oil, chillis, onions and/or garlic.

Bhòtta, Sana (ভড়া, সানা)

When boiled or roasted vegetables are mashed and made into a lump or paste with salt, chillis, onions or garlic it is called bhòtta. Alu bhòtta, bigon or bèngòn bòhtha are prepared in the same way.

Bhadzi (ভাজি)

It is a fry. Alu bhadzi is prepared by boiling potato in water containing a little salt. Generally the skin of the potato is not peeled off nor it is cut into pieces. Probably it is why smaller varieties of potato are used. When the water nearly dries up, a little mustard oil, some chillis and a few pieces of onion are added to the potato and fried until the potato is just brown. When smaller varieties of potato are not available, the bigger ones are cut into small pieces and fried in a little mustard oil without previous boiling. The fry is taken out of the oven before it turns brown and becomes crisp. Potol bhadzi, Sola kotsu or Baksho kotsu are fried in the same way but without preliminary boiling. Mach bhadzi, Mats Bhadzi (fish fry) is prepared after cleaning the fish of the fins and scales with a knife and washing. A little mustard oil is poured into a pan and heated on the oven. The fishes are thrown in the hot oil and stirred slowly with an iron ladle until the outer skin is light brown and the fishy smell just disappears. The 'puñhi fish' (Barbus stigma) is fried without oil.

Chèka (ছাকা)

The hard base (tuber, *murba*) of a plantain tree is cut up into small bits and dried thoroughly in the sun. These dried pieces are slowly burnt over a flame until they are turned into white ashes. The ashes are collected and preserved in an earthen jar and the mouth is kept tightly closed. Sometimes before cooking a small earthen jar is taken with a small hole at the bottom. A little jute or cotton is put on this hole closing it completely. A little plantain ash from the big jar is placed into this small jar and some water is poured over it. The jar is then placed over a hollow receptacle and a clear brownish solution filtered through the jute or cotton falls drop by drop in the lower receptacle and accumulates. This is 'chèka'. It is an alkaline salt solution.

Chèka-Sak (ছাকা শাক)

Some tender shoots with leaves of young jute plants are collected from the field or some dried jute leaves (Sukaṭi) preserved in the house are taken. They are washed clean of all dirt. A cast iron pan (korai) is placed over a burning oven and when it is hot the jute leaves are poured in the pan with a few chillis. The whole thing is stirred with an iron ladle. As soon as the leaves are lightly fried some salt and enough water is poured on the mass for boiling the leaves. After boiling for some minutes the 'chèka' water prepared as above is added to the mass, allowed to boil for sometime and then taken out of the oven. The curry so made is called Paṭa Saker or Sukatir chèka'. The alkaline water that is the 'chèka' water is said to dissolve the mucilage of the leaves. Such curry is also prepared with the leaves of 'kochu' (colocasia), gourd, pumpkin or 'Nafa'. 'Nafa' is a small plant containing a lot of mucilage in the leaves and stem. In very poor houses mustard oil is not used on account of its high cost. The leaves are lightly fried without oil.

This curry is enjoyed by the common Rajbansis and forms an item of their daily diet.

Peṭka (পেটকা)

It is prepared in almost the same way as 'chèka' but in this case green leaves and tender shoots of jute or 'Nafa' plant are used. In some cases a few dried fishes are added. The prepared curry is more mucilleginous and softer, practically a viscous fluid.

* Sidol (সিদোল)

Sun dried fishes (Sukṭa) are powdered in a wooden mortar (chum). Some pieces of green stalks of black colocasia (kala kotsu or Mana kotsu—Aurum Indicum) are put in the mortar and mixed thoroughly with the powdered fish with the help of the wooden pestle (gain). Then a few bits of garlic are mixed, working the pestle with hand and striking the mass hard each time raising the pestle about two feet above the hollow of the mortar. The mixture is then taken out of the mortar and made into a thick paste with some 'chèka' (alkaline salt) solution. Small balls are made and dried in the sun. The dried balls are preserved in earthen jars. Before eating some of the balls are roasted in small fire and eaten as condiment with some more garlic or onion probably to cover the bad smell it emits. This curry is highly relished by common Rajbansis.

Bhater mar chèka (ভাতের মাড় ছাকা)

It is rice gruel 'chèka'. Rice gruel is boiled with some soda or 'chèka' solution. Some garlic, onion, dry red chillis and salt are pounded in a wooden mortar (chum) and this mixture is added to the boiling gruel. A small quantity of 'sidol' is also added before taking out of the fire.

* "Martin—Eastern India—P. 493 Vol. III (preparation of Sidol).

'The people remove the head, fins, entrails and back bone, dry the fish by exposing them on mats to the sun and then fit them in a mortar with roots of 'ol' (*Racca rumphii*),—the stems (petiole) of the Man Kochu (*Aurum Mocronatum* E. M.), a little turmeric and potash. The mass is formed into balls called Sidol which are dried in the sun and will keep until next season.'

Phok doi (ফোক দৈ)

It is not a milk curd. It is a pasty salad commonly named 'doi', Manimuni (S.C.B.-Thankuni) leaves and twigs or leaves and soft twigs of colocasia, gourd and/or 'Sajina' (moringa pterygosperma) leaves are cut into small pieces and boiled with water containing some soda (sodium carbonate or crude soda from the market) or 'chèka' solution. Some dry rice is fried in a pan without oil and is then pounded in a wooden mortar. Some garlic, ginger and dried red chillis are also pounded in a mortar. The pounded rice and the condiments as prepared above are thrown into the boiling vegetable. The whole mixture is boiled and stirred until a gelatinous soft paste is formed. It is eaten with rice.

Mòsò m, (Meats-মসর)

This is meat curry. The flesh is cut up into small bits and lightly washed in cold water. There is no preliminary preparation of flesh before cooking. A cast iron pan (kantai) is placed over a burning oven. Some mustard oil, onion, garlic are put in the pan and slightly fried. Then cold water sufficient to boil the flesh is poured in the hot pan. When the water starts boiling the flesh is thrown into this water and along with this some salt and powdered chillis and sometimes many green chillis, turmeric and cumin, all pounded previously in a mortar. The boiling is continued until the meat is soft. Then some bits of gourd or pumpkin and/or potato or green papua are thrown into the boiling mass and the mixture is further boiled for about fifteen minutes. When the boiling is nearly complete some mustard oil or clarified butter is sprinkled on the meat curry and then the pan (kantai) is taken out of the oven.

The taste of this curry is very hot (pungent) but this is the taste that suits the tongue of the Rajbansis. This meat curry is very favourite and is a main item of food in every social or religious feast.

Sukati (শুকাতী)

Leaves of jute plant are dried in the sun and preserved in bamboo cages. This is taken when other vegetables cannot be had. The dry leaves are boiled in water sometimes with a few 'sukta' (dried fish) and 'chèka' solution. The boiled leaves are eaten with garlic and chillis.

Macher Torkari, Matser Sak (মাছের তোরকারী ; মাছের শাক)

This is fish curry. The Rajbansis relish Sole (শোল-ophicephalus striatus), Boali (বোয়ালী-wallagonia attu) and Magur (মাগুর - clarius batrachus) as these are available at hand. They rear this fish in small ponds or in shallow wells. They also buy Ilsha (Hilsha-ইলিশ, S.C.B.-ইলিশ-Ilis,) Rohu (Carp-রোহু, S.C.B.-Rohit or Rui) etc., from the market. The scales of the fish are stripped off with a knife (kathari) and the fish is cut up into small bits. They are lightly fried in mustard oil and then enough water containing powdered salt, chillis, cumin, turmeric is poured on the fried fish. While boiling proceeds some bits of onion and garlic are thrown into the mixture. Later on a few pieces of gourd or pumpkin or sweet gourd or 'jhinga' (Luffa acutangala) or 'kotsu' (colocasia) are added.

Eating stale fish :

Rajbansi common man in the village do not throw away stale fishes. They fry the stale fish in mustard oil till the pieces turn brown and then add ginger, garlic, onion and chillis and continue frying for sometime and then add a large quantity of water and boil for about fifteen to twenty minutes and then add pieces of gourd, sweet gourd or potato and boil down to thick syrup.

Much pata, Mats patao (মাছ পাতা, মাছ পাতাও)

Some small fishes are taken. The scales are removed by rubbing with earth. The abdomen is opened with a knife and the intestines are squeezed out. The fishes are then washed clean with cold water and wrapped in three to four layers of gourd, pumpkin or plantain leaves and tied with a rope to form a bundle.

The bundle is put in the hot oven when the fire settles down. The bundle is kept there for about twenty minutes. After the first two layers of the leaves are burnt and turns black the bundle is taken out of the fire. After cooling the bundle is opened. By this time the fishes are boiled in their own juice. The fishes are then put in a metal cup, mixed with a little mustard oil, chillis and onions and eaten with rice.

Sukta Sak (শুক্টা শাক)

'Sukta' is sundried fish. A curry of gourd or pumpkin or sweet gourd is prepared by boiling in water with condiments and while boiling a few pieces of washed 'sukta' fishes are thrown into the curry and boiling is continued for about fifteen minutes.

Paṭa Saker khata (পাটা শাকের খাটা)

The tender leaves and shoots of young jute plant are lightly fried in a pan without oil and then some water and salt are poured in the pan and boiled for sometime. After boiling has proceeded some way a few pieces of ripe tamarind are thrown into the curry and boiled for about ten minutes. It is a peculiar curry as the jute leaves are bitter and tamarind is sour but it is relished by the Rajbansis.

Nau dail ; Kotsu dail ; Kumrar dail (নাই ডাইল ; কচু ডাইল ; কুমড়ার ডাইল)

It is a misnomer. This curry does not contain pulses. When pulses become scarce or cannot be bought on account of its high price this curry is prepared to replace dail (pulses) and hence the name.

The outer skin of the gourd or pumpkin or colocasia sometimes aurum, is removed with a knife (kathai) and cut into small pieces. The pieces are boiled in a large quantity of water and when sufficiently soft the mixture is vigorously churned with a bamboo or wooden or iron churning (makri). The whole thing soon becomes a homogenous boiling mass. Powdered chillis and salt are added and taken out of the oven after sometime. Another pan is taken and placed on the oven in which is poured a little mustard oil. When the oil starts boiling a few pieces of onion or garlic are thrown into the oil and after about two minutes the curry previously prepared in the other pan is poured into the boiling oil and mixed briskly with a metal ladle. This is called 'chok deoa' (S.C.B.—sombhar). The pan is taken out of the oven and allowed to cool. It is not tasteful to an unaccustomed tongue but taken with rice by the Rajbansis with relish.

Sodzi-kotsu-Sak (সোজি কচু শাক)

This is a kind of corn (O—Amorphophallus Campanulatus) grown by the cultivators on high lands. The tubers are small potato-like. It is a variety of South Bengali 'Mukhi Kotsu'. It is a staple article of food for the poor and a relish for the well-to-do. This variety of aurum does not bite the throat and so is called Miṭha Kotsu (sweet colocasia). The skin of the tuber is removed with a knife. The bigger ones are cut into pieces and the smaller ones are allowed to remain in tact. They are washed and boiled in salt water (that is in water with a little common salt added). When the water boils down to a small quantity, a little mustard oil is poured and the mixture turned briskly with a metal (iron) ladle till the water evaporates and the pieces assume a light brown colour. This is 'sodzi' fry. The curry is prepared in the following way :—

The soft skin of 'sodzi' is removed and the tubers are washed clean in cold water. An iron pan is placed over a hot oven in which is put some mustard oil, some pieces of onion and/or garlic and the pieces of 'Sodzi'. They are fried and frequently turned with an iron ladle till the colour is light brown. Enough cold water is then poured on the pan (Kantai) and allowed to boil for sometime. When the 'sodzi' is soft some more salt and powdered chillis are mixed. Towards the close of the cooking sometimes a few 'sukṭa' (sundried fishes) are thrown into the mixture and boiled for about ten minutes. Thus the 'Sodzi Sak' is prepared and taken with rice.

In some advanced Rajbansi houses 'Sodzi Sak' (curry) is prepared just like potato curry (alur dom) in Bengali houses in lower Bengal. It is then quite tasteful.

Bakso-Kotsu sak ; Dbl-kotsu sak (বাক্স কচু শাক ; দল কচু শাক)

The Bakso kotsu is a long tuber of colocasia called in Bengali, 'Sola kocu'. The hard skin is removed and the tuber is cut up into small bits and prepared in the same way as 'sodzi'. This variety also does not bite the mouth.

Agriculture

Paddy :—Rajbansis of North Bengal are mostly cultivators and paddy (Oryza Sativa) is the main crop grown. This is their food, this is their money. The paddy which is grown on high lands is 'Aus' and is called 'Bhadoi or Bitri'. The paddy grown on low lands is 'Amon' which is known as Heoti or Hēoti' (হেউতি ; হেঁউতি). The Aus is generally sown broad cast and the 'Amon' usually transplanted. The broad cast Aman is called 'Batai'.

Aus :—Fourteen varieties of 'Aus' are grown in this area. Usually five rounds of tillings from January to March are given for the preparation of the land. The description of some of the varieties are given below.

1. Sown in Phalgun (February-March) and harvested in Jaistha (May-June). It takes four months to ripe. It is called Megh Andhari (মেঘ আন্ধারি).
2. Sown in Phalgun (February-March) and harvested in Jaistha (May-June) :—
 - (a) Dumra (ডুমরা), (b) Jamron or Jomira (জাম্রণ ; জমিরা), The colour of the husk is deep yellow ;
 - (c) Kalo Shoni (কালো শনি), the husk is black.
 - (d) Nilaji (নীলাজি), (e) Bari-Bangla (বারি বাংলা) this gives very fine rice.
3. Sown in Choitra (March-April) and harvested in Aswar (June-July) - Choto-Soni (ছোটো শনি).
4. Sown in Baisak (April-May) and harvested in Sravan (July-August) :—
 - (a) Kasia-Panja (কাশিয়া পাঞ্জা), (b) Dhbl-kacca (ধল কাচ্চা), (c) Boadar or Boaldar (বোয়াদার ; বোয়ালদার).
 - (d) Ludhian (লুধিয়ান), (e) Malsira-bhadoi (মাল শিরা ভাদোই), (f) Dhouli (ধৌলি).
5. Transplanted Aus :

The seed-bed is prepared towards the close of Choitra (March-April) or Baisak (April-May), transplanted in Jaistha (May-June) just after the break of the monsoon and harvested in the end of Aswar (June-July) or Sravan (July-August).

(a) Katar (কাতার), The paddy grows within the big leaves, the stalk containing the paddy does not come out. When the big leaves turn yellow the paddy is said to be ripe and it is cut away with the big leaves. This paddy is grown on the high banks of the beels (low lands, marshes) particularly in Alipur Duar Sub-division of Jalpaiguri district. In case of late rain 'Katar' is sown in Ashar and harvested in Aswin.

(b) Niloji (নীলোজি), either broad cast or transplanted in Choitra (March-April) and harvested in Ashar (June-July).

Such transplanted 'Aus' is called 'Batai'. Usually no separate seed-bed is prepared. The seeds broad-cast on cultivated high land in Choitra grow up and the seedlings for transplantation are taken from the field. The requirement of seeds for broad-cast is 10-12 seers per bigha or 30-40 seers per acre.

Amon :—Forty seven varieties of Amon paddy have been found to grow in this area. They are transplanted. The seed bed is prepared close to the house of the cultivator in the month of Choitra (March-April) or Baisak (April-May), the seedlings are transplanted in the field in Jaistha (May-June) or Aswar (June-July), after the first monsoon when some water accumulates in the field and one tilling makes a soft clay. It is harvested in Kartik (Oct. - Nov.) or more usually in Agrahayan (Nov. - Dec.) or Pous (Dec. - Jan).

The paddy seeds sown in the seed-bed in Choitra are called 'Khau bicdn (খাউ বিচন), those in Baisak are 'Pota bicdn' (পোতা বিচন), those in Aswar are 'Neoa bicdn' (নেওয়া বিচন), when 'Pota' seedlings are transferred to another seed-bed in Aswar and then again transplanted in the field in Sravan, they are called 'corai bicdn' (চোরাই বিচন). The Amdn land for seedling is prepared by giving the first tilling in Magh (Jan.-Feb.) or in Phalgun (Feb.-March) for the winter dew to fall on the open soil. The second plough is given after the first rain in Choitra (Mar.-April) and then four successive ploughings are done till the land is very soft. The seeds are broad cast in Baisak and then another ploughing is given to place the seeds under the earth otherwise birds will peck them away.

Ploughing of the land for transplanted paddy begins from Baisak. Two rounds are given in this month. In Jaistha two more rounds are given, one more ploughing is given in Aswar after the first rain and the land is cleaned and levelled with one round of harrowing and laddering. Now the land with accumulated water has soft clay on the top into which seedlings are transplanted. In this area it is the custom to put in one or two seedlings together but lately they have learnt to transplant three to four seedlings together in a clump. The latter forms a bigger bush and the yield is greater.

There is no hard and fast rule in matters of preparation of seed-bed, transplanting and harvesting. They all depend upon the rains.

Seed-bed is prepared and the paddy seeds put in the seed-bed in Choitra or Baisak or Jaistha.

Transplantation in Jaistha or Aswar or Sravan.

Harvesting in Agrahayan, Pous or Magh.

In case of Amdn usually four to six seers of seeds are required per bigha or ten to twelve seers per acre. For Khau seeds four seers, for Pota seven seers and for Neoa five seers of seeds are required.

The following varieties of Amdn paddy are grown :—

(a) Early variety :—

1. Asina panati (অশিনা পানাতি)
2. Maharaja (মাহারাজা)
3. Katik sail (কাটিক শাইল)
4. Satia (সাতিয়া)
5. Ubdzal (উব্জাল)
6. Urdzal (উর্জাল)
7. Agur pak (আগুর পাক)
8. Bhusdr (ভুসর)
9. Loha dzang (লোহা জাং) red big rice.
10. Bamdn bhog (বামন ভোগ)

There is a common saying 'Heuti Khora, Bhadoi Jhora'. Amon requires dry and Aus requires rain for good crop.

There is a common saying about ripening and harvesting of paddy. As soon as the ears are out the fruits develop liquid milk inside. It remains such for 4-5 days and then begins to harden and within five days hard rice is formed. The paddy should be harvested within twenty days of flowering.

'Sis dekhile bis din, Kate mare dos din'. Wait twenty days after the ears are out, then cut and thresh after ten days.

The Satia, Urdzal, Agur pak and Bhusòr are used for the new year's first rice eating ceremony that is 'Naya-Khaoa or nobanno'. All the above varieties are harvested between October-December.

(b) For making puffed paddy (Khoi-ঝ) or puffed rice (Muri-মুড়ি) or flatted rice (chura or chira-চুরা ; চিড়া) :—

1. Dinajpuri (দিনাজপুরী)
2. Harin khol, Horin tor (হরিন খোল, হরিন তোর)
3. Boaldar (বোয়ালদার)
4. Tsura-kuñi (চুরাকুটি)
5. Jòsoa, Jasua (যশোয়া, যাসুয়া) No. 1 and No. 2.
6. Kharma (ধার্মা)
7. Kòlòm (কলম)
8. Dhauli (ধাউলি)

(c) Deep water paddy. These are sometimes broad-cast in Phalgun and are grown as 'Batai' and also transplanted.

- | | | |
|--------------------------------------|---|-----------------------------|
| 1. Betò or Bètò- (বেত-অ ; ব্যাত-অ) | } | Transplanted. |
| 2. Boci ; Botsi (বোচি) | | |
| 3. Naria-boci (নারিয়া বোচি) | | |
| 4. Kotsu-dala (কচু ডালা) | | |
| 5. Ravèn (রাভণ) | } | Broad cast or Transplanted. |
| 6. Ènda (এগাঙা) | | |
| 7. Kakua (কাকুয়া) | | |
| 8. Pakhiri (পাখিরি) | | |
| 9. Danga borua (ডাঙ্গা বোরুয়া) | | |

Nos. 1-4 are transplanted even when there is two feet of water in the field, the plants grow up with the rise of water up to six to eight feet. They are harvested in December-January when the land is dry. The seedlings are of 'khau' and 'corai' variety.

Nos. 5-9 are broad cast when the land is dry and the seedling gradually grow up with the rise of water upto six feet.

(d) Amòn general :—

1. Aghòn-dhepi (আগন ঢেপি). No. 1 & No. 2 variety—fine and coarse.
2. Kòl-doma (কলডোমা). No. 1 & No. 2 variety—fine and coarse.
3. Dudh-Kòlòm (দুধ কলম)
4. Pani-sail (পানি শাইল)
5. Panati (পানাতি)
6. Botsi (বোচি) red variety and Gudzri (গুজুরি) - fine variety.
7. Malsara or Malsira (মালশারা, মালশিরা)
8. Keoa (কেওয়া) having the smell of Ketoki (Keoa) flower.
9. Kakua (কাকুয়া) red paddy with long stalk.
10. Endur sail (এন্ডুর শাইল)
11. Bonni (বোনি) two varieties (i) Bonni (ii) Bura-Bonni.
12. Jòsoa (যশোয়া) two varieties—(i) Jòsoa, (ii) Babu Jòsoa (fine variety).
13. Kalo-jira (কালো জিরা) very fine variety.
14. Kalo-Nunia (কালো নুনিয়া) paddy husk is black, rice is white and very fine.
15. Tula-pandzi (তুলা পাঞ্জি) very fine white rice.
16. Bindi-bhog (বিন্দি ভোগ) fine rice.
17. Nal-shoru (নাল সোরু) fine rice.
18. Sada-shoru (সাদা সোরু) fine rice.
19. Nenia (নেনিয়া) fine rice.
20. Gandzia (গান্জিয়া) fine rice.

21. Kathari-bhog (কাঠারি ভোগ) fine rice.
22. Ponkhiraj (পোখিরাজ) fine rice.
23. Nai-or (নাইওর) very fine and small rice.
24. Binna phuli (বিন্না ফুলি) Bunching inflorescence. Paddy grows in bunches.

Betel - (Piper Betel)

The Betel (pan) is a cash crop. The creepers are allowed to climb up the areca trees in areca groves or mango or jujub trees. The grown up green leaves are taken out and sold in the market. The collection is made all the year round. The betel growers say that the creepers growing up the areca trees on one acre of land yield about fifty 'bis' * that is about one lac and seventy six thousand or one lac leaves in one year. The price varies from Rs. 15/- to Rs. 20/- per bis. That is one acre gives a gross income from Rs. 750/- to Rs. 1000/- per year.

Areca nut or Betel nut (Areca catechu) :-

Rajbansis cultivate areca (Gua). It is their cash crop. High well drained sandy loam soil is the best for the areca tree. A seed bed is prepared and ripe nuts in shell are sown about 6" under the earth and at 12" apart. After one year the seedlings are transferred to fresh seed bed. When the seedlings are three years old they are transplanted in the field. The field is previously ploughed well and the top 6" - 9" soil is made loose. There the seedlings are planted at five to seven cubits apart in small pits with a little old cow dung in each. Usually plantain trees are grown in between the rows in the field and also around the seed bed. Dadap (mandar) are also planted as perennial shade tree. These young plants grow well under a shade. Strong sun falling directly dries up the top soil.

The roots of areca do not penetrate deep into the soil and the rootlets absorbing nutrition and water for the growth of the plant are distributed a few inches below the top soil. When this soil dries up the plants die of starvation. The shade trees preserve the moisture in the soil. The plantain in trees give a return of some money from the sale of the ripe fruits.

The areca seedlings are planted in the month of Kartik (Oct.-Nov.) just after the rains when soil remains moist. The plants take about seven years to start fruiting. The areca fruits ripen in Choitra (March-April) and are allowed to remain on the tree upto Jaistha (May-June) till they assume deep yellow colour.

The growers say that one acre yields 25-30 'kahons' † and the price is from Rs. 16/- to Rs. 20/- per 'kahon'.

The garden is cleaned every year of all weeds and cow dung is used as manure. The growers say that the dung of five cows is necessary to manure one acre. The fruiting life of areca tree in this area is about forty years.

Jute—(Corchorus Capsularis or Olitorius)

Jute is an economic product and money crop cultivated by the Rajbansis of North Bengal. They call it 'paṭa'. It is cultivated on comparatively high land (shohori bhui).

Two kinds of jute are cultivated. One is bitter called 'tita paṭa' and the other is sweet called 'miṭha paṭa'. The women help the weeding of the land and when the shoots grow up they pluck some of them to be used as vegetable food. Mature leaves are also plucked, dried in the sun and stored in a bamboo cage to be used as food either cooked alone or with fish. The dried mature leaves are called 'Sukati'.

Bitter Jute :—

There are five kinds of bitter jute cultivated in North Bengal. The seeds are very small. They are mixed with dry earth and sown broad-cast on carefully tilled and manured land. About six to seven rounds of ploughings are given to the land so that the top 6"—9" of the soil is made loose and porous. Jute cannot grow on hard soil. Cow dung as manure is generally used. Chemical fertilisers are being gradually introduced.

1. Bhadea nal (red variety)

It is a four monthly crop of early variety. The seeds are broad cast towards the end of Choitra (April). The plants grow up to nine feet high and mature towards the end of Sravan (August). This is the time when flowering begins. The

* for calculating betel leaves.

20 gondas that is $20 \times 4 = 80$ is called 'shaw' (শ - 100 -). 44 'shaws' make one Bis that is $44 \times 80 = 3520$ pieces of leaves. This calculation is in Jalpaiguri Duars.

In Rajganj and Jalpaiguri Sadar thanas 21 'shaws' make one Bis i. e. 1680 leaves make one Bis.

One acre of land gives 40 - 50 Bis of leaves.

† 1 kahon - 16 pons

1 pon - 20 gondas

1 gonda - 4 nuts

Therefore 1 kahon, = 1280 nuts. Price @ Rs. 16/- to Rs. 20/- per kahon, one acre gives Rs. 500/- to Rs. 600/- from sale of the areca nuts.

stems are cut away leaving one to two inches with the root on the land. Some of the plants are allowed to grow up further for seeding. The seeds are collected in September and stored in a dry place for the next year. The cut stems which are red in colour are allowed to remain on the field for about four days and then made into small bundles. They are carried to the nearest water collection, steeped in the water and allowed to remain there for about two weeks for retting. The fibres are then drawn out of the stem in clean water, washed and dried in the sun. The fibres assume a golden yellow colour and belong to the finer variety of jute.

Production is about twelve maunds per acre.

2. Bhadea White (Bhadea shada) :--

It is sown and reaped like the red variety. The stems are light green and fibre is white. The fibres are a bit coarser than the red variety.

3. Heutia Red (Heutia nal) :—

It is a six monthly crop. The seeds are sown in April-May (Baisak). The plants grow upto ten feet high and mature in September—October (Bhador-Katik). The stems are cut away when mature and retted in water for about a month as the weather is cold in this area. Seeds ripen in October-November (Katik). The stems are deep red in colour and the fibre is golden yellow. The fibre is of finer variety and the production is fifteen maunds per acre.

4. Heutia white (Heutia shada) :-

It is cultivated like Heutia Red. The stems are light green and the fibre is white. The fibre is coarser than the red variety.

5. Mesta paṭa :-

It grows on high land and cultivated in all seasons. Usually the seeds are sown in January-February (Magh). The plants grow upto nine feet high and mature in next February-March (Phalgun). It is a twelve monthly crop. The leaves are very bitter so much so that no animal would touch it. Hence no fencing is required. The stems are retted in water for about a month. During retting it emits a very bad smell. The stems have ash colour but the fibre is white. It is of coarse variety and the production is twenty five maunds per acre.

Sweet Jute :-

Two varieties are generally grown in North Bengal. The leaves and shoots are not bitter. Hence strong fencing is necessary to ward off animals.

1. Marua pata, Tsirua pata (মারুয়া পাটা ; চিরুয়া পাটা)

This is sown for the purpose of food and not for fibres. The plants grow upto three feet high and are cultivated throughout the year. The tender shoots are plucked and cooked. The fruits containing seeds are long. The fruits are not eaten.

2. Tosa pata :-

This is the best variety of six monthly crop. It has been introduced in North Bengal quite recently. The shoots and leaves are not bitter but extremely mucillagenous and are not relished as food. The seeds are sown in March-May (Choit-Baisak). The plants grow upto fifteen feet high and are cut away in September (end of Bhadra). Seeds ripen in November and December and so some plants are left in the field to grow up to the time of maturity of seeds. The cut stems are retted in water for two weeks. The stems are of light green colour and the fibres are golden yellow. The fibre is of fine variety and is commercially known as 'Chinsura green'. The production is twenty five maunds per acre. The stems are hard and so used for fencing and roofing.

Weeding :-

Weeding of jute is done generally twice. First weeding is called 'bèdha' (বেদধা) or 'dar' (দার). It is done when the plants are about one foot high. A bamboo made toothed harrow (bèdha) is drawn with the cows through the field to partly clean the land and to root out many seedlings to have some spaces between the plants and then one rolling with a bamboo ladder to level. The second weeding (nêlani-গালাই) is given when the plants are about three feet high. The undergrowths are pulled out by hand. It is a very arduous task. Male, female and children all are engaged in this work. In small families hired labour is engaged for this work as weeding is very essential for the proper growth of jute.

Jute Stems :-

After the fibres are extracted the sticks are white. They are called sindza (সিন্ড়া). They are dried in the sun and preserved as fuel or as building materials for fencing and roofing. The excess is sold in the market.

Economics :-

The cost of production calculating the normal wages at the rate of Rs. 2/- per day for all works comes to Rs. 10/- to Rs. 12/- per maund. The cultivators do the works themselves and manure the land with the droppings of their own cattle and so

they never calculate the cost. The red variety (yellow jute) always fetches higher price in the market than the white variety. Tosa jute fetches the highest price and the Mesta the lowest. The normal sale price varies from Rupees twenty five to thirty five per maund. When the price goes below Rupees fifteen trade crisis appears and the producers suffer greatly.

Tobacco (Tanku).

Tobacco :-

Tobacco is cultivated by the Rajbansis in the south of Jalpaiguri, the whole of Cooch Behar and the north of Rangpur. It is not cultivated in Darjeeling Terai. It is cultivated for smoking and the excess is sold for money. They cultivate two kinds of tobacco. One variety is called Matihari or Bilati and the other variety is Jati or Desi.

It is grown on high land and requires copious manuring and irrigation for the first two months. In every plot of tobacco land is seen a well dug out for the purpose of irrigation. At least eight ploughings, harrowing and levelling are necessary. Copious cow dung manure is required. The land containing tobacco plants should be kept scrupulously clean by constant weeding. About six big leaves are allowed to remain on a plant and all other leaves, shoots and buds are broken off at least once a week.

Motihar :-

Three varieties of 'Motihar' are cultivated. They are : (a) 'Tongua' having small and thick leaves, (b) 'Kobia' having big and thin leaves (c) 'Bilati' having medium leaves. The leaves of 'Motihar' are generally 18" long.

'Motihar' seeds are placed in the seed-bed in the month of September-October (Asin), transplanted in the field in the month of October—November (Kartik) and cut away in the month of February-March (Phalgun). The leaf is mature when brown round spots appear in the green leaf. The mature leaves are suspended for curing (chitia-চিতিয়া) either in the open air or inside a room till the leaves assume a copper colour. They are then bundled (processed—dzakdeoa-জাক দেয়া) and stored in a dry place. Each bundle weighs one seer (two pounds). Production is about four maunds per bigha.

This is used for making tobacco for smoking.

Jati :-

The variety having big leaves is called 'Hamku' and the variety having smaller leaves is called 'Tamku or 'Tanku'. This is cultivated in the same way as the 'Motihar.' This variety of tobacco is largely used for making Burmah 'churat' and is bought by the Burmese. It is mild and the local people use it in hookka for smoking. The production is about four maunds per bigha.

Economics :-

The cost of production is about Rs. 60/- per maund calculating all the labour as paid @ Rs. 2/- per day. The sale price varies from Rs. 80/- to Rs. 100/- per maund in the normal market. Hence it is a paying crop.

Other crops.

The Rajbansis cultivate mustard (Rape) in some plots of land for the oil they require and also for sale. They also grow vegetables in small gardens attached to their houses. These supply their food and bring some extra money in the market.

Ramie

A fibre plant Ramie which is called 'Kunkura' in Cooch-Behar, 'Rhea' in Jalpaiguri Duars, and 'K'drõnga' in Rajgunj (Jalpaiguri), is cultivated. This is a perennial plant and about four cuttings are taken in one season. It does not require retting in the water to extract the fibres. The cuttings are pressed through two wooden bars to break the stems in a machine called 'kerkha' by turning a handle with the hand. The broken stems with loosened fibres are washed thoroughly with 'Khar' (alkaline solution made from the ashes of wood or of dried plantain stem). The light yellow fibres are then dried in the sun. Strings are made with this fibre as jute strings are made with jute fibres. This string is used to make fishing nets. These nets are very strong and last many years. Snares are also made with the string. Sometimes the stems are retted in water for four days and fibres are extracted.

The following is a song collected from Cooch-Bihar by Sri N. Ray of Cooch-Bihar College, where there is reference of Kunkura.

S o n g

ফাঁহাদে পোরিয়া বোগা কান্দে	Phāhade poria boga kandere
ফান্দ বোসাইসে ফাঁহাদির ঘর	Phand bosaise phāhadir ghòr
পুঠি মাছো (ক) দিয়া ।	Puthi mocho (k) dia.
ও, রে, মাছের লোভে বোকা বোগা	O, re, macher lobhe boka boga
পরে উরাল দিয়া ।	Pòre ural dia.
ফান্দে পোরিয়া বোগা	Phande poria boga
করে টানাটুনা ।	Kore ṭanaṭuna.
ও, রে, (আ-হা-রে) কুকুরার সূতা	O, re, (a-ha-re) Kunkurar suta
হাইল লোহার গুণা ।	Hoil lohar guna.
ফান্দে পোরিয়া বোগা	Phande poria boga
করে হাঃ রে হাঃ ।	Kòre hač re hač.
ও, রে, (আ-হা-রে) দারুণ বিধি	O, re, (a-ha-re) darun bidhi
সাথী ছাইরা যায় ।	Sathi chaira dzač.
উরিয়া যায় চখোয়ার পংখি	Uria dzač Còkhoar ponkhi
বোগিক্ বলে ঠারে	Bogik bòle ṭhare
ও রে, তোমার বোগা বান্দি হাইসে	O, re, tomar boga bondi hoise
ধোলা নোদীর চরে ।	Dholla nodir còre.
এই কথা সুনিয়া বোগি	Ei katha sunia bogi
দুই পাখা মেলিল (ও) ।	Dui pakha melil (o).
ও, রে ধোলা নোদীর পারে ঘাঃ	O, re, Dholla nodir pare dzèa
দরশন দিল (ও) ।	Doroson dil (o).
বোগাক্ দেখিয়া বোগি কান্দে	Bogak dekhia bogi kandere
বোগিক্ দেখিয়া বোগা কান্দে ।	Bogik dekhia boga kandere.

Free translation :-

The heron wept in the trap. The trapper has laid the trap with 'puṭhi' fish (barbus stigma) as bait. The fool of the heron attracted by the bait flew into the trap. The heron tried his best to extricate himself from the snare. The string of Kunkura with which the trap was made was as strong as iron wire. The heron caught in the trap began to blame his fate and was sorry for his hard lot as he had to leave his comrade for ever. A Chòkha (ruddy goose—Casarca ferruginea orrutila) was flying by. He signalled the female heron that her male was captured on the dry bed of the river Dhorla. At this the female heron flew to the river side and saw her male partner. The female heron wept at the sight of the male and the male wept on seeing his wife.

Note :-

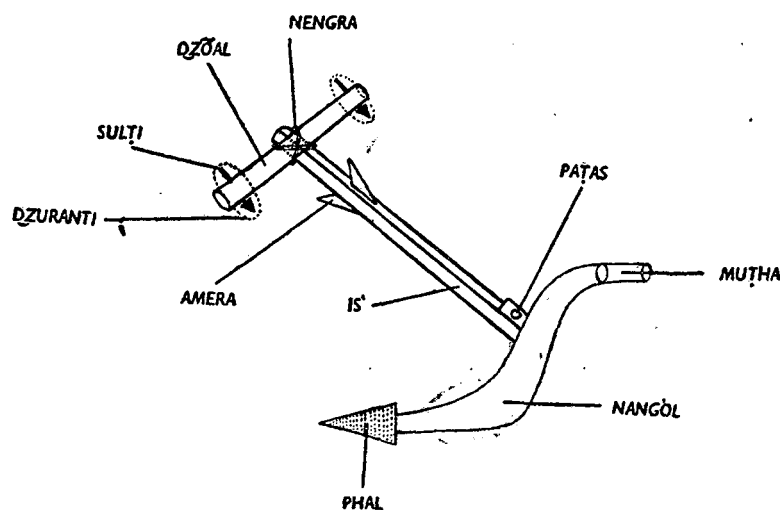
Phāhad-trap (S.C.B.-phand), boga-heron (S. C. B.-bòk), Phāhadir ghòr - the trappers ('ghòr' is used for plural), 'Phāhad' - for lengthening the sound, macho (k) - with fish, 'k' is not pronounced in the song. 'a-ha_re' - is used to lengthen the tune as in all Bhawaiya songs in this area, 'hoil' - became (in the song 'hoilo' is sung to lengthen the tune) Chaira-leave (the real word is 'chari'—The epenthesis is used to lengthen the tune, in West Bengal the word is 'chere' (umlaut). Còkhoar - ruddy goose (S.C.B.-còkha), Dholla-river Dharla is pronounced in Cooch-Bihar as 'Dholla', the words 'melil', 'dil' are sung as 'melilo', 'dilo' to lengthen the tune. In every case ḍ (ড) is pronounced as 'r' (র), 'o' (অ) is almost always pronounced as 'o' (ও), 'ch' (ছ) as 's' (শ) at the end of verbs, denoted as 's'.

This is one of the Bhawaiya songs of North Bengal just like the Bhatiali of East Bengal. Such songs are sung by the boatmen when the boat goes slowly down the current—the boatmen have nothing to do but to adjust the helm at times. In North Bengal where big rivers are not numerous these songs are also sung by the cartmen when trudging along a weary way or by the cultivators when they sit for rest under the shade of a tree after a long work in the open field.

Implements and terms used in cultivation

- Plough - nangol - নাজল
 Handle of the wooden plough - mutha - মুঠা
 Body of the plough - nangol - নাজল
 Plough-share (iron) - phal - ফাল
 The wooden rod fixed to the plough at an angle - Is ; Ish - ঈশ, ইস
 The wooden block driven between the plough and the Ish for fixing it in position—patas - পাটাস
 The wooden or bamboo piece or plate fixed to the Ish at right angles that passes over the necks of the animals that draw the plough—dzongal, dzol - জঙ্গাল, জোঁরাল
 The notch at the far end of the Ish to fix the rope that ties the dzol with the Ish—amera - আমেরা
 The rope that ties the dzol with the Ish—nengra - নেঙ্গরা
 Two small bamboo rods driven into two ends of the dzol to fix the animals—sulti - সুল্টি
 The rope loop that passes between the neck of the animals and the Sulti—dzurunti - জুরুন্টি
 Harrow—bedha - ব্যাধা
 Ladder (for leveling the land) - moi - মই
 Bamboo or wooden club to crush the clods of earth—kurus - কুরুস

PLOUGH



- Ploughing—hal-bbha, tsasan—হাল বহা ; চাষান
 Deep ploughing—bai-tsas, bahi tsas—বাই চাষ ; বাহি চাষ
 Light ploughing—sdo tsas—স্যাও চাষ
 Clod of earth raised as a result of deep ploughing—dhimul—টিমুল
 Furrow—ghos, gohi—ঘোষ ; গোহি
 Winter cultivation—khon abad—খন আবাদ (winter vegetables are called 'khon')
 Rain cultivation—boisali abad—বৈশালী আবাদ
 Scare crow¹—nozor-kata—নজর কাটা
 Aus paddy—bhadoi dhan—ভাদোই ধান
 Land for Aus paddy—bhadoi dhaner bhui—ভাদোই ধানের ভূই
 Vegetable garden—khon bhui—খন ভূই
 Amon paddy (transplanted)—heuti—হেউতি
 Amon paddy (broad-cast)—batai—বাতাই
 Broad casting paddy seeds—chitan, phelan—ছিটান ; ফ্যালান
 Transplanting paddy seedlings—(r)oa gara—ওরা গারা

1. A scare-crow is called 'atsa-bhua (আচা-ভূয়া) and bhuti (ভূতি) in Rongpur, nozor-kata in Jalpaiguri and Terai. The word 'bhuti' in Jalpaiguri also means a thick rope of paddy straw to keep live fire for lighting smoking tobacco or an effigy of a man or animal to be set as a scare-crow.

Single crop land²—èk khònda bhui—এক খন্দা ভূই

Two crop land—do khònda bhui—দো খন্দা ভূই

(three crops on one plot are not grown in Jalpaiguri and Cooch-Bihar and Terai)

Chopper—dao—দাও

„ for cutting jute plants)—hasua dao—হাসুয়া দাও

„ (for cutting paddy plants)—katsi dao—কাচি দাও

„ (for cutting wood plants)—hat dao—হাত দাও

„ (for cutting paddy staw)—bosila, gorsi—বাসিলা ; গরসি

The wooden handle of a chopper—dètha, detha—দ্যাঠা ; দেঠা (S.C.B.—achari)

The iron spike of the blade that is driven into the wooden handle to fix—nèn—ন্যন

Iron blade of the chopper—dao, phalta (Rongpur)—দাও ; ফাল্টা (রংপুর)

Wooden or bamboo block on which fodder is chopped —modzguri, madzguri, tdl-khuta, dakhali—মোজগুরি ; মাজগুরি ; তলখুটা ; ডাখালি

Finely cut hay—kutsi, chaṭi—কুচি ; ছাটি

Fodder with cut hay, water, salt etc.—dzab—জাব

Earthen feeding trough—pohuna, tsari—পোহনা ; চারি

Hay heap—poaler pundzi—পোয়ালের পুঞ্জি

Heating of the cattle byre in winter—por³ deoa—পোর দেওয়া

Agricultural Implements (See illustration)

1. Moi—মই—Ladder
2. Jòngal, Dzòal—জংগাল ; জাংগাল—Yoke
3. Dhan bèdha (drawn by bullocks)—ধান ব্যাধা—Harrow, Rake
4. Hal—হাল—Plough
5. Hat bèdha (drawn by hand)—হাত ব্যাধা—Hand rake
6. Phauri—ফাউরি - (to collect paddy on the threshing floor) — Shoval ; Scoop
7. Kurus—কুরুস - (to break the clods after ploughing) — Hammer ; Club
8. Dahunki—ডাউংকি
Dauki—ডাউকি ; Pachuni—পাছুনি - Spud (S.C.B.—Khurpi)
9. Kodai—কোদাল - spade
10. Katsi dao—কাচি দাও - (for cutting paddy plants-harvesting of paddy)
11. Hasua dao—হাসুয়া দাও - (for cutting jute plants —harvesting of jute) } Chopper
Ghasua dao—ঘাসুয়া দাও - (for cutting ghash)
12. Hat dao—হাত দাও - (for cutting wood fuel)
13. Kurhal—কুরহাল - axe
14. Bosila—বাসিলা - (for cutting and splitting bamboo) - Small spade—like Chopper.

Spinning and weaving

Spinning and weaving are still to be found in the villages. The women generally take up the work. Jute strings from jute fibres are made at home for making household articles of use. Cotton spinning is now few and far between. The weaver class among the Rajbansis uses ordinary handlooms for weaving 'phota, urani' etc. The common handlooms found all over Bengal are used for weaving with cotton threads. A special type of loom, as is found in Assam, is used by Rajbansi women to weave with jute strings.

The implements for weaving 'dhokra' with jute strings are described here after. 'Dhokra' is a jute cloth used for covering the body during the winter or for using as a bed sheet.

The following are the implements for making jute strings. They are worked by hand.

2. The classification of Amon paddy land according to fertility e.g., au-ail, doiom, tsoiom, tsaharam as done in the south is not found in Jalpaiguri. Here the classification is 'pathari' (barren), 'danga' (high), 'sohori' (medium), 'dohola' (low), 'khari' (very low).
3. 'Por' (পোর)—is a hole excavated in the earth and filled with dry wood fuel, dried cow-dung, paddy husk, straw etc. This is lighted and all persons, male, women, children sit round in the winter for warming. It is called 'por pohā' (পোর পোহা). In Raigunj and Sadar P. S. of Jalpaiguri and Terai (Darjeeling) the hole is dug at the end of Bhadra (Aug.-Sept.) on Janmastomi day.

Plate XI

AGRICULTURAL IMPLEMENTS

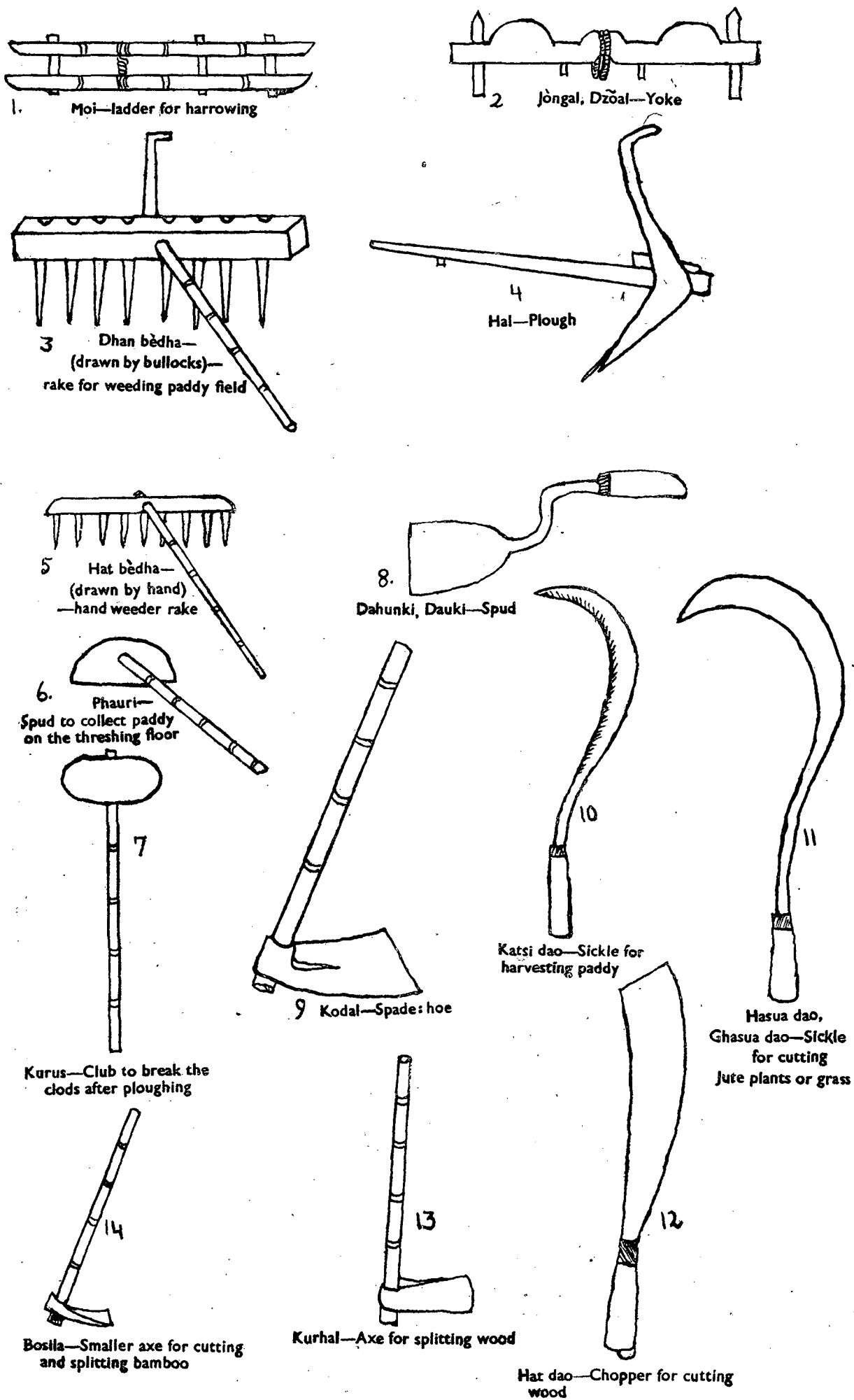
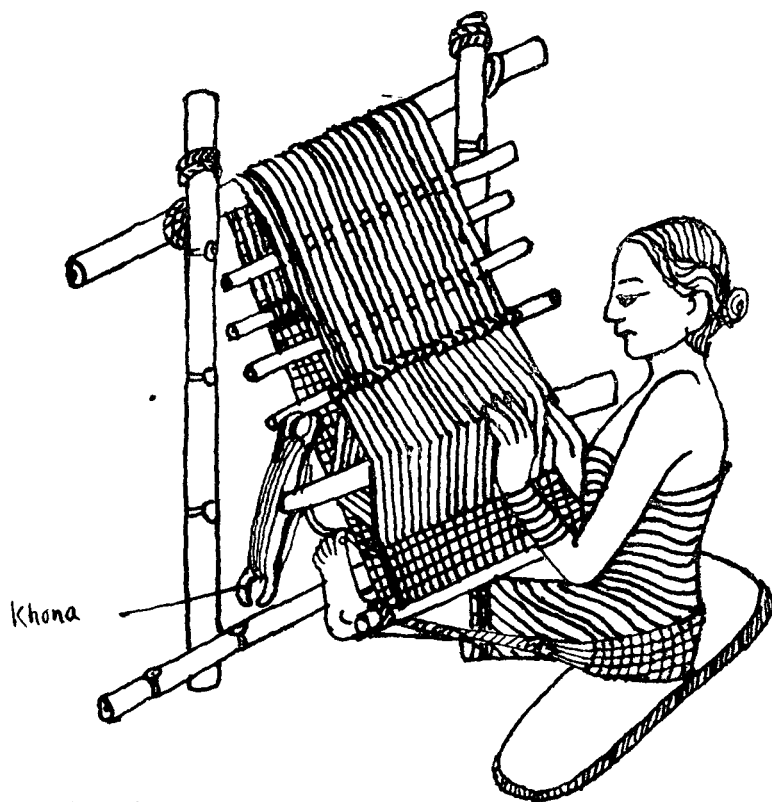
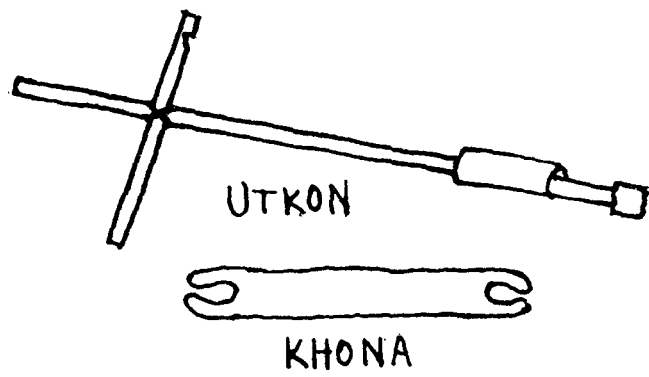
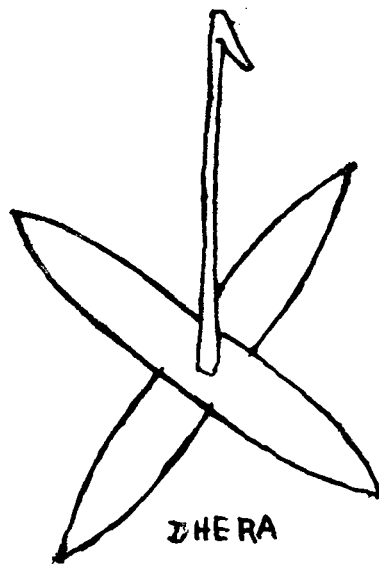
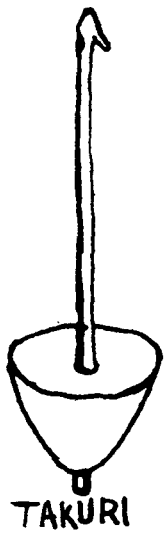


Plate XII

SPINNING AND WEAVING IMPLEMENTS



A village woman weaving a sac cloth (Dhokra)



Spinning and Weaving

Spindle :-

Takur :-

1. Takur (টাকুর) - It is made of a bamboo stick carefully cleaned and made smooth. The upper end has a notch and a lump of earthen ball or one areca nut is fixed to the other end. A long jute fibre is attached to the notch and the spindle quickly rotated by working on the thigh and allowed to spin in the air and the jute is spun into a fine thread. This thread is used for making 'dhokra', or dhokra.

Dhera :-

2. Dhera (ঢেরা) - It is for making thicker strings to be used for tying the parts of a hut. The 'dhera' is a fine and smooth bamboo stick with a notch at the upper end. The other end is pushed through a hole made into a bamboo cross and is fixed in position with a small peg fitted into a slit so that this part becomes wider than the hole in the cross. A jute fibre is fixed to the cross and passed through the notch. The spindle is rotated and the cross spins the jute into string.

Utkon :-

3. Utkon (উটকন) - It is used for making very thick jute string for tying the cattle. It is a thick bamboo stick with another bamboo stick with a notch fixed at an angle near the bottom with strings. The jute fibre is fixed to the bottom stick and the spindle is slowly rotated by hand. The string is made at the notch and wrapped round the junction of the sticks.

Method of making jute string :-

A bundle of jute is taken and the hard lower portion is pounded in a mortar (cham) to make it soft and loose. The top part is tied to a bamboo pole and the whole bundle is combed with fingers whereby the fibres are loosened and made separate. It is now called 'cocorong' (চোচোরং). A single fibre is drawn out, slightly rolled between the fingers and kept on the earth in a circle. One by one all the fibres are thus taken out and piled one above the other. The pile is called 'pundzi' (পুন্জি) and the work is called 'pundzi para' (পুন্জি পাড়া). Then each fibre is taken and made into string with a Takur.

In Rajganj P. S. of Jalpaiguri ropes for tying cattle are also made from fibres taken out of a stout creeper growing in this area. The name of the creeper is 'Neusilota' (নেউসিলতা).

Weaving :-

There are weavers among the Rajbansis. They weave 'phota' 'gamcha' (napkin), 'gilap' (wrapper) with cotton strings and 'Dhokra' with jute strings. This is their trade.

The loom :—tāt, tat.

One end of the loom is fixed to a bamboo pole placed horizontally which is fixed with loops of jute strings with two other vertical bamboo poles. A part of such vertical poles is driven into the earth and the other part is allowed to stand upright to hold the horizontal pole. The strings of the other side of the loom pass round the waist of the woman working the loom. The vertical bamboo pole is called—tāt-poi (তাত-পাই) or tāt-poi (তাত-পাই)

The horizontal wooden beam where the strings of the warp are rolled is called-dodolong (দোদোলং)

The horizontal strings from the horizontal beam are kept stretched by means of fine slips of bamboo (ledge) passing through the strings in criss cross manner. These slips are called—bhoko-khatī (ভোকো-খাটি)

The strings are passed through the eyes of the heald drafted with cotton strings. A series of vertical cords each having in the middle a loop (heddle eye) to receive a warp thread and passing round and between parallel bars. Such heald is called—pipli (পিপ্লি) (S.C.B. - বদ - ব)

A flat sheet of plank $5' \times 2\frac{1}{2}'$ having $\frac{1}{2}"$ thick at the upper end and pointed lower end, placed vertically between two sets of strings and after each turn of the shuttle containing the bobbin of the weft strings, it is moved back and front horizontally to tighten the strings and to keep them in position. This plank is called—bēo (বো)

Two round wooden horizontal beams tied together at the nearest end of the weaver round which the made sheet moves away or kept wrapped. are called—Khupni (খুপনি)

The strap that goes round the waist is called—Nettur (নেতুর)

The shuttle is made of a bamboo slip with notch at both ends and the string is passed along the spindle round the notches. It is about 1' long. It is called—Khōna (খোনা)

Dhokra Gōrha Tat

This is a loom to weave jute cloth. It is slightly different from the loom that weaves cotton string. The mode of weaving is different.

The loom and the mode of weaving :-

One end of a jute string is passed tightly round a bamboo stick called 'Pipli Kāṭhi' to serve the purpose of a knot.

A horizontal row of such jute strings covering about $2\frac{1}{2}$ ' in width is similarly tied to the 'Pipli Kaṭhi', passed round a horizontal bamboo pole called 'Dodolong' and brought round another double piece of bamboo slips tied together called 'Khupni' and taken back to the 'Pipli Kaṭhi' where the other end of the strings are rolled round the strings are six feet long. This is the warp. A strap (Nettur) is fixed at the two ends of the 'Khupni'. It passes round the waist of the weaver. The weaver sits with the straps round the waist and fixes his legs with the 'Tatpoi' bamboos to stretch the strings. Then a smooth rounded bamboo stick is passed below the front rows of strings and held in place in a horizontal position by means of two other jute strings of which one end is tied to the 'Khupni' and the other to the 'Dodolong'. A fine jute string is passed loosely round this stick holding each alternate string between the stick and the string. The strings are not passed through the eyes of a heald as in ordinary weaving. Thus one row of strings moves with the movement of this stick and one row is free. The shuttle called 'khḍna' containing the jute string for the weft is passed between these two rows. Some other bamboo sticks (Bhoko-Kaṭhi) are passed between the two rows of the front row of strings to keep them stretched and to prevent large shrinkage during weaving. The lower row of strings is free. A long piece of smooth wooden plank with the upper end thicker and the lower end thinner is moved between the two rows of the front batch of strings to tightly fix the weft string to the warp. The cloth (Dhokra) is not rolled round any wooden or bamboo beam. The whole thing rolls round the 'Dodolong' and the 'Khupni'. After the whole of the warf is woven with the weft the 'Pipli-Kaṭhi' is drawn out and the six feet long 'Dhḍkra' comes out. Three such pieces are sewed together side ways to make a useful jute cloth of $6' \times 6'$ allowing for the shrinkage due to weaving.

In 'Dhokra Gḍrha Tat'—'Bhoko-Kaṭhi' is called 'Bhollo-Kaṭhi.' The bamboo stick to which the two ends of the warp string are tied is called-Pipli-Kaṭhi.

The bamboo stick round which a loop is made for the warp strings to pass is called-Bḍ.

Two bamboo slips tied together to make one beam that is fixed nearest to the weaver is called-Khupni or Khupuni.

The strap that goes round the waist of the weaver is called-Nettur.

'Dhokra' weaving is usually done by the women.

Animal husbandry

The Rajbansi cultivator keeps bulls and cows for ploughing. The cows supply milk in addition. Very few of the cultivators can afford to buy a few pairs of buffaloes. The males are used for drawing carts and the females for the milk. Buffalo milk is greatly relished by the village people. It is cheap, contains larger quantity of fats and proteins and it makes very good curd. The fat is extracted from the milk and made into 'ghee' which has a high price in the market. 'Ghee' is also made from the fat of cow's milk. It sells at higher price. The present market is Rs. 8/- per seer of cow-milk 'ghee' and Rs. 6/- of buffalo-milk 'ghee.' In this area one she-buffalo gives about 8-10 seers of milk and a cow at best two seers of milk.

Goats are kept and reared. It is not much for the milk of the she-goats but for the male off-springs which the people sell and eat. Sometimes the males are castrated and reared up. A good sized castrated goat is sold for Rs. 20/-. Goat rearing is a good side business of the cultivator.

Ducks are reared in the house for food and for sale. The eggs and the ducks are eaten.

Pigeons are also reared for food and for sale.

Hogs are also reared although at a place far away from the living house. It is for business. A Rajbansi never eats the pork of domesticated hogs. The Kochs generally take to rearing of the swine.

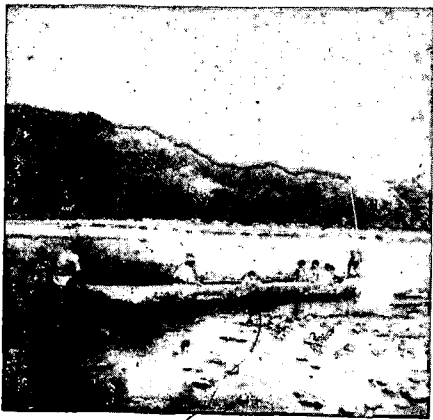
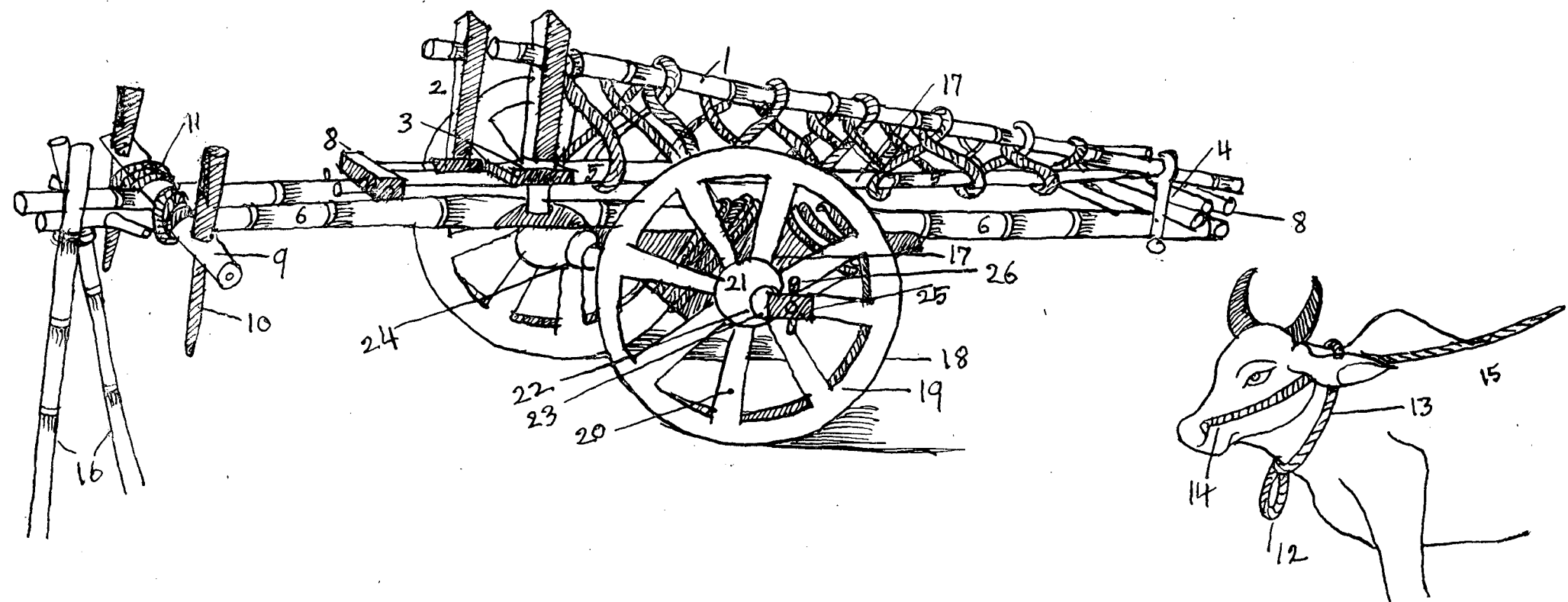
The mode of rearing up has nothing special. The animals and birds are reared up in the usual way without any particular care. The green fields serve as a pasture but in the rains the grass grown on the embankments is the only source of green fodder. The stored paddy hay is the main source of food in the rains. The pigeons fly about and eat the grains in the field and the paddy given to them by the housewife. It is a pleasing sight to see them pecking. The ducks are let in the ponds and they eat whatever they can get hold of.

The jackals are the enemies of the ducks, the civets steal into the wooden cages of the pigeons and work havoc, the leopards force into the cattle byre and goat enclosures and lift the calves. The villagers have no guns. They chase the enemies with their bamboo clubs and sticks. Near the forest tigers lift the adult cows and buffaloes. The villagers dare not chase them, they only heave a sigh for the loss.

Transport

Bullocks cart is the main vehicle for transport in the village. It is drawn by two bullocks. It can go over the unmetalled roads, waterways, fields and over small embankments of about two feet high. It is used to bring corn and hay from the cultivated land, to carry merchandise to and from the markets and to carry men. It has two wheels. The distance from the mid axle to the ground i. e. the road clearance is about twenty two inches. The distance between the two wheels is usually fifty four inches. The width and also the thickness of the rim of the wheels varies from 1.75" to 2". No wheel was found to be wider than this in this

Plate XIII TRANSPORT



Water Transport '—a dugout canoe'

area. The wheels are made of wood with an iron rim $\frac{1}{4}$ " thick fixed all over the wheel on the outer side. The spokes are wooden and there are eight spokes in a wheel. Bigger wheels have as much as twelve. One end of the spoke is driven into the wooden central drum and the other end into the wooden rim of the wheel. An iron rod passes horizontally through the centre of the drums and is lodged into the groove of a wooden rod placed over it all through. The whole thing forms the axle of the cart. An iron rim of $\frac{1}{4}$ " thick is placed inside the hole of the central drum with some oil-soaked jute acting as washer so that the wooden drum and the rod do not wear out while the wheels move. There are two semi-circular wooden parts on two sides, just to the inner side of the wheels, the base resting on the axle and the wider end holding the body of the cart. This is the wooden spring. The other parts of the cart are made of bamboo. The length of the cart from the shoulder pin for the bullocks up to the wheel is usually 65"-72" and always one foot longer than the length of the bullocks to be employed. The total length of the cart varies from 126"-144". The top is a triangle. The width of the top of the cart which is made of split bamboos placed lengthwise and tied with jute strings to the pieces of bamboos placed horizontally below them at regular intervals, is 18" at the front end and 72" at the rear end. The length of the supporting bamboo for the bullocks in front, the length of the entire axle and the length of the bamboos at the rear end of the cart is 72" each. Usually these carts can carry a load of about ten maunds.

While carrying men and specially the women, a semicircular covering of bamboo wickerwork is set up on the cart, the centre of which is about 36" high just to accommodate the head in the sitting position. It is called 'Choi' (ছই).

There are three varieties of carts named according to the diameter of the wheels. The one having a diameter of 54" is called 'Tehati' (তেহাতি), the one with 45" is 'Area' (অরোয়া) and the one with 40"-42" is 'Ndw-poa' (নওপোয়া). The writer took measurements of many carts to verify this. When ordering for a cart selection must be made from any of the above. The carts drawn by buffaloes have 54" diameter wheels and the body 144"-162" long.

The carts are made by village carpenters and the cost varies from Rs. 100/- to Rs. 150/- at the present market price.

Parts of bullock cart (See Illustration)

1. Bairati bas (বৈরাতি বাশ) - The inclined top bamboo of the cart forming the railing.
2. Bairati Khuṭa (বৈরাতি খুটা) - The front vertical supports of 'Bairati bas'.
3. Pirali (পিরালি) - The wooden supports for the 'Bairati Khuṭa'.
4. Rang poci (রাং পোচি) - An iron peg in the rear to fix the 'Bairati Khuṭa' and 'Bom-bas' to the wooden plank (bēdha) below.
5. Balar bas (বালার বাশ) - The base bamboo of the railing.
6. Bom bas (বোম বাশ) - The strong bamboos supporting the body of the seat.
7. Teteli (তেতেলি) - The wooden spring—the name is probably due to the fact that it is usually made from the wood of a tamarind tree.
8. Bēdha (ব্যাধা) - Wooden plank to fix the 'Balar bas'.
9. Dzua (জুয়া) - The horizontal bamboo pole in front of the cart for the bullocks.
10. Sultī (সুল্টি) - The bamboo peg to fix the shoulder of the bullocks.
11. Mōrdong (মরং) - The jute string to tie the base bamboos and the 'Dzua', and to tie the axle with 'Bom bas'.
12. Dzukti (জুক্তি) - The small rope round the shoulder of the bullocks to pass round the 'Sultī'.
13. Dzurunti (জুরুন্তি) - The loose rope round the shoulder of the bullocks.
14. Nathkhōn (নাকখন) - The rope passing through the nose of the bullocks.
15. Aser dori (আসের দড়ি) - The reins.
16. Sil pēya, Sil-pa (শীল প্যায়া, শীলপা) - The bamboo cross to keep the cart erect after the bullocks are loosened from the cart.
17. Cangra (চাংরা) - The bamboo frame of lattice work over the cart for sitting.

Parts of the wheel :

18. Hal (হাল) - The iron rim over the wheel.
19. Puṭhia (পুঠিয়া) - The wooden rim of the wheel.
20. Ara (অরা) - Spokes.
21. Hari (হাড়ি) - Central drum.

22. Ain (আইন) - The iron plate round the central hole of the drum.
23. Khandon (খানদন) - The jute washer between the 'ain' and the iron axle.
24. Dhur (ধূর) - Axle.
25. Cabi (চাবি) - The wooden washer.
26. Dhur poci (ধূর পোচি) - The iron peg to fix the axle to the wheel.

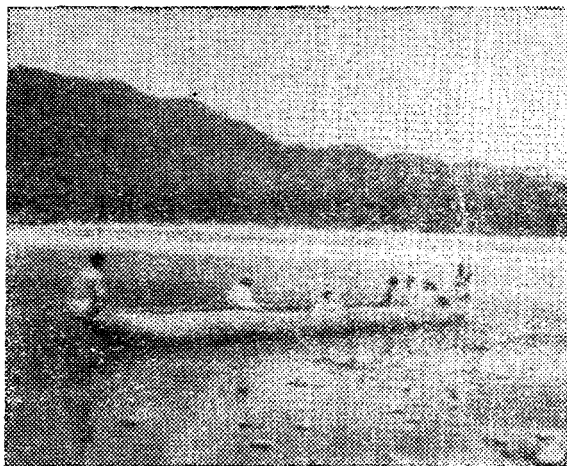
Water Transport

Boats :

Excepting in the lower reaches of the Tista, Toorsa, Jaldhaka and Mujnai no big boat can ply. Very small boats called 'Kosa' carrying four passengers can go over all the rivers. But the most popular boat is the canoe—the 'Solonga'. It is fifteen feet long, two feet wide and one and a half feet deep scooped out of a Bombax (Simul) tree trunk. It being very light can go over even two feet deep water with two adult extra passengers which it usually carries. It has no helm. One boatman stands at one end, thrusts a bamboo log on the sand under the water, gives a push and the boat advances. During rains or in high floods wooden paddles are worked with hand by two men sitting at two ends of the canoe. It can go easily against strong current. The writer himself crossed the river Tista on such a canoe during high floods. It is difficult to keep the balance while standing. The best way is to remain sitting without being nervous.

Raft made with several plantain stems tied together is the usual vehicle for crossing small streams or deep water collections.

In the winter nearly all streams are fordable.



A Canoe.

Chapter III

Birth, Childhood and Puberty.

Birth Customs.

For the Rajbansis whether they are Kshatriyas or non-Kshatriyas, there are certain turning points of life. They are, it is believed, guided by supernatural agencies rendering the outcome of events favourable or unfavourable. Hence certain rites or ceremonies must be observed to ward off the evil spirits. These are time honoured customs and the common folk of the Rajbansis strongly believe that observance of those rites produces a wholesome effect. Some of the up-to-dates amongst the Rajbansis doubt the efficacy of these customs and consider them as mere superstition. Whatever may be the feeling, all Rajbansis resort to the pujas and *ḍḍzhalis* (exorcism) when trouble arises in the family. They are guided by these observances from the very start of their life.

Pregnancy.

When a married woman misses one or two monthly courses (*ḍḍzosola* or *itu* or *sinan*) she is said to be pregnant. It is believed that pregnancy is the natural outcome of the union between a man and woman. The woman generally communicates this fact at first to her husband and then to the elderly women of the house or more commonly the elderly women detect this failure of menses from mere change of appearance and inform the young woman that she is pregnant.

When a woman becomes pregnant (*Gao-bhari*) she is not considered unclean and is allowed to go about her regular works and do all cooking and household duties without restriction. She may eat whatever she likes. But she is not allowed to go about alone at night nor attend any funeral, nor go to eat in a house where a 'sradh' (post-funeral) ceremony is being performed lest evil spirits get possession of her. She should not go out on Tuesdays and Saturdays (*Cokhabar* - চোখাবার) and should not cross any river. It is believed, this may do some harm to the child in the womb and may even cause its death. The husband of the pregnant woman is forbidden to carry a funeral bier or to go to attend cremation. He is not allowed to sacrifice any animal with his own hands nor to go about fishing. He should not kill any animal. He should not also take his meals in the house where a 'sradh' ceremony is being performed.

If the pregnant woman perchance goes out on Tuesdays or Saturdays or crosses a river, an exorcist (*Ḍḍza* or *Mahan*) is called. He utters some 'montros' on a flower and on a pot of water and carries the flower from the head-end to the foot-end of the woman without touching her and sprinkles the water on her body to drive away any evil spirit that might attack her. The *ḍḍzha* does not charge any fee for his labours.

If the woman feels pain in the abdomen long before the usual time of delivery the elderly women of the house enquire if the pain moves about or is stationary. When it moves about it is believed to be 'poiri-bis' (পাইরী বিস). It is due to an attack of a female evil spirit and an '*ḍḍzha*' is immediately called. If it is stationary it is said to be due to natural illness associated with pregnancy.

In the year 1957, Mrs. Kalo wife of Moti of Rajgunj (*Jalpaiguri*), carrying three months, crossed the river Chaoi on Tuesday and went to Rajgunj market. After her return she had severe pain in the lower abdomen and the pain was moving about. At once an '*ḍḍzha*' (*Temku*) was called. He came and uttered some 'Montros' over a china rose flower (*Jḍba-জবা*) and passed it from her head to foot. He also uttered some 'montros' over a pot of water and sprinkled it on her body, a part of it was given to her to drink. The pain disappeared within half an hour.

When pregnancy advances to third month a black string on which some 'montros' have been uttered (*dḍzaf-জাক*) with a talisman (*ḍhop-ঢোপ*) is hung from the neck of the woman to ward off evil spirits. This she should wear throughout the period of her gestation.

If the pregnant woman falls ill, medicines, specially allopathic medicines, are never used. Sometimes decoction of herbs are given. In most cases an '*ḍḍzha*' is called. He utters some 'montros' and passes his hands over the body of the mother without touching her and blowing the air of his mouth on her body. This process is called *Dzhar-phuk* (ঝার-ফুক). It is assumed that any disease of the pregnant woman is due to evil spirits either looking at her or taking possession of her. The evil spirits are generally female spirits (*pḍttani-পট্টানী*) or a male spirit (*Duari Thakur-দুয়ারীঠাকুর*). When pregnancy advances to six months, a *seba* (puja) is given at *Thakur Bari*. If perchance the *Seba* cannot be given at six months, it should be done when pregnancy advances to nine months.

A pregnant woman should always carry a bit of iron in the form of a knife in her possession to prevent or to ward off an attack of evil spirits. In the night the knife is kept under the bed. In some areas a fishing net or an old broom is placed under the bed. Some woman ties an amulet or a talisman containing iron on her arm or hangs it from the neck with a string. These are believed to be a preventive against an attack of evil spirits.

Lying-in-room :

The common Rajbansi cultivator cannot afford the luxury of building a separate hut for the purpose. The well-to-do and modernised Rajbansis build one or two permanent thatched huts about the size of 18' x 12' with walls made of bamboo mat or straw and one bamboo-mat door either facing east or south to be used as lying-in-room when necessary. These rooms are usually used for household purposes and are cleaned before using as a lying-in-room. They are not pulled down after the child-birth affair is over. They are cleaned again with cow-dung emulsion and sprinkled with water in which a few 'tulsi' leaves are dipped. Sometimes a priest comes to purify the room with 'montros'.

Usually the living room is cleaned and the furniture, although practically nothing, are removed. The floor is smeared with an emulsion of cow dung in water which after drying leaves a very clean surface. The parturition taken place inside this room.

No male members are allowed to enter this room during the whole period of confinement. They are asked to retire to the outer yard of the house.

Labour

When a Rajbansi woman feels the approach of labour pain generally in the tenth month counted from the month of first failure of menstruation, she calls a woman who knows all about the work of delivery of a child. She may be an elderly woman of the house or one living close to her house or a woman who has taken up her profession as a midwife (dhai-ধাই). She comes and examines her and roughly ascertains the probable time of delivery. This is done in a curious way. The pregnant woman is laid on her back, all coverings are removed from the abdomen and then some mustard oil is poured on the umbilicus. If the oil flows towards the thigh or vagina then it is said that the time of delivery is very near. When the real pain starts the pregnant woman is seated on a wooden platform (pira), another woman lightly holds her abdomen, the top of the uterus is massaged by passing her palm lightly on the abdomen and the back. Sometimes the woman is kept standing during pains supporting herself by placing her two hands on the shoulders of two other women standing on two sides. She is not allowed to lie down during pains. She is generally made to walk in the room during the pains. The woman supporting the loins of the expectant mother is called *Komor dhorni mao*-(কোমর ধোরণী মাও). The delivery is effected in a squatting position her feet resting on the 'pira' and her head supported by another woman by her side. The mother's face should be towards the East.

Delivery

The child immediately after birth is allowed to fall on the bare earth. It is said that the first touch of mother earth is conducive to the well-being of the child.¹ The mother is kept sitting or squatting on the 'pira' till the placenta (dzhara-ডারা) is delivered. The child also remains on the earth till the delivery of the placenta.² After delivery of the placenta, a clean winnowing fan (kula) is brought, some straw is placed on it and covered with some torn cloth. The child is laid on this bed. Then the midwife (dhai)³ severs the umbilical cord (nara-নারা) with a freshly prepared *Chush Kuni* or *Chuts Kuni* (চুষ কুনি ; চুট কুনি) leaving about two inches of the cord attached to the child, the body end of the cord is tied with a fine rope made of jute fibre before cutting the cord. It is believed that this time lag is allowed for the birth shock of the child to pass off (*Hatas tu palauk*-হাতাশ টা পালাউক). The cutting instrument (*Chush Kuni*) is a fine green bamboo split about one foot long with very sharp edges. The green skin is stripped off a standing bamboo tree and washed with cold water immediately before use and is thrown away after the work of cutting the cord is done. The midwife (dhai) does not change her usual clothes, nor washes her hands, nor boils the string or the bamboo strip nor even washes them with plain hot water. In fact no modern antiseptic measures are taken. It appears horrible to the advanced people but curiously cases of postnatal sepsis are extremely rare. (At present the village *dais* have been trained to some modern antiseptic measures). After the cord is cut, the cut end attached to the child is sprinkled with ashes prepared by burning the skin of the dry unripe plantain. This is supposed to prevent any disease arising from the cord.

Burial of Placenta

After the placenta is out, a hole about one cubit deep is made inside the lying-in-room near a bamboo post of the wall close to the door. The mother then puts the placenta inside the hole, covers it with a plantain leaf and tightly closes the hole with earth. The placenta is not buried outside. In well-to-do houses or when the mother is sick the 'dhai' buries the placenta. It is a common belief that perchance the placenta is eaten by an animal the breast milk of the mother dries up and the child becomes sickly or dies.⁴

1. Child birth is called 'upton' as 'ek bèta upton hoise'-a son has been born.

In Sadar and Rajgunj P. S. of Jalpaiguri and Siliguri of Darjeeling, child birth is called 'updzil'-উপজিলা।

2. During cold weather the child is not kept long on the earth. A winnowing fan (kula) is pushed between the thighs of the mother and the child is placed on it.

3. The word 'dai' is pronounced as 'dhai' (ধাই).

4. In some villages of Jalpaiguri it is believed as the writer could ascertain from his Rajbansi friends, that by burying the placenta in the room the mind of the child will remain attached to the house and he will never run away.

Care of the child

Then the midwife (dhai) sits in one corner of the room with legs stretched and takes the child on her legs. The child is washed with cold water in summer or with tepid water in the winter and the dirt (meconium) on the skin is gently rubbed off with a piece of cotton cloth soaked in mustard oil. In the advanced families hot water and soap are used for the first bathing of the child. The child is rubbed dry and then smeared liberally with mustard oil. In the meantime the soiled straw and the rags are removed from the winnowing fan (kula) and a bed on the same 'kula' is made with fresh dry straw and dry cloth. The bed of the child is made by placing some straw on the 'kula' and a small iron knife (katari) and three sticks from a broom (badinir kathi) are placed under the straw and some torn cloth are spread over the straw. The knife and the broom sticks are said to keep away evil spirits from the child. The torn cloth making the bed of the child is called 'dzhòlma, dzhòlla, khèta or senia (বড়না, বড়া, খাতা, সেনিয়া). The child is fed with a few drops of warm cow's milk and then placed on the bed and covered. The common Rajbansis of Rajganj Thana (Jalpaiguri) and of Terai (Darjeeling) still follow the old practice of feeding with cow's milk. In the Duars area where pure honey is available in plenty, a few drops of it is now given instead of milk. At present feeding the child with a few drops of honey at first and then with cow's milk has become the custom in Duars (Jalpaiguri).

Care of the mother

No attention is paid to the mother by the 'dhai'. After some rest she naturally recovers from the shock of child birth. She gets up and cleanses the room herself by pouring an emulsion of cow dung and water on the floor and sweeping it with a broom made of straw. The cow dung is held in great esteem by the common people. It is regarded as a purifier. No other person does the cleaning business. She then retires to a secluded corner outside the room and washes herself clean with hot water. She cleanses her own blood-stained clothing with water. She is not allowed to touch the well and hence the water is drawn by some other women of the house. In modern Rajbansi families the cleaning works are done by the 'dhai' or by any other woman of the house.

Food and medicines for the mother

During pain and the child birth the mother is not given any food. Sips of cold water are sometimes given during pain before child birth if she feels extremely thirsty. About four to five hours after child birth when she has sufficient rest and has done the cleaning work, she is given some food to eat. She is given fried rice (tsalbhadzi-চাল ভাজি) mixed with some juice expressed from ginger or some boiled rice in which some black pepper seeds are also boiled. More commonly the fried rice is steeped in cold water and when the grains swell up and have nearly the appearance of boiled rice, it is given to the mother with powdered black pepper. She is not to take any salt on the first day. She takes salt from the second day. The food of the mother consists of rice, salt and powdered black pepper from the second to the fourth day. She is not given rice at night for these days. She takes 'muri' or 'cura' in dry form. Fish is allowed after four days. No milk is given for seven days. It is believed that milk feed makes the womb liable to infection. For the first three days no medicine is given if there is no complication. From the fourth day a mixture is given. It is prepared by breaking into pieces some 'pipli' (piper longum seeds) and immersing them in cold water for about two hours. The water with the 'pipli' are boiled and then some treacle (gur) is added. The mixture is strained through a clean cloth and when still hot some ginger juice is added. This mixture is preserved either in a glass bottle purchased from the market, or in an earthen pitcher. The mouth of the glass bottle is closed with a cork or with an earthen lid in case of the latter. This mixture keeps well for at least four days. A quantity of it, about two tea spoonfuls of this mixture is given in the morning and two tea spoonfuls in the evening. It is slightly warmed before administration. This mixture is said to help contraction of the uterus and drying up the wound. Recently the mother is given milk to drink from the fourth day. Fish, meat and eggs are tabooed generally for one week or upto the day following the separation of the cord of the child. She may eat her usual food excepting the above.

In some villages of Jalpaiguri district (Sadar and Rajgunj P.S.) west of the river Tista the writer was informed that from the second day of child birth upto the fourth day the mother eats rice, salt, powdered black pepper and 'magur' fish (clarius batrachus) curry prepared with the juice of 'usuni sak', ginger, garlic, onion and roots of 'pipli' and papaya (carica papaya). It is called 'Gòrmai' (গরমাই). This curry is very pungent and is said to dry up the uterus quickly. This she will eat at day time. At night she will eat puffed rice (muri) or flattened rice (cura) as dry food. From the sixth day she is given her usual meals. She should not drink milk during the first seven days. It is said that milk makes the uterus liable to be infected and takes longer time to contract.

The door of the lying-in-room is closed in the evening and is not opened till the next morning. The room has no windows and hence their closure is out of the question. The mother is not allowed to go out of the room at night. The Rajbansis have an idea that ghosts and evil spirits are about at night and they take a chance to enter into the body of the child or of the mother.

The first look at the child

After the child is born, the mother of the child's mother (abo) comes to see the child any day within seven days

after the birth. It is called 'Choa Khodani' (ছোয়া খোদানি). She brings with her for the child one pair of silver or iron bangles, a piece of black string (dzaf-জাফ) on which some 'montros' have been uttered by an exorcist (mahan-মাহান) in order to drive away any evil spirits, a string necklace (bhorul mala or hoiddar mala⁵-ভোরুল মালা ; হাইডার মালা) for the same purpose, a pot of mustard oil, some milk and sugar.

She enters the lying-in-room, slips the bangles round the child's hands, ties the consecrated string round the waist and hangs the 'bhorul mala' from the neck of the child. She then smears the mustard oil on the body of the baby and gives a drink of milk with a little sugar to the child. She will also bring with her a few 'magur fishes', 'usuni sak', roots of 'pipli' and 'papeya', black pepper and mustard oil about half a pound. She will cook the 'gormai' and feed her daughter with cooked rice in her presence.

Thus the first look is over.

During the period of the confinement

During her confinement fomentation on the abdomen is given with a sand bag or with a bag of dried and powdered cow-dung. This is done by other women of the house. The mother also keeps her cloth tied round the abdomen so as to help natural contraction of the uterus. No separate abdominal binder is used. The mother bathes in cold water everyday and changes her cloth. It is washed, dried in the sun and kept ready for the use of the next day. The small piece of cloth covering the vagina is thrown away for the first two days and then this is also washed clean, dried in the sun and kept for use next day. The child is lightly smeared with mustard oil and bathed every day in cold water and then liberally smeared with mustard oil and exposed to the sun for about two hours in the morning. The mothers say that sun's rays do not burn the skin of the child due to the oil. The bathing and basking in the sun starts from the second day of the birth. In modern families bathing is done with the water warmed in the sun. When the sun is hot a screen of hessian or of cotton cloth is hung to prevent the delicate skin of the child from being scorched. The child is then wrapped in old cloth *dzhòlna* and laid on the bed prepared on the 'kula' inside the room. The sun-shine is believed to be conducive to the health of the child.

God writing the fate

A fire is kept burning in the lying-in-room and is kept alive for seven days with rice husk or bits of wood or dried cow-dung cakes. The fire is called 'Dhurmusi por' (ধূর্মুসি পোর). It keeps the room warm. A lamp made of an earthen cup full of mustard oil and a cotton wick dipped in it with one end protruding outside the cup (*gècha*) must be kept burning day and night inside the room for seven days. There is a belief that God comes to see the baby every day for the first three days and on the fourth day writes out the events of future life on the child's forehead. Hence a lamp should be kept burning to light the room.

End of first unclean period

After about a week or so between the seventh and to ninth day when the stump of the cord attached to the child (*neviri-nari*-নেভিরি নাড়ী) falls off, which is usually the case, a village barbar is called. No female barbar is now available in this area and hence a male barbar (usually a Bihari) does the work. He at first cuts a little of the hair of the 'poits' (*Pòach*) the headman of the village and then shaves the hair of the child with a razor and the nails of the mother are pared. This is called the first shaving ceremony (*petb-thom kamani* or *Chua-khedani*). Sunday is excluded for this purpose as this day is called '*Ghora-Kamani*' day.⁶ The cord (*nara*) and the hair of the child and the nails of the mother are wrapped up in a piece of plantain leaf and buried deep under a plantain tree close to the house. It is said that one life of the child resides under the plantain tree and one life inside the body of the living child. The mother then takes a ceremonial bath either in a nearby pond or near the house well. In the latter case some other woman draws the water for her as she is still untouchable to the well. She changes her clothing. Some Ganga water or water in which a 'Tulsi' (*Ocymum sanctum*) leaf is dipped is sprinkled on her, on the child and on all articles of the lying-in-room. The uncleanness (*chua*-ছুয়া) is thus over. The 'kula' on which the child remained for these days is thrown away in the nearby jungle or in the areca palm or bamboo grove whichever is nearer. Even then she is not allowed to touch the well, but allowed to enter the cow-shed and to do other household duties excepting cooking and can take her usual meals. In poor houses where there are no other female members she is also allowed to cook. Usually a temporary well is dug for her use. In the same evening a 'Seva' is performed at the Thakur Bari. In one corner of the inner yard of the house there is a *Tulsi* plant (*Ocymum sanctum*). This part of the yard is called *Thakur bari*.

The father of the child is also considered unclean for these seven or eight days. He is not allowed to touch the well nor

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5. Hoiddar mala : It is an amulet worn by the children usually round the neck to ward off an attack of evil spirits. It consists of—(1) a soap nut seed (*ritha*), (2) a piece of copper, (3) a bit of iron, (4) a cowrie, (5) a bit of tiger's nail, (6) a tooth of a fish, (7) a fruit of Beca tree (*hoidda*). A cotton string is passed through all of them forming a necklace.
 6. Ghora Kamani : If the mare of a villager gives birth to a calf the members of the family become unclean. It is said that human beings have two rows of complete teeth and the horse has the same, as such both belong to the same category. Hence the birth of a horse calf makes the members of the house unclean as the birth of a human child does in the family. On any Sunday after the birth of a horse calf a barbar is called and the hair and nails of the head of the family and of other male members are shaved and pared. This is called Ghora Kamani. It is why Sunday is excluded in case of human child.

enter the kitchen. He will not do the field work for the first seven days. After seven days he also gets his hair shaved, the nails are pared and his clothes are washed in water. Ganga water or *Tulsi* dipped water is sprinkled on him. He is considered clean after the evening puja at Thakur bari is done. He then takes up the field work. But in some areas no body takes food in his hands nor he is allowed to attend any marriage or funeral ceremony nor any invitation to dine ⁷ at other's house until the second shave (Do-Kamani) is done after thirty days of the birth of the child and the mother also is not allowed to cook before the 'Do-Kamani' nor allowed to touch the well (Do-Kamani is to be described hereafter). After the first shaving ceremony all members of the house excepting the mother of the child becomes touchable. The husband should not sleep in the same room until the second shave. Where there is only one sleeping room he is allowed to sleep on a separate bed in the same room. In the Western Duars all the members of the house are considered unclean upto the first shaving ceremony. The men are shaved and the nails of all the women of the house are pared at the 'Peth-thom Kamani' or 'Chua Khedani' ceremony.

Complications of child birth :

It is not unusual for complications to arise although very rarely they happen. They are supposed to be due to the evil influence of spirits.

Dealyed labour

If the labour is delayed an exorcist (ḍḍzha-ওঝা) is called. The 'ḍḍzha' takes a cup of mustard oil and utters some montros over it. This oil is then rubbed by some other women on the abdomen of the mother. If it fails a cup of water is taken and some stronger montros are uttered over it. A part of the water is given to the mother to drink and the other part is rubbed on the abdomen.

If this also fails promise is made to Duari Thakur to sacrifice a pigeon for his propitiation provided a safe delivery is effected.

Sometimes the root of a particular tree⁸ is tied with a cotton string touching the abdomen or tied to the hair of the head. It is said that the root must be removed immediately after the delivery of the child, otherwise the whole uterus may come out.

If all these fail the woman is left to her fate, in the meanwhile songs to propitiate the goddess 'Bhut Kali' are sung in the house to anvoke her assistance. This is called 'Mahanti Kōra' (মাহান্তি করা). At last a doctor from the nearest Health Centre or a private medical practitioner is called. Usually when he comes there remains nothing to do.

Mahanti Kora in case of protracted labour :

When there is inordinate delay in the delivery of the child an 'ḍḍzha' (mahan) is called. He comes with his deciples, sits in the outer yard of the house and sings to propitiate the goddess 'Bhut Kali'. The story of her birth is sung. It is said that safe delivery of the child is effected just after the song ends.

The song of 'Bhut Kali'

ধুয়া (দোহার) :-

ওগে, বিষের চোটে, বিষের চোটে
উপজিল্ কালী গে, বিষের চোটে।

পরার (অঝা) :-

দশ মাস দশ দিন দিবসে পুরিল্
হারিয়া কোণের ভিত্তি দেওয়া গিরজিল্
আশমান ভাঙ্গিয়া নারীর মাথত্ পড়িল্।

পরথমে ছুটি গেইল জলের ভুঙ্কার
তার পর ছুটি গেইল অজের হাল
পৈসাজের বেলায় দেবী দিল্ দেখা
দেবীর কান্দন গেইল সগ্ গো-রাজপুরী।

ইষির ঘর উপজিল্ ভৈরব ভবানী
তার পাছত্ উপজিল্ কালী সুন্দরী
কালীর কান্দন গেইল তিন কোণ পিথিবী।

Dhua (chorus) :-

O,ge, biser tsoṭe , biser tsoṭe
upḍzil Kali ge, biser tsoṭe.

Pḍēar (solo) by the ḍḍzha :-

Dōs mas dōs din dibḍse puril
haria koner bhiti deoa girdzil
asman bhangia narir mathḍt poril.

pḍrthome chuṭi geil ḍḍbler bhunkar
tar pḍr chuṭi geil ḍkter hal
poisanḍzer belāṭ devi dil dekha
devir kandḍn geil sḍggo-radz puri.

isir ghḍr upḍzil bhoirḍb bhḍbani
tar pachot upḍzil kali sundori
kalir kandḍn geil tin kon pithibi.

7. Sodor Khoa na ḍzae-(সোদোর খোয়া না যায়)

8. Particular tree: The name of the tree could not be secured as it was a guarded secret. Some said it was the root of a very young tamarind tree pulled out at night while holding the breath. In one village a shrub was shown to the writer the root of which was tied with a string on the abdomen. The name of the plant was told as 'Coroi Goch'.

ইষির ঘর উপজিছে রাইকোস মুরতি
 দেবী উপজিল, কালী উপজিল
 চণ্ডি উপজিল ভৈরব ভবানী
 এগারে নারে উপজিল এ পাচ বোহিনী।

isir ghôr updziche raikos muroti
 devi updzil, kali updzil
 condi updzil bhoirôb bhôbani
 êkhe nare updzil e pats bohini.

আও গেইল কপিলাস, ধরে বসিল জিপ্
 কান্দন শুনিয়া আসিল বত পাড়ার নোক
 কি করেছিত্ ইষি বুড়া নিচন্দে বসিয়া
 ঘরের আগত সোনা দাই অনেক ডাক দিয়া।

ao geil kopilas, dhôre bosil dzip
 kandôn sunia asil dzôto parar nok
 ki kôrechit isi bura nicônde bosia
 ghôrer agot sona dai anek dak dia.

Free translation :

Chorus : The force of pain, the force of pain, gave birth to Kali, the force of pain.

Solo : (by the 'odzha') Ten months and ten days are over. The cloud roared in the north west corner of the sky and it broke on the head of the woman (the woman was in pains). At first the sac containing the child broke with a gush of water, then there was a stream of blood. Towards the evening the Devi was born and her cries reached the heavens. Then in the house of the sage were born the Bhoirob and Bhawani and then the beautiful Kali was born. The cries of Kali went to the three corners of the earth. The sage had the demon-like daughters. Thus were born Devi, Kali, Condi, Bhoirob and Bhawani. These five sisters were out from one womb attached to one umbilical cord. The cries reached the throat and life went into the heart. Hearing their cries all the people of the village came. They told the sage what he was silently doing alone. There was a midwife named Sona living just to the east side of his house and they implored him to call her to cut the cord.

Thus the song of the birth of 'Bhut Kali' was sung in all details and the birth of the child of the mother in pains in the inner hut was expected soon.

Delayed delivery of the placenta :

If the placenta (dzhara) fails to come out within half an hour the same 'têl-pôra' or 'dzôlpôra' or 'sorsa pôra', that is the oil or water or mustard seeds on which some montros have been uttered, is rubbed or sprinkled on the abdomen and a little consecrated water is given to drink. If it fails, a portion of the hair of the mother is pushed into her mouth to induce vomiting and thus, it is believed, exciting the uterus to contract. In some villages a corner of the bamboo wall of the lying-in-room is slightly cut open to allow the evil spirit causing the mischief to go away. The father of the child throws a stick (Karha) over the roof of the lying-in-room. The father of the child goes to a nearby Pakrigôch—(pipal tree 'ficus infectoria') and threatens to touch it unless the placenta is delivered forthwith. The man is in 'Chua' so he will not touch the sacred tree. In fact one of my friends had to do this.

In some villages of Jalpaiguri the writer was informed that the mother was kept standing until the placenta was out. As a result many mothers died of exhaustion.

Delayed crying of the child :

If the child fails to cry after its mouth is cleaned with a piece of cloth, a metal plate or a cup is beaten near the child to produce a sharp sound to wake up the life of the child. Hot fomentation is given near the naval. It is said that the life of the child at first appears at the root of the stump of the cord. A drop or two of cow's milk is put into the mouth of the child. The child is moved from side to side the child excite respiration. If all these fail the child is considered dead.

Delayed separation of the stump :

If the stump of the umbilical cord does not fall off in seven to nine days the droppings of pigeon or powdered goat's dung or ash of the skin of unripe plantain is smeared round the root of the cord of the child. In some villages the white central portion of the web of a spider is heated with mustard oil on a mango leaf and the hot oil is smeared round the cord. These are said to effect drying and falling off the cord very quickly.

In some villages specially in the Sadar and Rajgunj thana (Police Station) of Jalpaiguri district the following methods are

1. Note : bis - pain ; updzil - born ; haria kon - north west ; bhiti - direction ; deoa - cloud ; girdzil - roared ; bhunkar - ripples ; dzoler bhunkar - bursting of the liquor amnion sac. It is also called 'gao bhangil' (গাও ভাঙ্গিল) ; hal - stream ; okter hal - blood stream ; poisandze - evening ; devi dil dekha - devi was born ; isi - sage (S.C.B. - rishi) raikos - demon (S.C.B. rakshas) ; ekhe nare - in one womb, with one umbilical cord attached to the placenta ; kopilas - throat ; dzip - life in the heart ; niconde - silently alone ; agot - on the east side, near.

The goddess Devi (Durga). Kali, Condi, Bhoirob and Bhawani (all incarnations of Kali) are sisters.

The life resides in the heart.

adopted :—

1. The intestines of a few 'Puṭhi' fishes (barbus stigma—puṭhi macher bhuṭi—পুঠি মাছের ভুটি) and two or three heads of ordinary flies and some sticky earth from the earthen lamp-stand (গাছার মাটি), are rubbed and made into a paste with a little cold water and applied round the stump. In their opinion the stump will dry up and fall off in two to three days.

2. The body of a dead spider or a living spider is burnt in a piece of jute cloth and the ash is sprinkled round the naval. They say that the stump will dry up soon and fall off.

In their opinion the ash of the skin of the plantain may cause ulcers as it is strongly alkaline (ঝার) and the application of droppings of pigeons may corrode the soft skin of the child.

The child refuses milk and gets fits :

If the child refuses to suck, its mouth is opened and drops of cow's milk are poured into its mouth. If it gets convulsions, Ōdzhas are called and pujas are offered.

If the child dies :

As stated before, if the first child dies soon after birth or if a dead child is delivered, it is buried at a place very close to the house. There is an impression that by so doing the soul of the child will move about the house and take the first chance to enter into the womb of its former mother. Thus another conception may be expected soon.

If several children die one after another or if two or three successive still-births occur, one or more fingers of the last dead child are cut off (khut haraē—খুত কাঁরা) and the child is buried far away from the house. By so doing, it is believed that the evil soul will not dare again to enter the womb of the mother.

If the mother dies :

If the mother dies with child in the womb, the body is not burnt. She is buried with the child in the womb. A plantain tree (aṭhia-kēlar gḍch—অটিয়া কালার গছ) is planted on the spot. It is the belief that the soul of the mother and the child will remain in the tree and will not disturb the inmates of the house. No body should eat the fruits of this tree. It is believed that the soul of the mother and the child goes to the heavens after the tree starts fruiting.

If the mother dies soon after the child birth she is cremated (burnt) in the usual way. If the child also dies, it is buried.

Dhai (dai) :

Some women of the village usually of the Hari class take up the profession of a midwife. Socially they belong to the lower strata. They have no special training but they base their claim for this task on their practical experience by working as assistant to the older midwives. The midwife looks after the management of labour for one day only for which she gets about two seers of unboiled rice, some pan-gua (betel leaf and areca nuts), sometimes a piece of new cloth and some money varying from annas eight to three rupees. This depends upon the pecuniary strength of the party. The midwife, though socially inferior, is honoured and loved by the people. She is addressed as 'Dhai-Mao (ধাই-মো-Mother midwife). Thus she has a social status. Now-a-days women from higher castes and classes are getting trained as midwives and chalking out a career for themselves. They are more clean in appearance and know the use of and apply some modern antiseptic measures. But they charge higher fee for the job and hence poorer people adhere to the old village 'dhais' (midwives).

The trained midwives are becoming popular amongst the well-to-do and the advanced section.

Barbar :

The woman barbar of Rajbansi class has disappeared completely. Male barbars mostly coming from Bihar attend the ceremonies. The remuneration of the first shaving ceremony (Peth-thom kamani) he gets, consists of unboiled rice one seer, some pulses (dail), salt, condiments etc., all arranged on a bamboo sieve plate (ḍala) and some money ranging from annas four to two rupees.

Do - Kamani :

One month after the birth of the child a barbar is again called. The hair of the 'Poits' (pōnch) is again cut and then the hair of the head of the child and of the father is shaved and the nails of the mother are pared. A 'Seva' is given at Thakur Bari in the evening and all present are fed with flattened rice and curd and thus the untouchability is completely removed. Her husband is then admitted to sleep with her. In some areas of Jalpaiguri district all male members of the house shave off the hair and all women pare the nails.

Child-hood.

Life of the child :

From the fourth month upto the third year the child is allowed to play on the bare earth and sometimes it falls asleep on the earthen floor. They say 'Maṭir choa khaṭi' (mother earth makes a real child). The child does not put on any cloth upto

the fifth or sixth year and sucks the breast of the mother for two to three years. In some areas milk (mother's and cow's) is the main item of food upto the fifth year. It seems unusual but this is actually the case. The writer came across such families. In poor houses where mother's milk dries up soon the child is given powdered 'tsura' (flattened rice) or rice boiled in water as liquid food. If any other woman of the house has milk in her breast she feeds the child. In some families no solid food is given upto two years. The child lives on milk alone. One child Bharati, daughter of Mon Mohon Ray of Duars (Jalpaiguri) lived on milk alone upto her fifth year. In Salkumar (Duars), the children of the house of Khagen Ray and Sasi Ray were fed on milk upto fifth year when no solid food was given. The child of B. Sing of Rajganj was kept on mother's and cow's milk alone upto the fourth year. The first feeding of rice ceremony (Bhat-Choa) was nominal. Only the child had a touch of rice at the mouth. At present plenty of milk is not obtainable. The children eat rice from the second year.

In the morning the child of a common Rajbansi from its fifth year eats cold rice prepared in the previous night (*Kbokra bhat*) with a roast of sun dried fish (*shuktar choba*) and some onions or garlic and salt as adjuncts. In the noon the child gets a feed with warm rice and curry.

Sleeping the child :

The little child is lulled into sleep by tying it at the back of the mother or of any other elderly lady of the house, or the child is laid on the lap. She usually sings to induce the child to sleep. The lullaby is called 'Choa bhurka' (ছোয়া ভুৰ্কা).

Choa bhurka (ছোয়া ভুৰ্কা) Lullaby or Choa bhurka (ছোয়া ভুৰ্কা)

- | | |
|---|--|
| (1) Añ nin añ, tsokhut bhasa bande | অ'ন নিন্ অ'ন, চখুত্ ভাসা ব'ন্দে |
| koṭhekar habater nin, tsokhut bhasa bande | কোঠেকাৰ হাবাভেৰ নিন্, চখুত্ ভাসা ব'ন্দে |
| hater nin, pòther nin, tsokhut bhasa bande. | হাটের নিন্ পথের নিন্, চখুত্ ভাসা ব'ন্দে। |

Come sleep come, make nest in the eye

Wherefrom come ye the greedy sleep, make nest in the eye,

Sleep of the market, sleep of the road, make nest in the eye.

- | | |
|----------------------------|--------------------------|
| (2) Tsup re hokos chaoa | চুপ্ রে হোকোশ ছাওয়া |
| tor bap geise sor tsoe-ba | তোৰ বাপ গেইসে সোৰ চৰেবা |
| sor tsoe-ba paise taka | সোৰ চৰাইতে পাইসে টাকা |
| takak maicche paktar | টাকাক মাইছে পাক্ তার |
| chaoar mao dhorise bhatar. | ছাওয়ার মাও ধরিসে ভাতার। |

Be quiet you naughty bird

gone your father out to tend the swine

got he some money while moving with them

a fool must he be, he threw away the money

in disgust your mother took another husband.

- | | |
|------------------------------|-----------------------------|
| (3) Tsupre tsupre hokos choa | চুপ্ রে চুপ্ রে হোকোশ ছোয়া |
| tor bap geise sor mariba | তোৰ বাপ গেইসে সোৰ মারিবা |
| sor marite paise taka | সোৰ মারিতে পাইসে টাকা |
| kinia anise Maldoi phòta. | কিনিয়া আনিসে মালদই ফটা। |

Be quiet you naughty child. Your father has gone out boar hunting. He has got some money while hunting and has bought for you a nice phota (cloth) of Malda (meaning a silk cloth).

- | | |
|-------------------------------|------------------------------|
| (4) Bacca dada sonar tsan | বাজা দাদা সোনার চান |
| goru duiṭa dolat ban | গোক দুইটা দোলাত্ বান |
| tomar bari dherai macher gan. | তোমার বাড়ি তেরাই মাছের গান। |
| (5) Bacca bapoi sonar tsan | বাজা বাপোই সোনার চান |
| goru duiṭa dolat ban | গোক দুইটা দোলাত্ বান |
| hamar bari modhumelar gan. | হামার বাড়ি মধুমেলার গান। |

Note : Bhasa—nest, (S. C. B. - basa); nin - sleep ; bande - make (S. C. B. - bandhe ; badhe)
habata—greedy, naughty.
hokos—vulture, a naughty bird ; sor - swine ; tsoe-ba to tend ;
paktar - throw away ; dhorise bhatar - has taken another husband.

(6) Bacca dada re hal charia de
pakrir t̥ɔl̥ɔt kaua kande
moke bia de.

বাচ্চা দাদারে হাল ছারিয়া দে
পাকরির তলত্ কাউয়া কান্দে
মোকে বিয়া দে।

In the fourth song the child is compared to a golden moon. He is asked to tie his cows in the low field for grazing and then come back to hear the song of the fishes in his house. In the fifth song he is invited to hear the song of Modhumela in the house of the speaker. In the sixth song the child is asked to leave off the plough and hear the song of the crow under the banyan tree begging to be married.

These are very simple songs of the simple village folk cultivators.

(7) Tak toi toi toia
tsamta sidol khaɛa
buri maia bhatar dh̥ɔre
takeo nage s̥akha.

তাক তৈ তৈ তৈয়া
চামটা সিদোল খায়া
বুড়ি মাইয়া ভাতার ধরে
তাকেও নাগে শাখা।

(8) Agoti horin kandese-he-he
hoddogge bahomari tor choa kandese-e-e.

আগতি হোরিন কান্দেসে হে হে
হোদোগ্যে বাহোমারী তোর ছোয়া কান্দেসে এ এ।

Yonder the deer is bleating. Where gone ye the mother leaving the child. It is crying.

The mother is cautioned that a tiger follows a deer.

(9) Agoti pochimoti sial dakeche
Kunthe geil se bahomari, tor choa kandese.

আগতি পছিমতি শিয়াল ডাকেছে
কুন্ঠে গেইল সে বাহোমারী তোর ছোয়া কান্দে সে।

The jackel is yelping in the east and in the west.

Where gone ye the mother, your child is crying.

(The jackel may lift the child.)

(10) Tsupre tsup-re bau
Tor mama aseche
B̥aser patot naru aneche.

চুপ্‌রে চুপ্‌রে বাউ
তোর মামা আসেছে
বাসের পাতোত্ নারু আনেছে।

Be quiet you child. Your maternal uncle is coming
with sweets on a bamboo leaf (for you to eat).

(11) Paror battsa gari tane
daktor h̥ɔtse tiha
bandr dzache git gaba
tuli mathot dia

পারোর বাচ্চা গাড়ি টানে
দাক্তোর হচে টিহা
বানর যাছে গীত গাবা
টুলি মাথত্ দিয়া।

The young pigeons are drawing a cart

The parrot becomes a doctor

The monkey goes to sing

with a hat on head.

Bathing the child.

The child is bathed in cold water when the sun is fairly up and then mustard oil is smeared all over the body. After bathing when the body is wiped with a dry linen

i. Note : Bacca is often spoken as 'battsā'; tsan - moon ; dola - low land ; modhumela - a congregation where love songs are sung like Vidyasundar songs of South Bengal.

Tsamta—like leather ; sidol - a mixture of dried fish and arum ; buri maia - old women.

'Budi' is pronounced as 'buri'.

agoti - yonder ; kandese - bleating ; hoddogge - just see :

bahomari - a woman who moves about leaving her child alone. (S. C. B.—paraberani) ; 'he-he' : 'e-e'—just to prolong the tune.

Agoti—towards the east (yonder)

Pochimoti—towards the west.

Tuli—a hat made of bamboo leaves.

the following song is sung :-

Tsuar pani tsuat dzauk	চুয়ার পানি চুয়াত্ হাউক
hamar bau boddho houk.	হামার বাউ বড্ড হউক।

Let the well water go back into the well and make my child bigger.
Some songs are sung by the woman smearing the oil and dangling the child on her two hands.

Oil smearing song.

- | | |
|----------------------------|---------------------------|
| (1) Ee natson ponkhi-ač | এ নাচোন পংখিয়া |
| dzòto barir burala ase | ষত বাড়ির বুড়ালী এসে |
| Natson dekhi-a | নাচোন দেখিয়া। |
| (2) Natš bandor nats | নাচ বান্দোর নাচ |
| Hater turtura | হাতের তুরতুরা |
| Barir baigon tak khaèa | বাড়ির বাইগন তাক্ খায়া |
| Burar bèta dzurise natson. | বুড়ার বাটা জুরিসে নাচোন। |

In case of female child 'Bèta' is replaced by 'Beṭi', (Baṭi' and Buṭa' are pronounced as 'bari' and 'bura').

In this first song the child is compared to a bird. The child dances like a bird and all the old fellows come to see the dance.

In the second song the child is compared to a monkey. The child dances like a monkey with the handdrum of the master. The monkey has eaten up all the brinjals of the garden and has started dancing.

In the second there is another form where the second line is replaced by 'পাতের চুর চুর মাছ'—'hater tsur tsura mach' meaning 'the small fish of the market' much liked by the villagers.

- | | |
|------------------------------|------------------------|
| (3) Hamar mai natše | হামার মাই নাচে |
| adon dhan patše | অদোন ধান পাচে |
| mathar tsuli dzhapur dzhupur | মাথার চুলি ডাপুর ডুপুর |
| bura bhatar patše | বুড়া ভাতার পাচে |

My child is dancing. She gets six seers of paddy. Her hair on head dances also. She will get an old husband.

'adon' - six seers. One 'don' is 12 seers of paddy. 'a-don' - half of a 'don'; 'patše' - gets; 'tsuli' - hair; 'bhatar'—husband.

- | | |
|-------------------------|----------------------|
| (4) Tsalat kande dzhesu | চালাত কান্দে কে সু |
| mor didita natson kòre | মোর দিদিটা নাচোন করে |
| hamra pamu kisu. | হামরা পামু কিসু। |

The bird 'dzhesu' sings from the house top. My dear sister is dancing. We also hope to get some remuneration.

'dzhesu' - a kind of bird; 'kande' - sings; 'kisu' - some (S.C.B. - Kichu).

Massaging the child :

During oil smearing the legs and hands of the child are flexed and extended as a little exercise for the child and a song is sung.

Song—Har maruk, kur maruk, tor bètar kan kaṭuk	হাড় মারুক, কুর মারুক, তোর বাটার কান কাটুক।
--	---

Let the bones grow bigger, let the body grow up, if not I cut the ears of your son.

Frightening the child :

The child is thrown in the air and caught between the hands with songs :-

Tsilaē nigak, hokose nigak, boddho kòre ane deuk.	চিলায় নিগাক, হোকোশে নিগাক, বড্ড করে আনে দেউক।
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Let the kites and vultures take you away and return it after you have grown up.

Showing the moon :

Aēre tsan tikit pòr	আয়রে চান টিকিত পর
hamar bau boddho kòr.	হামার বাউ বড্ড কর।

Come moon on the head and make my child bigger.

Dangling the child on the legs :

Ghuṭul-ṭul	ঘুটুল টুল
mama kòhòche bhat ache	মামা কহে ভাত আছে
mami kòhòche bhate nai	মামী কহে ভাতে নাই
mamir mukhòt hage dèo.	মামীর মুখত হাগে দ্যাও।

The maternal uncle says there is rice to eat, the aunty says there is none. You spit on her.

‘Ghuṭul-ṭul’ has no meaning like S.C.B. ‘Ghughu-soi’.

Name giving ceremony :

After the second shaving ceremony the mother comes with the child on her lap near the Thakur-Bari. The Òdhikary puts some curd and ‘tsura’ in a ‘dhona’ and offers it to Narayan god (Tulsi) while a lamp is lighted and incense burns. The Òdhikary sprinkles a little of the consecrated water from the ‘dhona’ with a flower on the mother and the child. The mother kneels before the ‘Tulsi’ and salutes. Thus the ‘Seva’ is given. In some villages, after the ‘Do kamani’, the mother with the child and the inmates of the house go to the ‘Garam’ (village god Mahadev) installed in a nearby bamboo grove or jungle. The mother kneels before the emblem of Mahadev (a mound of earth) and salutes by touching her forehead on the earth. Then the child is given a name. Generally there is feeding of relatives and music too when the family can bear the cost. Otherwise the simple salutation to the ‘Garam Devota’ completes the ceremony.

The grand-pa (adzu) or the grand-ma (abo), if alive, or the eldest of the nearest kin consults the month and time of the birth of the child and chooses a name and it is declared then and there.

At present name giving is done at the time of the First rice giving ceremony. The function is just like that of South Bengali Hindus and names chosen are different from the old style.

Names :

If the child is born on the last day of the month (domashi day ; S. C. B.-Sankranti) the name given is Domasu. If the child is born at dawn the name is Pohatu (m) and Pohati (f); if born in the mid-night the name is Atia.

A sample of names is given below :

Dukhuru	...	born at noon.
Sandzhu	...	„ in the evening.
Andharu	...	„ in the dark fortnight.
Qzonaku	...	„ in the bright fortnight.
Amasu	...	„ in the new moon night.
Punia	...	„ in the full moon night.
Debaru (m)...	„	on Sunday.
Debari (f)		
Robiram (m)		
Somaru (m)...	„	on Monday.
Somari (f)		
Mongla (m) ...	„	on Tuesday.
Monglu (m)		
Mungli (f)		
Budharu (m) ...	„	on Wednesday.
Budhari (f)		
Budhu (m)		
Bisadu (m) ...	„	on Thursday.
Bisaru (m)		
Birongsadu (m)		
Bisadi (f)		
Sukuru	...	„ on Friday.
Sukaru		
Sanu (m) ...	„	on Saturday.
Sonia (f)		
Baisagu (m) ...	„	in the month of Baisak.
Jeṭhia (m) ...	„	„ Jaistha.
Jatia		

Asaru (m)	...	„	in the month of Asar
Sawna (m)	...	„	„ Sravan
Sanu (m)			
Bhadu (m)	...	„	„ Bhadra
Bhadru (m)			
Aghu (m)	...	„	„ Agrahayan.
Agna (m)	...		
Pusu (m)	...	„	„ Pous.
Posu			
Posunath.			
Maghu (m)	...	„	„ Magh.
Phagu (m)	...	„	„ Phalgun
Phaguni (f)			
Coitu (m)	...	„	„ Choitra.
Coita (m)			
Jhoru (m)	...	„	at the time of a storm.
Dzhorua (m)			
Banatu (m)	...	„	„ flood.
Ban-bhasa (m)	...		born at the time of a big flood.
Bhui-tsalu (m)	...	„	„ earthquake.
Akalu (m)	...	„	„ famine.
Sodoru (m)	...	„	while attending a feast in a relative's house.
Janglu (m) (f)	...	„	just after coming from privy in a jungle.
Dzonglu (m)			
Mutura (m)	...	„	„ „ urinal.
Bhira (m) (f)	...	„	just after throwing away the trash of the house.
Kandura (m)	...		If the child cries too much after birth.
Kanduri (f)			
Basia (m) (f)	...		If the child passes urine long after birth.

Moṭa (fat child) ; Baṭu, Bangru (dwarf) ; Dhēpa (fat) ; Khaca (lean) ; Dhoulu, Goratsan, Rupo (fair skinned) ; Kalṭhu, Kalia, Kalṭha (dark skinned) ; Dhōrparu (restless).

There are some names according to names of birds, animals, fruits, insects, Gods etc, thus :—

Pokhi, Khōndzōn, Kaua. Ṭsila, Dzonaki, Phoringa, Mōyna, Bēng (frog), Bilai (cat), Cika (mole), Salea (mouse), Ṭsengtia (fish), Ṭsēra (earth worm), Posunath (lion) Ṭēsupari, Khoisa (fish), Amṭantho (mango tree), Ṭsēka (fish) etc.

Durga (Goddess), Kolokanto (Plantain tree), Dhoroni (earth), Nodi-ram (river), Pateswar (Jute God), etc.

Names of women generally end in 'sori', 'swori', 'bala' etc. The surname is generally 'Bōrmoni', 'Devi', 'Das'.

Ōneswori, Ōtneswori, Ayaneswori, Upeswori, Upomoti, Katiswori, Kanduri, Ṭsampa, Ṭsua-pani, Dzbleswori, etc.

Ṭsētōnsori, Dēkhōn sori, Nōyan sori, Divi sori, Bhudōn sori, Dzhibala, Tuṭuli, Phēlani, Bane, Phulmoti, etc.

Modern names are :—

Males :

Nagendra Burman, Kolindra Burman, Satyen Ray, Sukchand Ray, Prabhatu Ray, Tarak Ray, Girija Ray, Bhupen Ray, Rajani Ray, Bimol Ray, Amulla Ray, Anil Ray, etc. Nalinendra Dev, Samarendra Dev, Keshob Dev, etc.

Females :

Khomamoyee Devi, Kasiswori Devi, Bhuboneswori Devi, Moheswori Devi, Batasi, Gita etc.

Thus it is seen that the names and surnames are gradually approaching those of the Southern Bengalis.

First Feeding (Bhat Choa) :

This is done when the child is five or six months old. In case of a male child the ceremony may be delayed upto its ninth month. The maternal uncle (mother's brother) has the first claim to officiate in the first feeding. This ceremony is done both for the boy or the girl child. A '*panjier*' (a Rajbansi pandit who can understand the a manac) is called in consultation. He consults the date and time of birth of the child and fixes an auspicious day for which he generally charges nothing.

An odhikary (Rajbansi priest) is called on that day for the purpose. He arranges for a *pūja* of Narayan at the Thakur bari. The articles required for the *pūja* are : unboiled rice husked from sun-dried paddy (alōa tsaul), curd, milk, honey, ripe plantain, flower, dhup (incense) and a few plantain leaves and receptacles (dhona) made of plantain stem. The articles are arranged on the leaves and the plates. In one of the receptacles some water is taken with a few 'Tulsi' leaves dipped in it. This is sacred water

and is believed to be equivalent to Ganga water in purity. Another receptacle is placed in front of this one to receive the flowers and water to be offered to God. The *odbikary* performs the Seva. He gets one or two rupees as honorarium (*bidagi*—S. C. B. 'dakshina').

In the meantime some powdered rice is boiled in milk and some sweets such as treacle or sugar is added to it. This is the food for the first feeding. The food thus prepared is brought to the *puja* place to be offered to God at first.

After the *puja* (seva) is done, the sacred water is sprinkled on the child and then the maternal uncle takes some food already prepared as above and offered to God on a piece of silver rupee or when it is not available he takes a bit of food on the tip of his right ring finger and pushes it into the mouth of the child. A music with 'dhol' (Drum), 'kãshi' (Cymbal ; gong), 'bãshi' (flute) is played at this time if the family can afford the cost.

During this 'bhat choa' ceremony the relatives and friends are invited and fed (Bhagi shagik khoabar nage).

Now-a-days the *odbikaries* have largely been replaced by Assamese Brahmins (Kamrupi). The first feeding is now done with a silver or a gold ring held by the maternal uncle and the food is taken from the ring. The rice when boiled in milk becomes a sticky mixture and adheres to the ring when it is pushed into the child's mouth. The child gets ornaments or dresses on this occasion, from the parents and also from relatives and invitees. A 'sradh' for the ancestors is performed as a part of the first feeding ceremony. In case of a male child, after the first feeding a plate containing one pen, one ink pot, some books, some earth, some paddy and some coin, is held in front of the child. A divinatory study as to the future career of the child is made from the article on which he places his hands at first. In case he holds the earth, he, in future life, would like to be a land-lord, if he touches the coin he will love money, if he touches the book he will be wise man and so on. Songs in honour of the snake goddess Monosha are sung on this occasion by the Kirtan party of the village for which they are sumptuously fed.

The present additions to the ceremony are undoubtedly of recent origin. Khola Ray (aged 70) of village Mantadari and Kumar Brojendra Narayan (aged 50) of village Sardar-para, P. S. Rajgunj (Jalpaiguri) informed the writer that previously 'Sradh' etc., were not performed at the time of 'Bhat Choa'. They were introduced about forty years ago and since then have become the custom.

Childhood.

The movement of the child is free and without any restriction. But he must be back home before dusk and should not go far away from the house. The child at this stage is entirely under the care of the mother or under the grand-ma (abo) if she is alive. When they grow a little older they are allowed to play about and are never pressed for study.

Sports

The Rajbansis of North Bengal enjoy many sports. They recite interesting poems in the sport. It is difficult to make out any sense of the poems but they give the children a lot of enjoyment. Both male and female children take part in the game.

Bhat bhat sak sak khela (ভাত ভাত শাক শাক খেলা)

A few children cooks some earth and makes a food. (This is a play food and not to be eaten). The cooking is called Basudia (বাসুদিয়া). The following song is sung :—

Gudu gudu mana pat	গুদু গুদু মানা পাত
dzɔl anite hoil bhat.	জল আনিতে হইল ভাত।

You are slow to collect the leaf of mān-kochu for serving food and before the water is brought the cooking of rice is done. Every one is then served with the food. The food left after serving is kept in hand by one—

ɛy khauk ɔy khauk.	এয় খাউক ৔য় খাউক।
(Let every one eat).	

After eating all go to sleep (feigned sleep). They simply lie down on earth. After some time one child shouts :—

Kuruk kuk ati pohale turuk	কুরুক্ কুক্ আতি পোহালে তুরুক্।
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It is morning the cock is crowing. All children get up and then one shouts :

Bhat gila kise khalo	ভাত গিলা কিসে খালো।
Who has eaten the rice.	

The child who kept the food in his hand shouts :

bhɔnda bilai	ভিন্দা বিলাই
the naughty cat.	

Then the cat is to be beaten. In the meantime the child having the food throws it away stealthily. One child catches him and starts moving his fingers from the palm of the child who threw the food away and works up along the hand to the arm and finally to the arm-pit where the cat is said to be hiding and tickles there with the following song :—

ɛo maru bɛo maru	এ্যো মারু ব্য্যো মারু
bhɔnda bilai tak	ভিন্দা বিলাই টাক্
kutkutaɛ maru.	কুতকুতার মারু।

The child so tickled laughs with a guffaw and all other children laugh loudly and the game ends.

Tsor tsor khela (hide and seek game)

1. Little children, say about six, sit in a circle with stretched hands. One of them moves round and strikes the palm of each with his fist reciting a poem. The last child where the poem ends becomes the 'thief'. This thief gets up and recites the same poem moving round as above and this goes on each taking the chance in turn. Some of the poems are stated below :—

ada pada nun khòroda	আদা পাদা নুন খরোদা
èkna ada pori panu	একনা আদা পড়ি পানু
sòbare mukhòt bañi dinu	সবারে মুখত্ বাণি দিনু
dzāē koribe a-o, tare mukhòt ghao	যাঁই কোরিবে আও, তারে মুখত্ ঘাও
dzāē koribe thu, tare mukhòt gu	যাঁই কোরিবে থু, তারে মুখত্ গু
dzāē koribe hokka, tare mukhòt pokka.	যাঁই কোরিবে হোকা, তারে মুখত্ পোকা।

2. Five or six children stand in a circle and recite the following. The one reciting moves round the back of each striking each on the back with his fist. The last one where the poem ends becomes a 'thief'.

dzhēṭsu tsu tsu, bās barir gu	ঝেঁ চু চু চু, বাঁশ বাড়ির গু
teora ase teuri ase	টেওরা আসে টেওরে আসে
taē phelabe gu	তার ফেলাবে গু
mama gise hal boar-na	মামা গিসে হাল বোয়ার না
bou tsdraise bhat	বউ চরাইসে ভাত
bour mathot ogun nagil	বউর মাথত্ ওগুন নাগিল
bap re he bap.	বাপ্ রে হে বাপ্।

3. hē tsu tsu tsu	হেঁ চু চু চু
bās barit hagi thu tsu	বাঁশ বাড়িত্ হাগি থু চু
kāē phēlabe gu	কাঁই ফালাবে গু
mama geise mach dhoribar	মামা গেইসে মাছ ধরিরবার
bou dzurise khòla	বউ জুরিসে খলা
bour mathòt ogun nagise	বউর মাথত্ অগুন নাগিসে
sara hoise bela.	সারা হোইসে বেল।

Note : ada - ginger ; èkna - one ; pori panu - having got ; bañi dinu - distributed ; a-o - sound, noise ; ghao - ulcer ; thu - spit ; gu - excreta ; hokka - attempt to vomit ; pokka - vermin ; dzurise khòla - set fire to the oven ; ogun - fire ; teora, teori - birds that eat excreta ; gise, geise - has gone ; hal boar na - for tilling the land.

4. Jhēṭsu tsu tsu	ঝেঁ চু চু চু
bās barit hagi thu tsu	বাঁশ বাড়িত্ হাগি থু চু
kāē phēlabe gu	কাঁই ফালাবে গু
mama ge hu	মামা গে হু
èk katha dhan de	এক কাঠা ধান দে
kaē phēla gu	কাটে ফালা গু।

- (1) In the first song some ginger is found. It is distributed to all. If any one cries on account of pungency his mouth shall develop ulcers ; if any one tries to spit out, excreta shall fall in his mouth ; if any one attempts to vomit, worms or insects shall enter into his mouth.
- (2) In the second song some body has passed stools in the bamboo grove and the birds will eat it up and clean the place. No one should go to remove it. The maternal uncle has gone to plough, the aunty has started cooking. She is very angry. It is better to run away.
- (3) In the third song, the uncle has gone for fishing. He is late in coming. The aunty who has started cooking is very angry as the day has advanced.
- (4) In the fourth song, who will remove the excreta. We give the uncle one katha (five seers) of paddy and he will remove it with a spade.
3. About six children sit in a circle. One of them voluntarily becomes the 'kana' (thief). Sometimes the thief is selected by drawing a verbal lot. The thief takes a small bamboo stick into his fist and moves round each player reciting a poem. As soon as the poem ends the thief makes a quick round and stealthily slips the stick into some one's hand. This child quickly gets up and the old thief takes the place of the 'new thief'. This 'kana' again circles round with the stick. In the Duars area the thief stands still near the circle. Another player takes the stick and moves round reciting a poem and quietly slips the stick into some one's hand. The thief keeps a vigilant eye and must spot out the player in whose hand the stick has been placed. If he can do so the player becomes the 'kana' and the old 'kana' (thief) takes the old position of the new 'kana' and the play goes on anew. If he cannot spot the player in whose

hand the stick has been slipped he continues to be the 'thief'. In this case after the poem is recited the player with the stick says 'kaṭholer bitsi bhu ṭu lu lu lu' (কাঠোলের বিচি ভু টু লু লু লু) and quickly moves round.

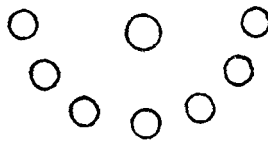
- | | |
|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| (1) ḍomna - re ḍumni | ডোমনারে ডুম্নো |
| sḍra macher ghumni | সরা মাছের ঘুম্নো |
| sak khaḥ sukati khaḥ | শাক খায় শুকতি খায় |
| ḍomna bèṭa koṭhe nukaḥ | ডোমনা ব্যাটা কোঠে নুকার |
| ḍhup ḍhap nits ṭsup | চুপ্ ঢাপ্ নিচ্ চুপ্ |
| kana kukuri bhul ṭulut. | কানা কুকুরী ভুল টুলুত্। |
| (2) ḍomna - re ḍumni | ডোমনারে ডুম্নো |
| nitsa macher ghumni | নিচা মাছের ঘুম্নো |
| sak khaḥ sukati khaḥ | শাক খায় সুকতি খায় |
| ḍomna bèṭa koṭhe nukaḥ | ডোমনা ব্যাটা কোঠে নুকার |
| ṭsap ṭsup ni ṭsup | চাপ্ চুপ্ নি চুপ্ |
| kukurer pudz. | কুকুরের পুজ। |
| (3) ḍomna-re ḍomni | ডোমনারে ডোমনো |
| sḍra macher ghumni | সরা মাছের ঘুম্নো |
| sḍr khoḥ sukati khaḥ | সর খায় শুকতি খায় |
| ḍomnar bèṭa koṭhe nukaḥ | ডোমনার ব্যাটা কোঠে নুকার |
| kḍre kaua kḍ | করে কাউয়া ক |
| ni ṭsup ḍhap ḍhup | নি চুপ্ ঢাপ্ চুপ্ |
| kḍnṭholer bitsi bhuṭus. | কন্ঠলের বিচি ভুটুস্। |
| (4) Domna-re ḍomni | ডোমনারে ডোমনো |
| nitsa macher ghumni | নিচা মাছের ঘুম্নো |
| sak khaḥ sukati khaḥ | শাক খায় সুকতি খায় |
| ḍomnar bèṭa koṭhe nukaḥ | ডোমনার ব্যাটা কোঠে নুকার |
| ni ṭsup ṭsup ṭsup | নি চুপ্ চুপ্ চুপ্ |
| ṭsuat ḍup | চুয়াত্ ডুপ্ |
| kunṭhe ache seiṭhe butz. | কুন্ঠে আছে সেইঠে বুচ। |

These songs have practically no meaning, but these are pet songs of the children at play.

ḍomna - a low caste Hindu engaged in sweeping the roads and throwing away dead animals; sḍra or nitsa mach - stale or rotton fish, usually small fishes; ghumni - curry; sḍr - milk creams; sukati - curry made from dried jute leaves; kukuri - bitch; pudz - pus; kaua - crow; kḍ - caw; kḍnṭhol - jack-fruit; tsua - well; ḍup - dive (S. C. B. dub).

Tsor Tsor Khela

4. This is the play where generally seven children take part. Both male and female children play this game. Six players stand in a semi-circle and the seventh one stands at the centre of the diameter. He recites a poem and gently strikes on the back of each. The one where the last word of the poem ends, gets a hard stroke. At once all run away from their places. The one getting the hard stroke becomes the 'thief'. If the thief can catch or touch any one before he can take a place in the semi-circle, the child touched becomes the 'thief' and he takes the position of the former speaker. If the 'thief' cannot touch any one he remains the 'thief'. The disposition is as follows :



The song of the khela

abor dabor bon borua
tare nati chòë chorua
hari-khor pitla-khor
idzu-bamon bidzu-tsor
telenga-hari haram-khor.

আবোর ডাবোর বোন বোরুয়া
তারে নাতি ছয় ছোরুয়া
হাড়ি খোর পিতলা খোর
ইজু বামোন বিজু চোর
তেলঙ্গা হাড়ি হারাম খোর

The speaker says that the grand-ma has six grand-children. One is hari-khor, one pitla-khor, one idzu bamon, bidzu-tsor, one telenga-hari and the sixth is haram-khor. These have practically no meaning and my informant could not decipher.

Hater patae khela

Only the female children take part in this game. Some children sit in a circle with stretched hands and palm upwards. One player recites a poem (chòra) and strikes each palm with her fist. The child on whose palm the strike ends with the word 'kat' (কাট) becomes 'pukka' (পাকা) and he goes out. The poem is repeated as before and gradually one by one 'pukka' goes out. The last sitting member is the 'thief' (চোর). Then other children ask her some questions which she must reply and this gives the fun of the game.

The poems

(1) Itsòn bitsòn dhauri bitsòn
tate ache mongol kãta
mongol kãta ndre tsòre
ai kumuri dak pare
ele re bele re
phul tulibar gele re
phuler mandala pat
chiri angti hat kat.

ইচন বিচন ধাউরি বিচন
তাতে আছে মঙ্গল কাঁটা
মঙ্গল কাঁটা নদ্রে চরে
আই কুমুরী ডাক পারে
এলে রে বেলে রে
ফুল তুলিবার গেলে রে
ফুলের মানডালা পাত
ছিরি আংটি হাত কাট।

(2) Itsòn bitsòn dhapuri bitsòn
tatke ache mòngòr kaṭa
mòngòr kaṭa ndre tsòre
ai kumari dak pare
ele re bele re
phul tulibar gele re
phuler mandala pat
chiri angti hat kat.

ইচন বিচন ধাপুরি বিচন
তাত্কে আছে মগর কাটা
মগর কাটা নদ্রে চরে
আই কুমুরী ডাক পারে
এলে রে বেলে রে
ফুল তুলিবার গেলে রে
ফুলের মানডালা পাত
ছিরি আংটি হাত কাট।

Questions and Answers

First series :

mai mai tor kopale ki na ki
(kopale - forehead ; ki na ki - what is)
sendur (vermilion)
koṭhe palo (where have you got)
mama ghòre chan phelaite (chun - cowdung)
mok konek dibo (would you give me some)
na do mui (I won't give)
chi chi tor kopale bilai gu (bilai - cat)
chi, chi, chi, chi.

মাই মাই তোর কোপালে কি না কি
সন্দুর
কোঠে পালো
মামা ঘরে ছান্ ফেলাইতে
মোক্ কনেক্ দিবো
না দো মুই
ছি ছি তোর কোপালত্ বিলাইএর গু
ছি, ছি, ছি, ছি, ।

Second series :

mai mai tor pèter ki na ki
(what is inside your abdomen)

chaila (a child)

kiser tane kande (why it cries)

dudher tane (for milk)

èk ghoṭi dudh dinu te ki kollo
(have given one pitcherful of milk
what have you done with it)

chaoa khaise, poati khaise, ar kakra khale dhali dinu
(the child has taken, the mother has taken and the
rest thrown into the crab hole).

sei kakra dil ki (what the crab gave you)

èk tsapa maṭi (a chunk of earth).

sei maṭi kollo ki (what you did with it)

adzar bèṭar biao hoise tare danḍt dinu
(made a gift to the prince in his marriage).

sei adzar bèṭa dil ki
(what did the prince give you)

kani muni ghora (a blind mare)

bandis koṭhe (where you keep)

moruṭs barit (in chilli garden)

dudh hḍē kēto (how much milk the mare gives).

ghoṭi ghoṭi (pitcher-fulls)

mute kēto (how much waters)

tsirit tsarat (very little)

hage kēto (how much excretes)

nadaē nadaē (by heaps)

dzḍl khoais koṭhe (where you take her for drinking water)

dollat (in the low land)

hagi dēo tor kollat (we pass stools in your lap).

মাই মাই তোর প্যাটের কি না কি

ছাইলা

কিসের তানে কান্দে

দুধের তানে

এ্যাক ষটি দুধ দিনু তে কি কোলো

ছাওয়া খাইসে, পোয়াতী খাইসে আর কাকড়া খালে ঢালি দিনু

সেই কাকড়া দিল কি

এ্যাক চাপা মাটি

সেই মাটি কোলো কি

আজার ব্যাটার বিয়াও হোইসে তারে দানত্ দিনু

সেই আজার ব্যাটা দিল কি

কারি মুরি ঘোরা (ঘোড়া)

বান্দিস কোঠে

মোরুচ বাড়িত্

দুধ হয় ক্যাতো

ঘোটি ঘোটি

মুতে ক্যাতো

চিরিত চারাত্

হাগে ক্যাতো

বাদায় বাদায়

জল খোয়াইস্ কোঠে

দোলাত্

হাগি দ্যাও তোর কোলাত ।

The game ends.

The songs may be compared with the following South Bengali Song :—

Ikri mikri cam cikri

came elo majumdar

dheye elo damodḍr

damodḍrer hari kuri

duare bose cal kari

cal kuṭ-te holo bela

bhat khelona jamai sala

bhate polo machi

kodal diye cachi

kodal holo bhota

kha khèk sialir matha.

ইকরি মিকরি চাম চিক রি

চামে এলো মজুমদার

ধেয়ে এলো দামোদর

দামোদরের হাড়ি কুড়ি

দুয়ারে বসে চাল কাড়ি

চাল কুট্তে হোলো বেলা

ভাত খেলোনা জামাই শালা

ভাতে পোলো মাছি

কোদাল দিয়ে চাছি

কোদাল হোলো ভোতা

খা খ্যাক্ শিয়ালীর মাথা ।

(nasalisation is generally absent—in 'hari' 'kari' 'cachi', 'bhota'.)

Dual game

This is the game where only two children take part. One says the first line and the other the second line. This goes on alternately.

The song

ekna katha	একনা কথা
bèng-cr matha	ব্যাংএর মাথা
ki bèng	কী ব্যাং
hola bèng	হোলা ব্যাং
ki hola	কী হোলা
bamon tola	বামোন তোলা
ki bamon	কী বামোন
ghoṭ bamon	ঘোট বামোন
ki ghoṭ	কী ঘোট
gua goṭ	গুয়া গোট
ki gua	কী গুয়া
nil gua	নীল গুয়া
ki nil	কী নীল
gu gil	গু গিল্।

Angul dola khela (আঙ্গুল ডোলা খেলা) - finger pressing game.

This is the game where many children can take part. One player sits with his one leg stretched with the toe up. Another catches the toe in a grip keeping the thumb up. Next one catches this thumb in his fist and keeps his thumb up for the other to catch. Thus four to five players holding the toe and the thumbs form a semi-circle round the leg of the first one. Then all other players excepting the first one recite a song and move the hands in a circle round the toe and the thumbs thus pressing them a bit. With the last word of the song the uppermost one becomes 'pukka' and takes out his hand. The song is repeated until the last but one becomes 'pukka'. Then the game starts again.

The song of the khela

(a) nokṭa-re noṭua	নোক্‌টারে নোটুয়া
bhōiser khoṭua	ভঁইসের খোটুয়া
bhōiser tōle	ভঁইসের তলে
baro bati dṛṇḍle	বারো বাতি অলে
dṛṇḍluk bati	জল্পুক বাতি
dṛṇḍluk tēl	জল্পুক ত্যাল
ambari khan	আম্বারি খান
paka bēl	পাকা ব্যাল
bēl gēlo phaṭia	ব্যাল গ্যালো ফাটিয়া
ṭṣikalū khail ṭṣaṭia	টিকালু খাইল্ চাটিয়া
aē-re bhai ghōr dṛzai	আয় রে ভাই ঘর যাই
dudh makhi bhat khai.	দুধ মাখি ভাত খাই।
(2) nokṭare noṭua	নোক্‌টারে নোটুয়া
bhōiser khoṭua	ভঁইসের খোটুয়া
bhōiser tōle	ভঁইসের তলে
baro bati dṛṇḍle	বারো বাতি অলে
dṛṇḍluk bati	জল্পুক বাতি
puruk tēl	পুড়ক ত্যাল
gōchōt ache paka bēl	গছত্ আছে পাকা ব্যাল

bèl gèlo phaṭia
tsikalu khail tsatia
aë bhai ghòr dzai
dohu tsura makhi khai.

ব্যাল গ্যালো ফাটিয়া
চিকালু খাইল চাটিয়া
আয় ভাই ঘর যাই
দোহ চুরা মাখি খাই।

- (3) First six lines of the first song
are not changed. From seventh
line the song is as follows :-

ambari khan
paka bèl
pakka na katstsa
dèo èkṭa chiria
bhuttus.

আমবারি খান
পাকা ব্যাল
পাক্ক না কাচ্চা
দ্যাও এ্যাকটা ছিরিয়া
ভুটটুস্।

- (4) nottu nottu ke re
adza ghòrer bou re
amar bouṭa tsake nai
nokṭu èlaë pake nai
katstsa na pakka
upòrer ṭa chera.

নোট্টু নোট্টু কে রে
আজা ঘরের বউ রে
আমার বউটা চাকে নাই
নোকটু এ্যালার পাকে নাই
কাচ্চা না পাক্ক
উপরের টা ছেরা।

- (5) Notko notko pan khaë
adzar ghòrer khel khèlaë
katstsa na pakka
de èkṭa chiria.

নোটকো নোটকো পান খায়ে
আজার ঘরের খেল খ্যালার
কাচ্চা না পাক্ক
দে এ্যাকটা ছিরিয়া।

The songs 'nokṭare notua' and 'domnare dumni' reminds one song of the children in South Bengal. It is this :—

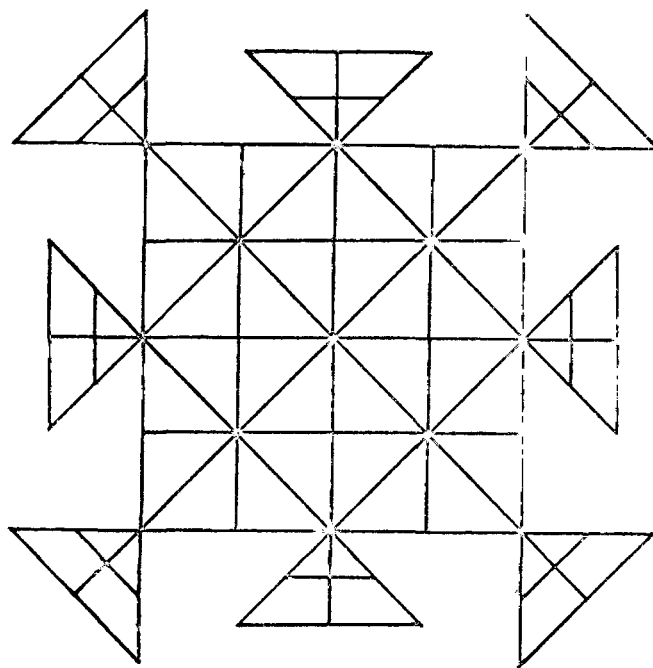
agadum bagadum
ghoradum saje
dhol kāsor ghaghor baje
bajte bajte chollo dhuli
dhuli gèlo se komlapuli
komlapulir ṭi-e ṭa
sujji mamar bi-e ṭa
aë rōngò haṭe jai
pan supari kine khai
pane chilo phopra
ma-e jhi-e jhògra
holud bone kolud phul
mamar name ṭògòr phul
kochi koci kumrar jhol
o-re khoka ga tol.

আগাডুম বাগাডুম
ঘোড়াডুম সাজে
ঢোল কাঁশর ঘাগর বাজে
বাজতে বাজতে চল্লো ঢুলি
ঢুলি গ্যালো সে কমলা পুলি
কমলা পুলির টিএ টা
সুজি মামার বিএ টা
আয় রঙ্গ হাটে যাই
পান সুপারী কিনে খাই
পানে ছিলো ফোপড়া
মারে বিএ ঝগড়া
হলুদ বনে কলুদ ফুল
মামার নামে টগর ফুল
কচি কচি কুমড়ার ঝোল
ও-রে খোকা গা তোল।

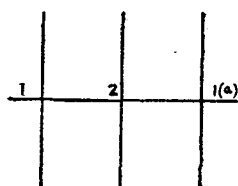
Note : Bhois - buffalo (S. C. B. - mosh ; mohis)
khotua - wooden peg (S. C. B. - khuta)
dzolluk - let burn (S. C. B. dzoluk)
tèl - oil (S. C. B. - tel) ; bèl - beal fruit (S. C. B.-bel) ;
tsikalu - a type of mole. (S. C. B.- cika).
gòch - tree (S. C. B. - gach) ; dohu - curd (S. C. B. - doi, dodhi).
chiria - after plucking.
nottu - a sour fruit (S. C. B. - lotka or lotkona) - *Baccaurea Sapida* Muell.
adza - king (S. C. B. - Raja) ; tsake - tested (S. C. B. - cakhe).
chera - up. (this is the meaning in the above song ; usual meaning - 'is torn' or 'pluck').

Indoor Games.

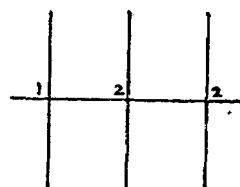
Some other indoor games are played. The adults also take part in these games. One such is Tsòkòr tsal khela, a game of skill (চকর চাল খেলা). It is played with 8½ gònda that is 34 cowries* on each side. Two sides use cowries of different size and colour. Now-a-days cowries are rarely found. The game is played with dry tamarind seeds by one side and dry gourd seeds by the other. The court is a complicated drawing. This is as follows :—



Each side puts his symbol on any cross of the lines and both sides go on putting the symbols. Whenever a symbol of one party is put in front cross of the symbol of other party with no strength (his own symbol) at the back, the opposite party goes overhead to the other junction and the symbol in front is 'eaten up'. Thus goes on the game till all the symbols in hand are placed on the Court. No. 2 symbol of one party is placed in front of No. 1 symbol of the other party. There being no symbol



Can eat



Cannot eat

of No. 2 party at 1 (a), No. 1 goes overhead to 1 (a) position and No. 2 is 'eaten up'. When No. 2 has another No. 2 at the back it cannot be 'eaten'. The symbols should move along the lines.

When all the symbols excepting those eaten up, are placed on the court the symbols of both sides are moved along the lines by the respective parties. If all the symbols of one party are 'eaten up' by the other party the 'eating party' wins or when one party moves his symbols in such a way that the other party has no place to move his symbols the latter party loses the game.

It is a skill game and sometimes takes hours to complete. It appears to be a kind of 'cess' game.

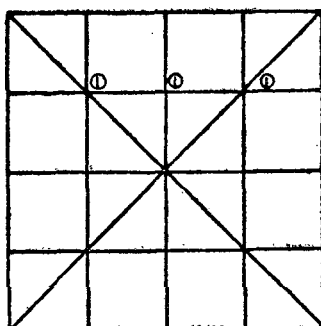
Solo paita Game (ষোলো পাইতা খেলা)-putting sixteen.

This is a game where two players play. Many others sit round helping one party or the other. This is an exciting game like the cess play. Each player takes four gònda or 16 cowries or tamarind or gourd seeds in hand and places each on the line crosses. The parties place their symbols at will from the symbols in his hands. All the symbols are not placed at a time on the Court. The process of eating is the same as in 'Tsòkòr tsal' game. But in this case every player makes an effort to place his symbols on three consecutive crosses and the other party tries to prevent it by placing his symbol in such a way that it does not become

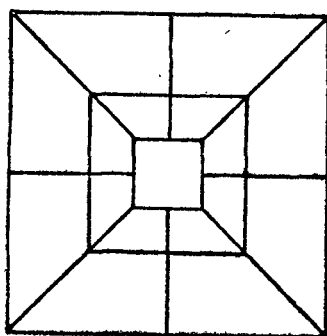
* Cowrie - a large genus (cypraea) of Gastropods used among primitive people as money and magical objects.

possible. If one party succeeds to place his three symbols on three consecutive crosses he is at liberty to 'eat' any symbol of the other party from whichever place he likes by taking it out of the Court. The party wins who can 'eat' all the symbols of the other party or places his symbols in such a way that the other party has no place to move his symbols.

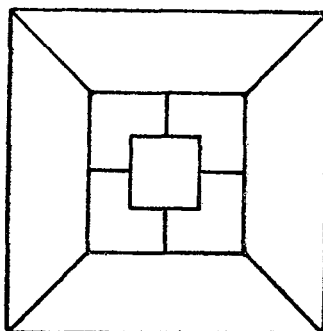
The Court of the game is drawn thus. :-



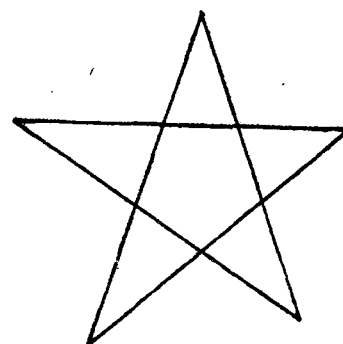
A 'paita' is successful if one party can place his symbols say as in positions (1) marked in the Court. Similar games are enjoyed with twelve (three gonda), nine or three symbols. They are called 'Baro paita', 'Noy paita' or 'Tin paita' games. The Courts are differently drawn as follows :-



Baro paita,



Noy paita,



Tin paita or Nakor ghusa,

These are favourite games in the rains when outdoor play becomes impossible as all the fields are covered with water.

Outdoor Games.

Dorkhela (ডর খেলা) or **Dhai khela** (ধাই খেলা)

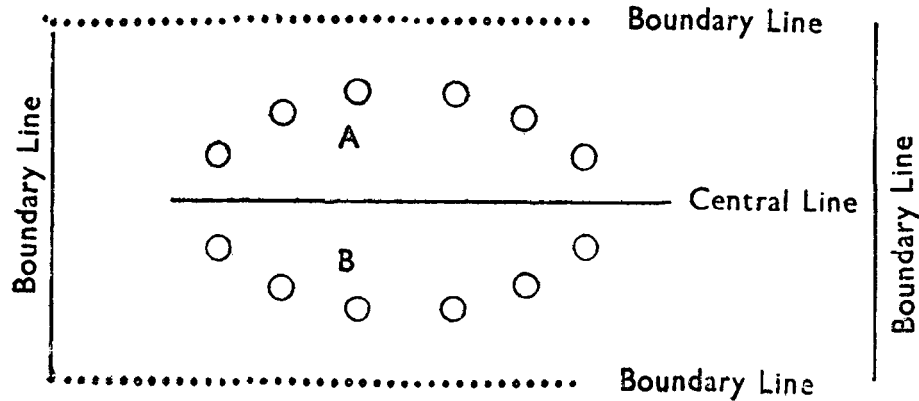
It is just like ha-du-du (হা-ডু-ডু) game of South Bengal. This game is enjoyed both by young men and boys. It can be played in any open space. A minimum field of 75' x 36' is enough for a six-a-side game. The game may be eight, ten or twelve-a-side and the field may be enlarged accordingly. A line is drawn through the centre of the field horizontally dividing it into two equal halves. Players stand on each side of the middle line. It is then decided by agreement or by toss as to which side should begin the play. One member of the starting party stands on the Central line and enters into the opponent's territory by shouting a slogan. The players of the opponent party moves behind allowing him space to enter deeply into their territory. He must start and finish that is come back to his Court in one breath. If he can touch any or more members of the opponent party and come back safely to his Court, the members touched are 'dead' and go out of the field. But if he is caught in the opponent's territory and held there until he takes a second breath he is 'dead' and goes out of the field. As soon as a member of a party is 'dead', the senior-most 'dead' member of the opponent party becomes 'alive' and joins his party to take part in the game. In this way when all the members of one party are 'dead', the other party wins. This is the simple play of skill and strength. Sometimes 'dòr khela' tournaments are held with many parties taking part and attracting a large crowd of visitors. Unfortunately this play is falling into disuse probably due to impact of new civilisation and introduction of other games.

Hereunder are stated a few slogans which the writer could collect from the innermost villages of Jalpaiguri and Cooch-Bihar districts. The slogan or cry is called 'Dhai'.

Dhai.

1. Chire dhai tsèng magulai, tsander gore dhul dhulai—ছিরে ধাই চ্যাং মাগুলাই, চান্দেগর গোরে ধূল ধুলাই ।
dhul dhulaite mannu dhai dekhanuku mare bhai—ধূল ধুলাইতে মান্নু ধাই দেখানুকু মারে ভাই ।
He repeats 'mare bhai, mar-e bhai' till he comes back to his own Court or till he is out of breath.
2. Khotṣa¹ kḍre ṭan ṭan tsokhute nagi-be han—খোচা করে টানটান চোখুতে নাগিবে হান ।
He repeats 'nagi-be han'.
3. Chir chir chir chilani ḍake, haria konar² bagh ḍake—ছির ছির ছির ছিলানি ডাকে, হারিয়া কোনার বাঘ ডাকে ।
He repeats 'bagh ḍak-e'.
4. Aṭhia kḍlor thop, thḍp-ke³ marim tok—আঠিয়া কলোর থোপ্ থপ্কে মারিম্ তোক্ ।
He repeats 'marim tok' or 'thḍp-ke marim tok'.
5. Kala kotsur aṭha, dekhibo tor tamasa—কাল কচুর আঠা দেখিবে তোর তামাসা ।
He repeats 'tor tamasa'.
6. Kala kotsu lohar ḍang, komor bhiria ban—কাল কোচু লোহার ডাং, কোমোর ভিরিয়া বান্ ।
He repeats 'bhiria ban'.
7. Etak nori betak nori, tsan tsilka sonar nori—এতাক নোরি বেতাক্ নোরি, চান্ চিল্কা সোনার নোরি ।
He repeats the last part 'tsan tsika sonar nori'.
8. Elṭuku belṭuku dekhimo tor, bap mao kḍeto bḍro khelṭuku—এলটুকু বেলটুকু দেখিমো তোর, বাপ মাও ক্যাতো বড়ো খেলটুকু ।
He repeats 'khelṭuku'.
9. Elore bḍelo phul tulibar gḍelo—phuler mathot goma sap⁴ phḍppea uṭhilo⁵.
এ্যালোরো ব্যালো ফুল তুলিবার গ্যালো—ফুলের মাথোত্ গোমা সাপ ফপ্পেয়া উঠিলো ।
He repeats 'phḍppea uṭhilo'.

The disposition of players is as follows :-



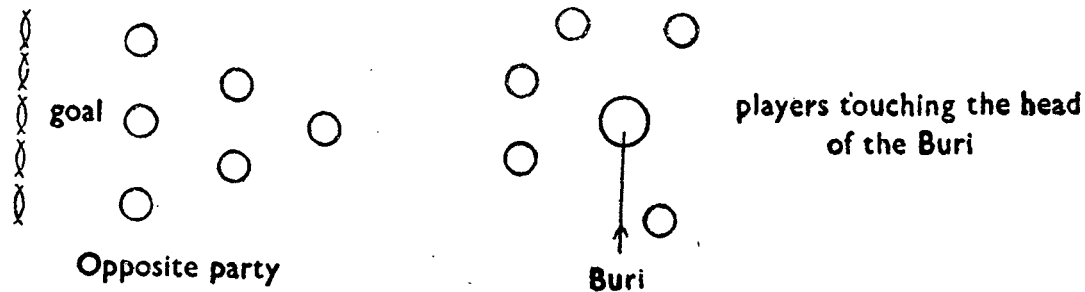
In most cases the boundary lines are imaginary line. The lines are marked only in case of competitive tournaments. If any player of 'B' can touch any player of 'A' within the area of 'A' in one breath, continue the cry and return back to area 'B' then the player so touched is 'dead'. If any player of 'B' is caught by the players of 'A' within the area of 'A' and retained there till he takes a second breath, then he is 'dead'.

Bhuri-bhusa khela (বুড়ি ভূসা খেলা)

It is like 'Buri choa khela' of South Bengal.

1. Khotṣa - a chameleon (বহুরঙ্গী)
2. Haria Konar - North West (বারু কোণ)
3. Thop-ke—Shall crush between two figures (টিপিয়া)
4. Goma sap - cobra ;
5. Phoppea uṭhilo - raised its hood with hissing.

This is a game mostly enjoyed by boys. Sometimes adults also take part in the game. The disposition of the players is as follows :-



There are two parties. Usually it is a six-a-side game. One boy becomes the Buri and sits at a fixed place and the members of his side stand round him touching his head. The other party stands in a semicircle at a distance covering the goal. The goal is a line about 30 cubits away from the Buri. A player of Buri's side starts out with usual cry as in Dbr khela and approaches towards the goal. If he can touch a member of the opposite party in one breath and reach the goal, the member so touched is 'dead' and goes out of the field. If the crier is touched by a member of the opposite party after his breath is out he is 'dead' and goes out of the field. If he can dodge the opponents and reach the goal without being touched he comes back to the Buri 'alive' and starts the game afresh. When a player of one side is 'dead' the first 'dead' of the other side becomes 'alive' and joins his party. Thus the play goes on. The Buri waits for a chance and he runs out towards the goal. If the 'Buri' can reach the goal without being touched by the opposite party the party having the 'Buri' wins. If he is touched by any member of the opposite party the 'Buri' is dead and the party loses the game.

Dhop khela (ডাপ খেলা)

Requisites : A hard ball of the size of a cricket ball made with fine jute strings wound round a central areca nut or a small piece of stone. This is called Dhop or the ball.

A striker (bat) is made by smoothing a wide split bamboo. The handle portion is rounded off for catching. This is called 'Pharua' or the bat.

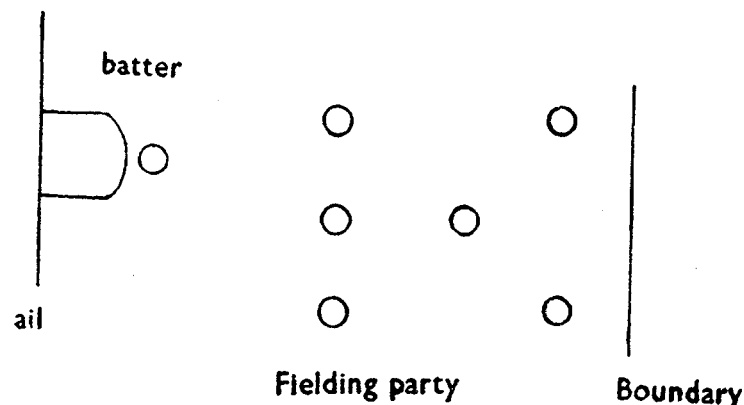
The goal is a semi-circle having a radius of about three feet using a piece of 'ail' (earth embankment) as the base.

The boundary is another 'ail' at about a distance of 50 yards from the goal.

Play : This is a six-a-side game. The batting party takes one side and the fielding party stands at some distance in the field. One player from the batting side stands just outside the semi-circle with the ball and the bat in hand. He strikes the ball hard with his bat towards the boundary line. If the ball is caught in the air by any member of the fielding party the batter is 'dead' and goes out. If the opposite party fails to catch the ball while in the air, the player stopping the ball throws it towards the semi-circle and the batter tries to hit it back. If the ball comes within the semi-circle the batter is 'dead' and goes out. Thus the play goes on till all the members of the batting side are 'dead'. Then the fielding party takes the bat and the previous batting party takes the field.

Counting : If the ball after hitting crosses the boundary line the batter gets two marks. If he can strike back the ball he gets one mark. The counting is recorded by twenties.¹ Each twenty is marked off by a vertical line drawn on the 'ail'. The party securing higher marks wins.

The disposition of players and the field is as follows :—



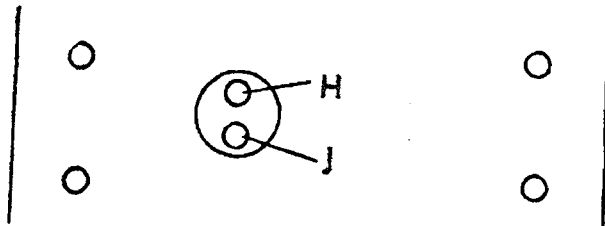
There is no umpire. The parties decide any dispute amongst themselves.

1. Counting by 20's is usual. Thus weight of paddy is counted in terms of 'বিস' (Bis), betel leaves are counted as 'পন' (pon) that is four times twenty (car kuri), areca nuts are counted as 'পন' (pon) that is four times twenty (car kuri). The smallest denomination of counting is by fours 'gonda' (four).

(b) Dhop Khela. (ঢাপ খেলা).

There is another type of 'dhop khela'. This is a three-a-side game, sometimes four-a-side. A circle of about three feet diameter is drawn in the centre of the field. Each of the two parties stand at a distance of about twenty feet away from the centre. One player of one party throws a ball in the air towards the other party. A player of the other party catches the ball. Then one player of the catcher comes within the circle and sits there. He is called 'ghora' (horse). One man from the other party comes in the circle and stands touching the 'ghora'. He is the 'Syce' (jockey). Then a member of the 'horse' party throws the ball to hit the 'jockey'. He tries to save himself by moving within the circle. If he is hit, he is 'dead' and goes out. The other member takes his place. When all members of the party are 'dead' the other party wins.

The disposition of the field is as follows :—

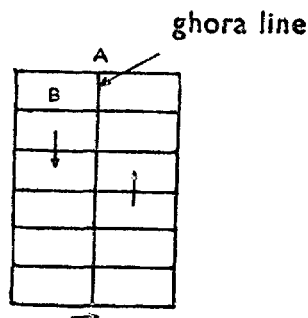


This was related to the writer by Sri U. Barman of Cooch-Bihar. This game is now rarely seen.

Pakki khela.

This is the most popular game of the villagers. It is usually played in the day time after the rainy season when harvesting of paddy is over. A moon-lit night gives the most exciting time for this game when it continues till late in the night. It is seven-a-side game.

The field is usually 40' x 20' and each block is nearly 6' x 8'. The court looks as follows :—



The attacking seven players stand outside the field at place A. The defending six players stand on the horizontal lines one on each and the seventh one called the Ghora (ঘোড়া) stand on the middle vertical line, the Ghora line. He can run along all the three vertical lines.

At the start of the game one of the attacking players called Bhut (ভূত) is allowed to cross the field undisturbed. He reaches the other side and calls the players of his party to start by shouting 'Bhut' (ভূত). Then all the players enter the first block B either all at a time or in batches. They try to cross the lines along the downward arrow mark. The defending players standing on the lines try to touch the attacking player at the time of crossing a line. If a player can cross the 6th line untouched by any one, he works up along the upward arrow mark. The 'Bhut' also tries to go up. If he or the 'Bhut' can cross the 1st line untouched and reach the place from where they started, the party wins. If any one is touched by a defending player while crossing a line, the entire party loses the game.

Then the game starts afresh ; the attacking party takes the defence and *vice versa*.

This game is called 'Daria Khela' in Southern Bengal.

Jokes

Khitsor (খিচর) ; **Khitor** (খিডোর).

Children cutting jokes with the grand-ma. This is also a part of the sport.

(1)

bhatar bhatar kolo abo ge
o-ge abo, bhatar na hōē bhal ge
bhatar dulali abo ge he
o-ge sōgar ache d̄zore d̄zore ge
o-ge abo, tor nai sed̄zar dosor ge.

ভাতার ভাতার কোলো আবো গে
ওগে আবো, ভাতার না হই ভাল্ গে
ভাতার দুলালী আবো গে হে
ওগে সগার আছে জোরে জোরে গে
ওগে আবো, তোর নাই সেজার দোসোর গে ।

Oh, grand-ma you want a husband. Oh, grand-ma, a husband is no good. Oh, Grand-ma, you want to be a loving wife. All woman has one man for each. Oh, grand-ma you have none to share your bed.

Bhatar - husband ; abo - grand-ma ; dzore - couple ; sedza - bed ; dosor - companion.

(2)

o-ge abo, tor simar tðlðt ghðr
sima bèchaite dððlðm dzache
moke bhatar dhðr.

ওগে আবো, তোর সীমার তলত্ ধর
সীমা ব্যাচাইতে জলম যাছে
মোকে ভাতার ধর ।

Oh grand-ma, your hut is under the bean creeper. You are wasting your life by selling beans. Why take so much trouble. Marry me and I shall feed you.

sima - kidney bean.

(3)

Dzeikhan mala subebo abo
seikhan mala ne
abo-ge, paisa nai te
mor paisa ne.

যেইখান মালা সুবেবো আবো
সেইখান মালা নে
আবো গে, পাইসা নাই তে
মোর পাইসা নে ।

Take any garland, grand-ma, you choose. If you have no money take it from me. (Marry any one you like. If you like I am ready to marry you).

(4)

abo, tui mor kiser gosa holu re
nal badzarer tesengra bondu re
tsotut golar kaþhi re
nal badzarer tsengra bondu re.

আবো, তুই মোর কিসের গোসা হলু রে
নাল বাজারের চেংরা বোলু রে
চতুত্ গোলার কাঠিরে
নাল বাজারের চেংরা বোলু রে ।

Grand-ma, why are you angry upon me. You are my young friend of the market. You are the four pillars of my grannary. Don't be angry, I love you.
Here the grand-ma has become the young girl friend of the market.

A widower opens his mind to his grand-ma.

Song.*

adzi oila katha phðm pðrese ge abo
chðð mas bhorla kando doholat bosia
o-ki abo, nodari moria.
eke to gimsanir din
achðt thakia
kãð aro hukabe pakha
bogolot thakia
o-ki kèrat kurut korla.
abo, gðsa hoia na khão bhat
achðt thakia
kãð aro ðakabe abo
ki koiro ki koiro korla.
abo, sðgað dzache gomira dekhilbar
maia dhorla
mor-o ache nal phðtaþa
kãð dzabe pindhia
o-ki abo, nodari moria.

আজি ঐলা কাথা ফম্ পরেসে গে আবো
ছয় মাস ভোরিয়া কান্দো দোহোলাত্ বোসিয়া
ওকি আবো, নোদারী মোরিয়া ।
একে তো গিমসানির দিন
আছত্ থাকিয়া
কায় আরো হকাবে পাখা
বোগোলাত্ থাকিয়া
ওকি ক্যারাত্ কুরুত্ কোরিয়া ।
আবো, গসা হোইয়া না খাঁও ভাত
আছত্ থাকিয়া
কায় আরো ডাকাবে আবো
কি কোইরো কি কোইরো কোরিয়া ।
আবো, সগায় যাছে গোমিরা দেখিবার
মাইয়া ধোরিয়া
মোর-ও আছে নাল ফতাটা
কায় যাবে পিন্দিয়া
ওকি আবো, নোদারী মোরিয়া ।

* Grierson in Linguistic Survey, Vol. V, Part I, p. 183 has cited a similar song.

Oh my grand-ma, to-day that old event comes back to my mind, I am weeping for the last six months sitting on the low land (paddy field). Oh my grand-ma, it is for the death of my newly married wife.

When in intense summer I lie down on bed, who is there now to lie by my side and move the fan that makes the melodious cracking sound (kèrat kurut).

Oh my grand-ma, when in anger I refuse to eat and lie down on bed, who is there to come beside me and entreat, saying what you do, what you do my darling.

Oh my grand-ma, all are going to hear the Gomira song with wife, me also has a red sari at home, but who is there to put it on.

Oh my grand-ma, there is none after my wife is dead.

Note : phòm - remember, remind ; abo—grand-ma.

dohola - low land for tilling.

nodari - newly married wife (S. C. B. nutan bou -first wife) ;

gimsani - intense summer ;

thakia - lying down (S. C. B. - suia or su-e).

hukabe - move, drive.

bogolot - by the side, beside ; gòsa - anger.

kèrat kurut - is onomatopoeic - the sound of a bamboo-made fan that is moved in a circle on a bamboo-made pivot. (used in N. Bengal villages).

ki koiro - wife calling to husband (what are you doing ; S. C. B. - ki koro).

Gomira - song sung in honour of Siva (S. C. B. gombhira).

maia-wife ; phòta - a kind of sari worn by Rajbansi villagers.

pindhia - putting on.

Advice of a Grand pa to his grand-daughter.

O, ki, ge natin

gabhur kale

dehar sòbhang

dzeno kantsa sòna

uthule pemèr dheu

bandt mane na.

O, ge, gabhur bela

ònger mela

dehar uthe badzena

bhokot porle khoksa mītha

sudaē pònthā budzhe na

bhok bitile kòto holeo

dile tane na.

O, ge, take take kunkil dake

somoē gele dake na

o, ge, somoete birikh phòle

somoē gele phòle na

dzemon bura mukhe kura dile

chiri uthe na.

ও, কি, গে নাতিন

গাভুর কালে

দেহার সোভাং

যেন কান্চা সনা

উথুলে পেমের ঢেউ

বানত্ মানে না ।

ও, গে, গাভুর বেল

অংগের মেল

দেহার উঠে বাজেনা

ডোকোত্ পরলে খোকসা মিঠা

সুদায় পন্থা বুঝে না

ডোক্ বিতিলে কতো হলেও

দিলে টানে না ।

ও, গে, তাকে তাকে কুংকিল ডাকে

সময় গেলে ডাকে না

ও, গে, সময়োতে বিরিক ফলে

সময় গেলে ফলে না

যেমন বুড়ে মুখে কুরা দিলে

ছিরি উঠে না ।

* *Note :* gabhur-young (between 14-20 years of age. also 'gabur') ; sobhang-beauty (S. C. B.-sobha) ; kantsa sona - pure gold (S. C. B.-kaca sona) ; banot-in the flood ; dehar uthe badzena-the body is full of lust ; bhokot porle khoksa mītha-during hunger anything is sweet ; sudaē ponthā budzhe na-cannot distinguish between good and bad ; bhok bitile-when the hunger is gone ; kunkil-cuckoo (S. C. B.-kokil) ; birikh-tree (S. C. B. briksha) ; kura-turmeric paint used at the time of marriage, face powder ; chiri-beauty.

O, ge, bōssa kale
 bile khale
 kemon d̥z̥bler phepena
 o, ge, din tsiale
 d̥z̥bl̥ sukale
 maṭi sukuna.

ও, গে, বস্‌সা কালে
 বিলে খালে
 কেমন জ্বলের ফেপেনা
 ও, গে, দিন চিয়ালে
 জল শুকালে
 মাটি শুকুনা।

The grand-pa says to his grand daughter, when a certain age comes the body becomes beautiful, lust and love come in a rush like a flood and cannot be checked. At this age the body becomes uneasy and one is apt to go astray. When the pleasure is satisfied no body looks after even if nicely dressed. Cuckoo sings in a certain season but never when it is over. The tree bears fruit at a certain time but never after it, the old face even after painting never becomes beautiful. In the rains you see the foam on the water in the ponds and ditches but when the rain is over the water is gone and the dry earth remains.*

Grand pa at the marriage of his grand-son

Ghus koria suninu mui
 Bhupener bōle biha
 Dimilar kunṭhekar bōle
 sian koina dia.
 sei din hate monṭa mor
 tirit tarat kōre
 hokor tsokor gadzaise kaṭa
 ninde na dhōre.
 pandzi dekhu puthi dekhu
 gōnao onguler matha
 tsulkaite tsulkaite
 berachu mui matha.
 dohi tsura bhirit bharat
 kar sunibo kōto
 dohi tsura khēa pēṭkēna
 mor hoise ṭin ṭina
 koṭoroi bēnger moto.
 bau, bihao korlo bhaloi korlo
 acchaṛ korlo kam
 dhan bhuka ania de ḍkṭa
 notoi bhira cham.

ঘস্‌ করিয়া শুনিনু মুই
 ভূপেনের বলে বিহা
 ডিমিলার কুন্ঠেকের বলে
 সিয়ান কইনা দিয়া।
 সেই দিন হাতে মোন্টা মোর
 তিরিত্‌ তারাত্‌ করে
 হোকোর চোকোর গাজাইসে কাটা
 নিন্দে না ধরে।
 পান্ডজি দেখু পুথি খুদ
 গণাও ওংগুলের মাথা
 চুলকাইতে চুলকাইতে
 বেড়াছু মুই মাথা।
 দহি চুরা ভিরিত্‌ ভারাত্‌
 কার শুনিবো কতো
 দধি চুরা খায়া প্যাট্‌ ক্যানা
 মোর হোইসে টিন্‌ টিনা
 কোটোরোই ব্যাংএর মোতো।
 বাউ, বিহাও কোরলো ভালই কোরলো
 আচ্ছায় কোরলো কাম
 ধান ভুকা আনিয়া দে এ্যাকটা
 নটোই ভরা ছাম্‌।

Free translation :—

Suddenly I hear Bhupen (my grand-son) is going to marry a grown up girl of Dimla (a village in Rangpur district). From that day my mind is not at rest, thorns have grown on my bed and I have no sleep. I looked to the almanac, I looked to the books, I counted days on the ends of my fingers, I scratched my head and passed my days any how waiting for the auspicious day. Now I hear the splash of eating the flattened rice and curd, my own stomach is too full and swollen like a ballooned frog. My child, you have married, you have done well. Now you buy a good wide mouthed wooden mortar and pestle for your wife to husk the paddy (to test her strength).*

* Note : bossa-rainy season ; tsiale-after it is over (S. C. B.-colia gele). ghus - suddenly ; bole - it is that, may be, probably ; sian - well grown ; koina - girl ; tirit tarat - restless ; gōnao - count ; koṭoroi beng - household frog that can swell up the body considerably ; tin-tina - swollen and tight ; notoi-the hole in a mortar (also khotoi) ; bhira-chum - big enough to cover nearly the whole of the body of the mortar (so that it may hold a good quantity of paddy for husking).

Chapter IV

Marriage Customs.

(In matters of marriage the Rajbansis are in a state of transition. The more backward and illiterate section of the Rajbansi caste still maintain practices inconsistent with the orthodox Hindu customs. Some forms of companionate marriage where divorce can be effected without ado are still to be found amongst them. Thus Gao-gòch, Pani-chiṭa, Pani-sòrpòn, Ghòr-sòdhari, Dangua, Pachua (coming after), Sòngòna (living with) are the forms of union that are still to be found in the villages. The practice of marrying elder brother's widow is not uncommon. The system of Koina-patro (virgin girl keeping) was found in the earlier history. The system of Ghòr-jia where a young man is received into a family with a view of being accepted as a son-in-law if the arrangement is suitable and in the meantime he works as an assistant to the prospective father-in-law, is common amongst the Rajbansis. In the alternative when the demanded bride-price cannot be paid the new comer has to work under the prospective father-in-law to serve out a probationary period before he can claim to marry the girl. A salary is fixed to his work and as soon as bride-price is covered he is formally admitted as a son-in-law by proper celebration of a marriage. This period may extend from six months to seven years. The writer came across instances where after serving out a small period of six months only the calculated remaining part of the service was condoned. Another type of marriage which is found in the Rajganj area of Jalpaiguri and Terai of Darjeeling is the Chòttrò-dani system of marriage. This is married woman's remarriage even when the husband is living. A woman after marriage is not allowed by her guardians to go to her husband's house and in the meantime she is married elsewhere in lieu of some money. The first husband is paid some compensation and he renounces all claim over his wife and the divorce becomes as a matter of course. There are cases where the father-in-law of the girl gave away (sold) his daughter-in-law in marriage to some other person in consideration of some money while the husband gave up all claims on his wife. This compensation or consideration money ranges from Rs. 100/- to Rs. 500 -. The divorce is automatic as no village court or a Panchayet is necessary to give a decision. Such marriages are accepted by the society.

(Polygamy is common where there may be many wives regularly or irregularly married. There is always a bride-price attached to a girl and as such marriage by purchase is the rule. Instances of marriage by capture could not be traced.)

Polygamy and marriage by purchase had examples amongst the Caste-Hindus in Bengal in Kulinism and in 'Bhòrar-meye' (ভরার মেয়ে). (Mukherjee A.—Itihas, II-7, Calcutta, 1363 B.S. 1957 A.D. - Bangla dese koulinnya prothar atryachar).

Some observation of earlier writers in this respect are cited below :-

Porter (Census of India, 1931, Vol. V, Part I, P. 474) describes :—

'That the more backward and illiterate members of the Rajbansi caste still maintain practices inconsistent with orthodox Hindu belief. They are (1) divorce at will without going through formalities, (2) Ga-gòch, a companionate marriage, (3) Pani-sarpan, (4) widow remarriage, (5) Ghòr-dhoka, (6) Dangua, (7) marriage within the same Gotra.'

Porter describes Pani-Sòrpòn as Ghòr-jia form. But it is the form of delayed marriage or marriage with retrospective effect ; (to be described hereafter).

Hunter (Statistical Account of Bengal, Vol. X, 1876, p. 374) describes three forms of marriages among the Rajbansi caste.

- (1) The Gandhòrbò form, which is different from the old Hindu custom where the bride selects the husband, but amongst the Rajbansis the father or the guardian selects the girl (and the boy). A simple ceremony is performed in front of a 'Chalan-Bati' and garlands are exchanged between the bride and the bride-groom.
- (2) The Brahmo marriage (Phul Bio) is the regular marriage and the ceremony is performed almost like the marriage ceremony of the caste Hindus.
- (3) The widow remarriage takes place without any ceremony but the children of the union are acknowledged as heirs and successors to the property of their father. Such children were not recognised as legitimate in the orthodox Hindu society till lately.

Another deviation of the Rajbansis from the orthodox form of Hindu marriage is stated by O'Melly (Census of India, 1911, vol. V, part I, page 327) :—

'It is usual custom for a Hindu bride to be married in the parents' house and to stay there till the marriage is consummated when she finally goes to her husband's house. Among the Rajbansis the bride goes to the bridegroom's house to be married, until very recently it was the custom for the bride to be carried to the bridegroom's house on the back of her sister's husband ; but the custom has been given up as degrading.'

At the present moment many of the old customs are fading away.

Inheritance :

The British Courts in India and the Privy Council of England accepted both Gandhòrbò and Brahmo forms of marriage as legal marriages and the decision of such Courts in the succession cases of Baikunthpur Estates points to the fact.

'About twenty years ago the Calcutta High Court ruled that—'The Rajbansis, quite independently of any proof of any custom of, remarriage, are governed by the ordinary terms of Hindu law (Daya-Bhag) and consequently a woman upon re-marriage loses all title in the estate of her husband and that is not affected by any difference in the nature of the ceremony celebrated' (Porter-op. cit. p. 474).

In the eye of the present laws the Rajbansis have been raised to the status of orthodox Hindus. This was also the observation made by Mr. Justice P. Mukherjee of Calcutta High Court in 1956 A. D. in the case of succession of Asrumati Devi of Baikunthapur estate (Jalpaiguri). (Heard from her son-in-law Sri K. Bose who was conducting the case.)

Relative Incidence of Different Types of Marriages :

An enquiry was made in Taluk Sukhani, P. S. Rajganj of the district of Jalpaiguri. The villagers said that of different fashions of marriage, the Phul-Bio (Brahmo form) was 50%, Pani Sôrpôn 15%, Dangua 5% and other forms 30%. The village people expressed in terms of a rupee i.e. Phul-Bio-/8/-, Pani-sôrpôn-/2/-, Dangua-/1/-and other forms-/5/-.

Gotra :

In marriage ceremonies Gotra is a factor which cannot be brushed aside. In simple terms Gotra is the final development of a tribal clan. Amongst the Rajbansis the old totemic clan or any of the old tribal divisions could not be traced even after searching enquiry. Old men aged about one hundred whom the writer interviewed, could not remember any of this sort. However rudiments of Gotra in the form of sects could be traced although imperfectly. The sects in all probability began to develop when Vaisnava preachers came to this part of the country to preach their religion which took place in the 8th century A. D. (Mazumdar R. C. - History of Bengal. vol. I, p. 401).

The earliest divisions seemed to be (1) Bôlram path and (2) Krishnô path who are said to be the worshippers of Bôlram and Krishnô respectively. There appears to have some connection with Krishna-pôddô, a Siddhacharya who appeared in c.900-950 A. D. (S. K. Chatterjee identifies Karishnacharya with Krishna Podo. Mazumder R. C. ibid. p.347).

Then traces of four sects were found. They are still existing. The names of the sects are :- (1) Amhaut (Ramauth), (2) Pondit, (3) Gôdadhôr, (4) Nityanôndô. They are said to be the deciples of Ramananda, Nimananda, Bistnupada and Madhobacharya, respectively.

There is a story that the whole people of this area became Bhuddhist. When they were re-initiated into Brahmanistic Hinduism several preceptors came to this side. They were Ramananda, Pandit (Nimananda), Gôdadhôr and Nityanôndô. The deciples of each formed a group called Porua* (পড়ুয়া). Men of each sect were regarded as brothers and hence marriage could not take place within one group. Thus a type of rudimentary Gotra was formed. No evidence could be traced of this story.

In the Rajganj Police Station of Jalpaiguri district fifteen classes of 'Poruas' have been found. They are :-

- | | |
|------------------------|-----------------------------|
| (1) Tsoiton (টসিটন), | (2) Nityanôndô (নিত্যানন্দ) |
| (3) Adit (আদিত), | (4) Bôlram (বলরাম) |
| (5) Udoit (উদইত), | (6) Soit-guru (সাইত-গুরু) |
| (7) Kanaia (কানাইয়া), | (8) Bôlaia (বলাইয়া) |
| (9) Pagôl (পাগল), | (10) Dzugôl (ডুগল) |
| (11) Am-aut (আমআউত), | (12) Pondit (পণ্ডিত) |
| (13) Achidôr (আছিদর), | (14) Chao-al (ছাওয়াল) |
| (15) Krishnô (কৃষ্ণ) | |

Later on towards the beginning of the nineteenth century as could be guessed from the history of the development of the Rajbansis, a Gotra called Kashyapa was introduced and the marriage rituals began to take the shape of orthodox Hindu form. Still marriage within the same Gotra was at variance with the orthodox Hindu customs.

Records of introduction of some new Gotras were found in Rangpur. They are (1) Kasyapa, (2) Sandilya, (3) Parasara, (4) Bharadwja, (5) Gautama, (6) Savarna, (7) Kapila, (8) Thandi, (9) Batsya, (10) Mudgalaya, (11) Atri, (12) Kausika or Viswamitra. But the Rajbansis even now declare their Gotra as Kasyapa as matter of course. (Porter, Census of India 1931-vol.V, Part I,p-474).

There are also two sub-classes amongst the Rajbansis although not coming within the purview of Gotra. They are Ag-cal (son or daughter of a regular marriage) and Pach-cal (son or daughter of a widow re-married).

In matters of marriage all these Gotras and sub-sections are taken into account, specially the 'Porua'.

'Porua' is real Gotra :

In all marriages the wife always takes the 'porua' of the husband. This change-over is similar to 'Gotrantor' of the caste Hindus.

All Rajbansis now belong to one Gotra (Kshyapa) and the marriage is therefore allowed within one Gotra and thus in a

* Instead of writing পড়ুয়া as Padua, the 'parua' spelling has been retained as the Rajbansis pronounce as পরুয়া

sense Rajbansis are endogamous. This appears to be a great deviation from the caste Hindu marriage. Marriage can take place between a 'Ray' and a 'Ray', and a 'Das'. After the Rajbansis became Bratya Kshattriyas and took the 'Sacred Thread' as an emblem of the new caste after passing through a simple ceremony at a cost varying from annas ten to one rupee, they started adopting the rituals of caste Hindus and employed Kamrupi Brahmans to perform their marriage and sradh ceremonies. They became 'Burman', 'Ray', 'Singha' or 'Isore' discarding their former 'Das'. Those Rajbansis who refused to accept the sacred thread preferred to remain 'Das' although subsequently changed to 'Burman' or 'Ray'. These Rajbansis employed their own priests, the Odhikaries or Deosis or Dèodhas, to perform their marriage rites and the Pujas. Inspite of such differences, marriage between the Rajbansi with sacred thread and without sacred thread is allowed by the society.

These Odhikaries belong to two groups of which 'Pad-dhari' or 'Par-dhari' are the first class and the 'Kan-tulsi' are the second class. It is said that on the last day of a sradh ceremony two 'Sidhas' (gifts) each consisting of about ten seers of rice, some pulses, green vegetables and fruits are kept separate in two bamboo baskets for the two types of Odhikaries attending the ceremony.

Now-a-days the Rajbansis try to closely follow the customs and rituals of the caste Hindus in their marriage ceremonies.

The age of Marriage and the Bride Price :

About half a century ago the marriageable age of the girl was 16 and 17 and of the boy 21 and 22. After about twenty five years the age of the girl was reduced to 9 and 10. This was probably due to the impact of the caste Hindus who were then marrying their girls at a very tender age. But after passing of the Sarada Act in 1930 A. D. the age of the girl was again raised to 14 and 16. The marriageable age of the boy remains at 20 and 23. In Cooch-Bihar it was 10 and 12 for the girl and 20-23 for the boy. (Mitra, Tribes and Castes, p. 227).

The system of marriage by purchase (Chalamulani) is still in vogue. The bride price was between 50/- and 100/- rupees about fifty years ago. The amount paid in Cooch-Bihar was 40/- to 50/- in 1911, but now it is from 50/- to 100/- in a poor cultivator family. With the increase of the cost of living the price has been raised to 200/- to 400 - rupees. Hence many poor men cannot lay by so much money and remain unmarried up to a much advanced age. Thus the difference of age between the bride and the bride-groom is becoming greater. The bride price in Darjeeling Terai varies from Rs. 300/- to Rs. 500 -. In Nepal Terai (Morong) the bride-price is very high. It ranges from Rs. 700 - to Rs. 1000 -. Hence many girls are being married in Morong.

It is on account of the bride price that a marriage is called in the dialect of the Rajbansis as 'Koina-Bdca' (कौनै बढ्का) that is the sale of the girl by her guardian and from boy's side it is called 'Koina-dzura' (कौनै डुरा) that is uniting or adding a girl. The bye-word 'Mui Koina bẽtsai chu' (মূই কৌনৈ বঢ়াই চু), 'mui koina bẽtsa khatsu' (মূই কৌনৈ বঢ়াই খাটু) means 'I have sold the girl' meaning thereby that his daughter has been married.

Some actual cases of marriage are stated below to indicate the bride price and the age of marriage.

- (1) In the year 1950 A. D. Phanindra Das of Kumarpara, Jalpaiguri, was married at the age of 14. His wife was 12. Phanindra's father paid Rs. 140/- (sat-kuri) as bride price. Phanindra's elder sister was married in 1945 at the age of 14. Her father received Rs. 220/- (egaro-kuri) as bride price. He also received Rs. 240/- (baro-kuri) in the marriage of his second daughter. Phanindra said that a good-looking virgin would cost Rs. 500/- (pocis-kuri).
- (2) Subal Das of Rajganj, Jalpaiguri, paid Rs. 380/- (unis kuri) as bride price in 1955 A. D. Subal was 22 and his wife Cuk-cuki (fair skinned) was 14.
- (3) Jaleswar Ray of Rajgunj got Rs. 400/- (bis-kuri) in the first marriage of his daughter. The same girl was married a second time and he got Rs. 300/- (ponaro-kuri) as bride price. The same girl was married a third time and he got Rs. 100/- (pach kuri) as bride price.
- (4) Baisaku Ray of Sannyasikata, Jalpaiguri, aged 18 married Poitta Dasi aged 14 and paid Rs. 80/- (car kuri). He married a second time a girl named Phulmoti aged 10 while he was 28 and paid Rs. 140/- (sat kuri) as bride price.
- (5) Baneswar Das of Rajgunj, aged 20, married Milansori aged 16 (in 1950) and paid Rs. 420/- (ekus kuri) as bride price.
- (6) Cera Das of Sukhani, Jalpaiguri, aged 23 (in 1952 A. D.) paid Rs. 140/- (sat kuri) as bride price. His wife died. He was after a second girl but her father demanded Rs. 120/- (choy kuri). He came to the writer the other day for some monetary help on account of his 'Koina-dzura'.
- (7) Dhatti Das of Sukhani, aged 24 married Kalthani aged 16, in Pani Sdrpdn fashion with the ceremony of Pani-chita, four years ago. His formal marriage was celebrated last year. He had his sister married and got Rs. 400/- (bis kuri) as bride price. Out of this sum he paid Rs. 300 - to his father-in-law to be permitted to have regular marriage with Kalthani and spent Rs. 100/- to feed the village people to secure formal sanction of his Pani Sdrpdn marriage. During the period of four years a daughter was born to them and she was declared legitimate as a matter of course.
- (8) Sarat Ray of Deviduba (formerly in Jalpaiguri, now in E. Pakistan) married while he was 25 and his wife 13. At the age of 27 he married again, his second wife was 18. At the age of 38 he married again, his third wife was 15. The last marriage took place in 1946 A. D.

- (9) Dineswar Burman of Bhutnirghat (Alipur Duar, Jalpaiguri) thirty three years ago, married at the age of 17 and his wife Hiddesori was only 10. At the age of 38 he married a widow named Sanjabati aged 25. At the age of 48 he married for the third time a widow named Kironbala aged 28.
- (10) Khokon Singh Ray of Danduapara, Jalpaiguri, aged 18, married Simon aged 13 (about 20 years ago). After the death of his first wife he married at the age of 35 while his wife Tulsi was only 14 years old.

An unmarried girl (virgin) is called Phul or Apari. When the same girl is married a second time she is called Dodia. When the same girl is married a third time she is called Tetia. Bride-price is termed by the Rajbansis as 'bori' or 'põn'. (বোড়ি, পন)

If the bride price of a Phul (virgin) is Rs. 400/- (bis kuri) the price of a Dodia is generally Rs. 100/-, but if she is childless the price goes up according to her health and appearance. The price of a Tetia is practically nil. But if she is very good looking and not burdened with more than two children, her father may demand upto Rs. 80/-.

If after an unmarried girl is given ornaments and money as marriage contract during Nirikhni ceremony and the contract is subsequently broken, the ornaments and the money are taken back and the girl becomes Ao-pari (আওপারী) corresponding to Onnodburba (অন্ত পূৰ্ণ) of the caste Hindus. Then it becomes very difficult to get her married in advanced society.

This is one of the instances to show how nearly the Rajbansis are approaching the caste Hindus in their social affairs.

Modern tendencies :

It is interesting to note that amongst the modern educated boys there is a tendency to demand money or some other dowry from the guardian of the girl and in fact some marriages have recently taken place where the father of the girl had to give costly dowry to the bride-groom instead of receiving the bride-price. This reversal of position is probably due to the close association with the caste Hindus where heavy dowry is often demanded from the guardian of the girl. Many Rajbansi friends of the writer look upon the introduction of this new system as a great menace to the continuance of the society as such.

FORMS OF CONNUBIAL UNION AMONGST THE RAJBANSIS

Regular forms.

Phul Biha ; Phul-Bio ; Phulmara-biha

This is the form of marriage generally adopted and accepted by the society as a real marriage. In this form the boy is always married to a virgin girl. The marriage is settled by the elders through a Karoa¹ (match maker). In this form the marriage crown (Phul or Sāhera) is tied on the head of the bride and the bride-groom. In no other form this is done. The word 'Phul' denotes a virgin and also the marriage crown. A priest or Odhikary is essential in this type of marriage. A Kamrupi Brahman, whose ancestors are said to have been recruited by Biswa Singha from Srihatta (Sylhet), is generally employed in advanced families.

Some authors describe that in olden times when a girl was given to a young man, her sister or sisters were also given to him as dowry together with a number of maid servants. The case of Aduna and Paduna was cited in Manik Chandra Rajar-gan². This might have happened in the case of the Rajas or in this particular case under unusual circumstances, but investigation among the common Rajbansis did not reveal any history of such a custom. In fact, polygamy amongst the Rajbansis although allowed by the society is not commonly practised.

The rituals of a Phul Biha are fully described later on. Instances of marriage amongst the different sects of the Rajbansis are stated as under.

Marriage amongst the different Poruas.

Amongst the 'poruas' as stated above no one will intermarry with 'amaut', 'pondit' and 'achidor'. It is said that the 'amauts' beg, the 'pondits' form professional kirtan party and also sing on the third day, tenth day and thirteenth day at the house of a dead person, the 'achidors' act as 'dèmdha' (দৈমদধা). They act as priest in 'garam pudza' and in the pudza of Mahadev held after the eighth day of the marriage (athora). During the pudza the 'dèmdha' shakes his head (matha dzhòkaē-মথ্য ঝকোঁ) and the deity takes possession of him for the time being. Thus the sons and daughters of these three sects are discarded

1. A 'Karoa' is a matchmaker like the 'ghotlocks' of South Bengal, he is usually a Rajbansi. He carries on his usual occupation of cultivation and acts as a matchmaker as a side business whenever called upon to do so. He keeps all information of marriageable boys and girls of the neighbourhood and hence he is the person through whom marriage negotiations are opened. A very near relative of the boy or of the girl does not act as a 'Karoa,' generally distant relatives (sagai) act as Karoa in special cases. Karoa is not therefore a special class by itself having the sole profession of a matchmaker.
2. Das Gupta T. C., Aspects of Bengali Society, p. xxiii and p. 3 footnote.

by other 'poruas' in matters of marriage. These three 'poruas' marry amongst themselves. The other twelve classes of 'poruas' inter-marry without restriction and sometimes within the same 'porua'.

1. Monu Singh of Rajgunj (Jalpaiguri) a 'nityananda' married Hemangini daughter of Prasanna Ray, a 'nityananda'. His wife had not to change her 'porua' due to this marriage.

2. Borhmo-moyee a 'nityananda' girl was married to Basanta Ray, a 'soitguru'. After the marriage his wife adopted the 'porua' of her husband.

Marriage between Kristno path and Boloram Path.

Gakil Chand Das of Chilhati (now in Rangpur) was a rent collector under the Cooch-Bihar State and assumed the surname 'Patwari'. He was then called Gokulchand Das Patwari. His son Gajendra did not like the addition 'Das' and called himself 'Burman'. Then he was called Gajendra Nath Burman Patwari. His son Jadunath was not in service and so he was called Jadunath Burman. His son Nityananda assumed the surname 'Ray' and he was called Nityananda Ray. His sons are using the surname 'Ray'.

Nityananda, a Bôldram-path married at the age of sixteen a girl named Nayani aged twelve of Krishnô-path sect. Nayani after her marriage became 'Bôldram-path'.

Nityananda's mother's father (adzu) was a 'Krishnô-path'. After the marriage of her daughter with Nityananda's father she became 'Bôldram-path'.

Nityananda's wife's father was 'Krishnô-path'. He married three wives. All of them were 'Bôldram-path'. They all became 'Krishnô-path' after marriage.

Dwijendra Nath Ray of Rajganj (Jalpaiguri) aged 23 of Nityanôndô and Krishnô-path sect married Sabitri aged 15, daughter of Harendra Mandal of 'gôdadhôr' and 'Krishnô-path' sect. Sabitri after marriage became a 'Nityanôndô'.

Bhaja Das of Rajgunj, a 'Krishnô-path' married Malaniori of 'Krishnô-path' sect. Bhaja is now 35 years and Malani 22 years of age.

The writer was informed that some years ago marriage amongst the same 'porua' was not allowed. But now it is not strictly followed.

Kumar Brojendra Dev of Belacoba (Jalpaiguri) now aged 50 and Khola Ray of Mantadari aged 75 (Jalpaiguri) inform the writer that marriage negotiations do not usually take place on the basis of Gotra as all Rajbansis belong to one Gotra ('Kasyapa') but on the basis of the 'porua'.

Marriage between a Rajbansi with sacred thread and without sacred thread :

1. Gokul Das of patkata, Jalpaiguri, was a Ghôr-dzia. He had no sacred thread. His son Golghat Das and his son Kulakantho Das had no sacred thread. Kulakantho married Kasissori. Her father took sacred thread before her marriage.

2. Kulakantho's son Neki Das married Bissessori of Mandalghat, Jalpaiguri, about eight miles from the house of Kulakantho. Bissessori's father had sacred thread. At the time of marriage Neki was 20 and his wife 14 years old.

3. Neki's brothers Panchanan Das married Aljoi. Her father had sacred thread. At the time of marriage Panchanan was 18 and Aljoi was 12.

4. Neki's son Dhiren Ray took sacred thread.

5. Kulakantho's one brother Girin Das gave his daughter in marriage to Ketu Das who had sacred thread.

Marriage between Odhikary and other Rajbansis.

Regular marriage between Odhikary and other Rajbansis takes place as the Odhikaris, although holding a high position do not form a special caste among the Rajbansis.

Marriage between Rajbansi and Mech.

Several instances of such marriages have been found in Sadar and Rajgunj P. S. in Jalpaiguri district.

Motikantho Ray, a Rajbansi of village Sukani (Rajgunj) married the daughter of Dinobondhu, a Mech of Belacoba (Rajgunj) in 1927 A. D.

Son of Dinobondhu, a Mech of Belacoba married the granddaughter of Hedla Das, a Rajbansi of Patkata (Jalpaiguri, Sadar P. S.) in 1956 A. D.

Rajani, a Mech of village Kicokbodh in Morong (Nepal) married the daughter of Sahadev Ray, a Rajbansi of Belacoba in 1955 A. D. Here the Bride price was Rs. 700/-

Marriage between Rajbansi and Babu Koch.

Gudu Sing, a Koch, married his daughter to Khogin Ray, a Rajbansi of the same village in Bahadur Taluk (Jalpaiguri, Sadar P. S.).

Two other daughters of Gudu Sing were married to Rajbansi young men.

Tolebala, daughter of Bezalal Das, a Koch, was married to Sukuru Ray, a Rajbansi in 1930 A. D.

Thubri, daughter of Dhansing Das, a Koch, was married to Rajani Kantho Ray, a Rajbansi in 1941 A. D.

Obeswari, daughter of Seruram Das, a Koch, was married to Dhairya Ray, a Rajbansi, in 1932 A. D.

Biddeswari, daughter of Dhirkantho Ray, a Rajbansi, was married to Birsing Das, a Koch, in 1933 A. D.

These cases were collected in Bahadur Taluk under the Sadar Police Station in Jalpaiguri District in 1956 A. D.

In these marriages the writer was informed by the persons concerned that a terra cotta effigy of the head of a hog was kept in front of the kitchen. The informant M. Ray, a Rajbansi friend of the writer living in the locality told that formerly a hog was to be sacrificed in the marriage ceremony of the Kochs. But in case of inter-marriages an earthen figure of a hog's head was kept instead.

Marriage between Rajbansi and Dhimol.

Only one instance could be collected. The daughter of Sahadev Ray of Borobaree (Belacoba) was married to the son of Surjya Dhimol of Morong (Nepal). Here the bride price was Rs. 1,000/-.

Marriage between Rajbansi and Caste Hindu (a)

A few instances were found where caste Hindu people coming from South and East Bengal and Bihar intermarried with the Rajbansis of North Bengal and got mixed up with them. The full details have been avoided in some cases where the party so desired. Some instances have been recorded here to prove how the population of this caste grew up with absorption of other castes.

Case No. 1 :

Dhaneswar Bairagi and Sridhar Bairagi came from Navadwip about 300 years ago, seven generations ahead of the present one. They settled in Haldibaree (Cooch-Behar) in the Akhra (Vaisnava temple) of the zaminders of Mustafi family of Cooch-Behar and received from them about 100 bighas of land for their maintenance. This family still maintains an Akhra at Navadwip. The present generation could not remember the names of the sons and grandsons of Dhaneswar Bairagi. The eldest son of the fourth generation was Nitai Mohanto but his two younger brothers Gourkanto and Nilkanto assumed the surname 'Das'. Nitai Mohanto's son was Brojomohon Mohanto. The eldest son of Brojomohon was Ghonosyam Mohanto and his second son was Tarini Charan Das. Tarini¹ is still living and his present age is stated to be 106, Tarini himself told the writer. Tarini Charan at first married a Rajbansi woman, daughter of Taru Ray (a Rajbansi) and his second wife was also a Rajbansi woman, sister of Sonaram Ray. Tarini Charan became a Rajbansi and assumed the surname 'Das Sarkar' as he was also a tax collector under the Mustafis. Tarini Charan has five sons and two daughters by his two wives. His eldest daughter Hiran Dasi was married to Mahendra Raikut (A Rajbansi) of village Gourchadi (Haldibari). The sons of Tarini Das Sarkar assumed the surname 'Ray Sarkar or Ray'. They are Rajani Ray, Kamini Ray, Bhawani Ray, Umagati Ray and Dharendra Ray (sometimes they write 'Ray Sarkar'). The youngest daughter of Tarini Ray is Mukta Dasi. She has been married to a son of Ramaprassanna Ray (a Rajbansi) of Nilphamari (Rangpur-Pakistan). Thus the whole family has been absorbed in the Rajbansi society. The name of the village where Tarini lives was formerly called Bairagi para but now it is called Sarkar para (No. 12 Union - Sadar, Jalpaiguri). (The details are given with the permission of Sri Rajani Ray).

Case No. 2 :

Gabura Pradhan, a Kaivartta, came from Dacca (East Bengal) and settled in Gabura-para, five miles to the North West of Jalpaiguri town. He came at the time of Raja Phanindra Dev Raikut of Jalpaiguri about 70 years ago and received 200 acres of land for his services under the said zaminder. His son married a Rajbansi woman and assumed the name of Rupkant Ray. He, including his whole family, became Rajbansi.

Case No. 3 :

Kartika Sarker, a Kayastho (Caste Hindu) came from Dacca with Gabura Pradhan. His sons Dharakanto Ray and Dholegovindo Ray married Rajbansi women and became Rajbansi.

Case No. 4 :

The ancestors of Romonikanto Pradhan, a Kaibartta of Pradhanpara, Belacoba, Dt. Jalpaiguri, came from Dacca (East Bengal) about 100 years ago. Romoni's great grand father married a Rajbansi woman and since then the family became Rajbansi and assumed the surname 'Ray'.

Case No. 5 :

Devicharan Das, alias Dhukuru Jamadar, a Kayastha, came from Dacca about 150 years ago and settled in Patkapara (Jalpaiguri). Devicharan married a Rajbansi woman and the members of the family call themselves Rajbansi.

Case No. 6 :

About 100 years ago Swarup Singh a Chettri came from Bihar to the village Boda in Jalpaiguri, as a personal guard of a

1. Tarini died in 1961 (when this book was in the press)

local land-holder. His son Bhairab married a Rajbansi woman and became a Rajbansi. His descendants have assumed the surname 'Ray', 'Sinha Ray.'

Case No. 7 :

Devi Singh alias Devi Paiyek is said to have come from Bihar about 100 years ago as a personal guard of a landholder in a village under P. S. Boda of Dt. Jalpaiguri (the name of the village is purposely withheld). He married a Rajbansi woman and his descendants call themselves Rajbansis and have assumed the surname 'Sinha Sarkar'.

Case No. 8 :

The caste Hindu ancestors of Sarat Chandra Ray Sarkar came to Jalpaiguri district from Santipur, Nadia (South Bengal) eight generations ago. He heard from his great-grand-father that some members of his family were residing in Burdwan (West Bengal.) He has no social ties with them now. Saratchandra said that they were formerly Kayastas (caste Hindu). His first ancestor worked under Cooch-Bihar State as a rent collector and assumed the additional surname 'Sarkar'. The family is now residing in Debiduba, P. S. Devgunj (old Jalpaiguri, now in East Pakistan) Sarat could not remember the name of the first comer and his son. The son of the second man he could remember, was Monosa Das. Monosa's son Durgaprosad married a Rajbansi woman and became a Rajbansi and assumed the surname 'Ray Sarkar'. His son Iswan Chandra died at the age of 103. His son Muktarlam died at the age of 83. His son is Saratchandra. His present age (in 1956) is 48.

As was the custom of the Rajbansis of former days Sarat married three wives. He first married in 1933 A. D. when he was 25 and his wife 13. At the age of 16 she gave birth to a daughter and died soon afterwards. The present age of the daughter is 20. When the first wife of Sarat was living he married a second time in 1935 A. D. He was then 27 and his wife 18. One son was born to her. He is now 12 (in 1956). The second wife died in 1951. While his second wife was alive he married a third time. He was then 38 and his wife 15. One son was born to her. His age is 7. The family is completely absorbed in the Rajbansi society. (details recorded with permission).

Case No 9 :

Mahesh Chandra Ghose, a Sadgope (caste Hindu) came from Hoogli (South Bengal) in the village Padamati, P. S. Maynaguri, Dt. Jalpaiguri, about 90 years ago. He married a Rajbansi woman and became Mahesh Das (Rajbansi). Badyanath was the son of this union. Mahesh Das had a son by his sadgope wife at Hoogli. He inherited the property of Mahesh after his death. Badyanath was given 20 acres of land by his father as a gift during his life time and this was his property. Later on marriages of Badyanath and his descendants with Rajbansi women had a legal and social sanction and there was no trouble with inheritance. The whole family was absorbed in Rajbansi caste.

Case No. 10 :

Mushahar Singh, a Chettri, came from Bihar and married Rajbansi women. His descendants are still living in Belacoba and in adjoining villages. They have completely been absorbed in Rajbansi caste.

Marriage between Rajbansi and Caste Hindu (b).

1. Protibha Devi daughter of Prassanna Dev Raikut (Rajbansi) was married to K. Bose, a caste Hindu Kayastha, about 20 years ago.
2. Dipti Devi, daughter of Pratibha Devi was married to Dilip Ray Choudhury, a caste Hindu Kayastha, in 1956 A. D.
3. Usha Kumari, daughter of K. K. Raikut (Rajbansi) was married to Kartick Chandra De, a caste Hindu Kayastha, in 1950 A. D.
4. Praddut Raikut (Rajbansi) married Anima Guha, a caste Hindu Kayastha, in 1954 A. D.
5. Nitendra Narayan Raikut (Rajbansi) was married to Alo Ray, a caste Hindu Vadiya, in 1955 A. D.
6. Sita Devi, daughter of S. D. Raikut (Rajbansi) was married to Pabitra Dhar, a caste Hindu Kayastha, in 1956 A. D.

Such examples are now available in all districts of North Bengal. (The writer was invited to attend the above marriages).

Ghòr-dzia Biha (Bio) :

This also comes under regular form of marriage. In this case a suitable orphan or a poor boy, who cannot pay the bride price, is brought to the house of the girl and made to work as a servant for some period, sometimes extending up to ten years, in some cases a probation for only two months is considered enough. During this period he is not allowed to have any sexual intercourse with the girl with whom he is likely to be married. When the would be father-in-law considers that the period of probation has ended, the boy and the girl are passed through a regular form of Phul marriage and they become man and wife.

Such a bride-groom is called Ghòr-dzia, meaning a 'probationer son-in-law' brought up in the house of the girl and he remains in the house of his father-in-law even after the marriage. Such type of marriage is also found amongst the Lepchas, Mundas, Oraons and Santals. (O'Melley, op. cit. 1911, vol. V, part 2, p. 325),

Instance :

Tulsi Dasi, daughter of Badyanath Das of Padamati, Jalpaiguri, had a brother named Motilal. Taranath Das, a poor Rajbansi, was brought from Bhotpatty (Maynaguri, Jalpaiguri) and reared up in the house of Badyanath as a Ghòr-dzia and then married to Tulsi Dasi. The sons of Tulsi could not inherit any property of Badyanath. But he gave 20 acres of land to Taranath for the maintenance of his wife. They all lived in the same house with Motilal for some years. Later on Taranath built a house of his own and shifted there.

Question of inheritance :

In matters of succession, in regular marriages, the male children or the nearest male kin get the property. The females do not inherit. The sons of Ghòr-dzia do not inherit the property of the father of their mother. Generally the girl's father bequeath some property for the maintenance of the girl which is managed by her husband and grown up children. Generally a poor man agrees to become a Ghòr-dzia¹ and he is satisfied with what he gets.

Irregular forms of marriage.**Pani chīṭa and Pani-sorpon marriage.**

These forms are not generally favoured by the society but are accepted as exceptional cases.

This type of delayed marriage (Pani-sòrpòn) is still to be found in the Dabgram Mouja (Raigunj, Jalpaiguri), Terai (Darjeeling) and in Purnea (Bihar). When a young man has no money to pay the bride-price, the man with the consent of the elders, requests the guardian of the girl to sprinkle some water with the twig of a mango tree on the head of the girl and the man and thus they are united and allowed to live like man and wife. Generally the mother or any female guardian of the girl does the Pani-chīṭa saying 'mor choar ladz sòrbm sòb tok sopi dinu' (মোর ছোয়ার লাজ সরম সব তোকে সপি দিনু—I hand over to you the honour and prestige of my child). They live together and may have children but are not regarded as properly married. After some time, it may be after some years, when the man has earned sufficient money, they pass through a simple marriage ceremony, of which community feeding is the main item, and the children born before this ceremony are accepted as legal children. A feast to the caste brethren is an essential feature of the marriage. Unless and until such a feast is given the marriage is not properly celebrated and accepted by the society. This type of marriage may properly be termed as 'marriage with retrospective effect'. The word Pani-sòrpòn is sometimes pronounced as Pani-sòrbòn or Pani-sòpòn. This is only regional variation.

It may so happen that the formal marriage between the father and the mother could not take place before the marriage of their son or daughter. In such a case the father and the mother must celebrate their own marriage a day or two before the marriage of their son or daughter just to prove the legitimacy.

If in case the father or the mother dies before the celebration of their formal marriage the society accepts the children as legitimate and they are allowed to inherit their father's properties.

Budharu Singh of Kharibari, Samdhan Jote (Darjeeling Terai) lived with his wife for many years. At the time of the marriage of their eldest son Sahebal, it was discovered that the father and mother of Sahebal were not properly married. Then Budharu, his wife and all children sat together near a plantain tree and one Odhikary sprinkled some water with 'amer-pelab' (a mango twig) on Budharu and his wife. They were thus married in Panichīṭa fashion and all the children born previously became legitimate. Next day Sahebal was married as a legitimate son. This is required only when the boy marries a virgin. In case of marrying a widow such previous proof of legitimacy does not arise. The children of Pani Sòrpòn and later on Panichīṭa marriage are one step lower in position in society than the children of Phul-Bio.

The Pani-chīṭa marriage may also take place in a semi-regular form. An Odhikary is called, the girl and the boy are seated. A 'kula' 'calon' and 'piddim' are placed in front of them. The guardian of the girl sprinkles water on both of them with 'amer pelob' (mango twig) and sometimes exchange of garlands between the bride and the bride-groom takes place in front of the Thakurbari (Tulsi plant). The Odhikary blesses both of them. This is a type of Gandhòrbò marriage.

About forty years ago Kasiswari Devi was married to Rajeswar Das of Jalpaiguri in this fashion.

Chòtròdani marriage.

This is married woman's remarriage. A married woman, even when her husband is alive, may be married to another man.

¹ Hutton, Caste in India, 1946 A. D., p. 139.

Another survival of matrimonial custom is ghorjawai system; that is a 'house son-in-law'. He goes to live in the house of the prospective father-in-law and also when he is unable to pay marriage price in cash. This is known in the United Provinces as 'bina' marriage and is common amongst Chero and Kharwar castes and also Gonds.

O'Melley describes in 'India's Social heritage' 1934 p. 146 :-

'No question of bride-price arises where a young man wins his bride by service. He works in the house of her parents for some years after which she is given to him as his wife in the same way that Leah and Rachel were given to Jacob'.

This type of marriage is called Chhōtrō-dani marriage. It is still to be found in the remote villages of Jalpaiguri and Darjeeling Terai. Marriage custom of this type could not be traced in Cooch-Bihar. It is common amongst the agriculturists where every individual is a working partner of the family. Such marriage happens where the first husband has hardly any means to maintain his wife or when he remains absent from the family for a pretty long time, say, for more than two years or when he is subsequently found to be constitutionally weak or sometimes the greedy father refuses to send his daughter to her husband's house and gives her in marriage to another man from whom he gets a fairly large sum as the bride-price or the father-in-law himself makes over his daughter-in-law to another man in consideration of some money. In these cases the status of the girl is reduced to that of a commodity. Such marriage is also accepted by the society. The woman need not formally divorce her former husband. The girl need not appear before the village assembly (Panchayat) and swear a divorce. The divorce is automatic and is accepted by the society, the former husband is simply paid back the bride-price.

Case No. 1.

Takalu Das of Sukhani village (Rajgunj, Jalpaiguri), had a daughter named Batasi.

1st marriage :

When Batasi was only twelve years old she was married to the son of Kusol of Matigara (Terai, Darjeeling). Takalu received Rs. 200/- as bride price. Batasi lived with her husband as man and wife for one year, but there was no issue.

2nd marriage :

When Batasi was 13 years old and her husband was living, her father-in-law married (sold) her to the son of Bhoynath of village Aridanga about fifteen miles away and received Rs. 300 - as bride price. Batasi had not to swear any divorce. This money paid to Bhoynath was a sufficient compensation for the automatic divorce. The society accepted this transfer and did not punish Kusol for this act.

3rd marriage :

At this the father of Batasi got angry. He stole her away from the house of her second husband and kept her confined in his house for three years. The second husband did not dare to lodge any complaint either to the Panchayat or to the police. After three years Batasi was again married to Mohesh, son of Gopal of village Batasi (Terai, Darjeeling). The girl was then 17 years old and her father Takalu earned Rs. 140/- as bride price. The last event took place in March 1956 A. D. After this marriage the second husband brought a suit in the Jalpaiguri Court which was compromised on payment of Rs. 100/-. The second husband renounced all claim on Batasi and divorce was automatic. The society accepted the transfer and did not punish Takalu for his acts.

Case No. 2 :

This is a mixed case. The first part was Phul-Bio, the second part was remarriage of a widow and the third part was Chhōtrō-dani.

Dhepi, daughter of Jaleswar Das of Rajgunj, Jalpaiguri was married to Budharu Das of Dabgram, Jalpaiguri. Jaleswar got Rs. 400/- as bride price. After three months Budharu died.

2nd marriage :

After the death of Budharu, Dhepi was brought to her father's house and kept there. About six months after, Dhepi, was married to another man as a Phul (virgin) suppressing her widowhood. Jaleswar received Rs. 300/- as bride price. After the birth of the first child by this marriage it was discovered that Dhepi was not a virgin but a widow (ari) and was driven away without formal divorce. She came back to her father's house.

3rd marriage :

About a year after, Dhepi was married to another man in consideration of a bride-price of Rs. 100/-. No claim has yet been lodged by the second husband and she is living with her third husband with the consent of the society.

Case No. 3 :

Kanesori, a girl aged 14 was married to a man in Haldibaree, Cooch-Bihar. She lived with her husband for three years and a half and then fled away. She had no issue by her first husband. When she was 18 and her first husband living, she was again married to Kitap Ray of Jorepakuri (Maynaguri, Jalpaiguri). In this case a Kamrupi Brahman acted as a priest. After staying with Kitap for seven years Kanesori fled away again. She is still living in the house of her brother. There was no formal divorce in either case. Kitap again married the widow of Mahikantha Ray of Maynaguri.

(This case was narrated to the writer by G. Das of Jorepakuri village under whom Kitap Ray is still working as an 'adhiar'.)

Case No. 4 :

Duksi, an adopted daughter of the said informant, had a daughter named Dhouli and was brought up in his house. Dhouli was married to Phakau Ray, a jotdar (land-holder) of a nearby village Amguri. She lived with him as man and wife for three years and then she fled away and came back to live with her mother. After about six months she fled away with a man named Kupa of village Padamati about three miles from her house. The couple came back after three months of hiding and were formally

married in Chòtròdani fashion. There was no issue by the first husband. A son was born by the second husband and they are still living as man and wife, the former husband making no claim on her and the divorce was automatic.

Cases are reported where a married girl left one husband after another and married five to six times in succession. (Bhatarchari : Bhatarchori). The husband also may leave off his wife without any formal divorce and marry another girl. The society accepts such union although such men and women are looked down upon by the more advanced members of the society. The Rajbansis receiving modern education and light hate such forms of union and never encourage such freedom of marriage.

Position of children in such marriage :

If the child of the former husband is very young or in the lap it goes with the mother. If the child is pretty old, say, about eight years old, it lives with the real father. Sometimes the young child that lives with the mother and his foster father has the liberty to go back to its real father when it grows old. The female child, being a valuable property, is usually retained by the mother. The sons of the former husband (Dhokor bèta) do not inherit any property of the foster father.

Levirate marriage :

It is marriage with the deceased elder brother's wife (Bhaudz - ভাউজ). This form of marriage is found in Jalpaiguri and Terai (Darjeeling). Such marriage is accepted by the society as legal although it is not legal in the eye of the present law. The ritual of this marriage is a simple 'Panichita' with community feeding. Educated Rajbansis have discarded this form of marriage.

1. A Rajbansi friend of the writer informed him in 1954 A. D. that after the death of his elder brother his relatives living in Darjeeling Terai (Siliguri) approached him with a request to marry his widowed 'Bhaudz' according to the custom of the society. The gentleman being an educated person declined the offer. It was also learnt afterwards that the widow herself did not agree to be married again.

2. Bhelu Das of village Sukhani (Rajganj, Jalpaiguri) died leaving his widow Kameswari and two children. At the time of marriage with Bhelu she was only twelve years old. She became a widow at the age of 26. One year after, the widow married Sundar Das the younger brother of her deceased husband. She is still living with Sundar Das, her new husband, with all the children by her late husband. She is now 30 years old. The son of the former husband is called 'Dhokor bèta' and the daughter 'Dhokor beti'.

O' Melley (Census of India, 1911, vol. V, part I, p. 322) writes about the idea of marrying elder brother's wife :-

'The idea is that the woman belongs to husband's family because they have paid the bride-price and that her property must remain in the family.'

O' Melley also describes (India's Social Heritage, 1934, p. 150) :-

'One form of widow remarriage which is in vogue amongst the Jats and among some aboriginal tribes where a widow is married to her deceased husband's younger brother. The idea is that the widow is a valuable property for whom bride-price has been paid and should not be allowed to go out of family.'

✓ Ghòr Sòdhani Bio : (ঘর সোধানী বিহো) :

This is marriage by intrusion. This is not uncommon even upto this day. When a young man and a girl wish to marry but the elders do not give consent probably because he or she is already married or the union in their eyes would not be suitable, one day, of course by previous arrangement, the girl or the woman suddenly enters the inner apartments of the house of the man and starts doing household works. In a day or two she is accepted as the wife. A community feeding is the only ceremony performed. When a married woman with husband living does so, the man taking her as wife must pay some compensation to her former husband to secure an automatic divorce. The amount of compensation is determined by the elders of the village. In most cases a widow becomes a 'Ghòr Sòdhani'. Such a woman is called 'pachua' or 'Pasua' (পাছুয়া, পাশুয়া) and the man is called 'Sòngòna' (সঙ্গনা).

A 'Ghòr Sòdhani' woman is looked down upon by the society and the man loses his respectability although such marriage is accepted by the society and the children can inherit their father's property by the custom of the society.

Dhundhuni, of Bhitagar (Jalpaiguri) was married to Chilka in Ghòr Sòdhani fashion.

Madhuri Dassya, a married woman, entered the house of Haren Das of Patkata (Jalpaiguri). They were married after paying Rs. 80/- to her former husband as compensation for the automatic divorce. This happened in 1950 A. D.

An extract from a play 'Mukti' relating to 'Ghòr Sòdhani' marriage is interesting. It was composed by Kamala Kantho Burman of Patkata, Jalpaiguri, in 1935 A. D.

The village elders sitting in judgment asked the woman Rotisori Ozoni :—

Mai Rotisori Ozoni kòhek to, tòmrà nidz hati ghòr
sòndhais, na bura tania ghòr baiche.

মাই রতিসরী ওজোনী কহেক তো, তমরা নিজ হাতি ঘর
সন্ধাইচ, না বুড়া টানিয়া ঘর বাইছে।

Ozoni replied :—

na bapo, mui agòt ghòr sòndhaisi.

না বাপো, মূই আগত ঘর সন্ধাইসি।

Elders said :—

Ta magi hoia icchaē burar ghōr dukitse, dza ēkta
khosi katek, Ozoni sat buratar nikao deo.

তা য'গো হইয়া ইচ্ছায় বুড়ার ঘর ঢুকিছে, যা এ'কটা
খসি কটেক, ওজনির সাত বুড়ার নিকাহ দিয়াও দেও।

The elders of the village asked the woman Ozoni whether she entered the house of the old man of her own accord or the old man took her by force. Ozoni said that she at first entered the house of the old man. At this the elders opined when a woman voluntarily entered the house of the man, a goat was to be killed and a feast be given to the village people and the woman was to be declared as married. This type of marriage is called 'Nika' as it is not a conventional marriage.

Widow remarriage (ari or rari neoa).

Widow remarriage is allowed in Rajbansi society. There is no special ceremony. A verbal contract is made with the guardian of the widow regarding payments. The price of a widow varies from Rs. 20/- to Rs. 100/-. The price of a childless widow may go up to Rs. 200/-. In addition to the cash value, clothing and ornaments are to be given. A date for marriage is fixed. In the night the man marrying the widow (bidhua) goes to her house with a few friends. All are fed with 'chura' and curd, in some families with rice and meat. After the feeding the widow goes with the party to her new husband's house. In a day or two a community feeding is arranged where the newly wedded woman distributes some food to the invitees. She is thus admitted into the society as a properly married wife.

Position of children :

A widow having several children may not take all of them with her to the new husband's house. The children of the former husband call the new father as Dhokor-bap and the children are Dhokor-bēta and Dhokor-beṭi. The new wife is called Pachua. Grown up children live in the house of their real father. Little children or child in the lap stay with the mother having liberty to go away to the house of the real father when grown up. The sons of the former husband do not inherit any property of the foster or step father.

Status of the marriage :

When a widow is married with the consent of the elders of both the parties she is admitted as a full-fledged married wife and enjoys all the benefits of a regularly married wife.

The above is a description of a regular marriage of a widow. Some irregular forms of widow remarriage are found and they are stated below.

Porkhetri pachua :

When a widow has no one to look after her she goes over to a man in his house to live with him. Sometimes the elders make such arrangement. She is then called Parkhetri-Pachua (wife coming after but living in another's house and land). A Pani-Chita with community feeding ratifies this union. Such woman is called Dhemni and as she is married with the consent of the elders she has a better position than a Danguani who of her own accord takes a man to live with.

The Children born of such union are not legitimate according to the present laws but the society accepts them as legal children.

Danguani :

A widow with some properties requires sometimes to keep a man to look after her lands. A fortune seeking idler generally takes the chance. He approaches the widow and if he is accepted he keeps a pot of mustard oil at the door of her house and strikes the roof above the door three times with a stick and enters the house. Probably it is the show of forcible entry. This ceremony is not always required. The man simply goes into the house. The man then lives in the house of the widow as her husband but the widow can turn him out any time she likes and no ceremony of divorce is necessary. This is a type of companionate marriage. Such union is not accepted by the society as legal and as such children born of such union are not legitimate and they can not inherit the ancestral property. Before the British law was enforced in this country the society did not oppose the inheritance by these children. In spite of all these shortcomings this form of union, out of necessity (Dangua-sōdha : ডাঙ্গুয়া সোধা) is allowed to take place. The man is called Dangua and the woman Danguani-pachua. The Dangua has no social status and he is looked down upon by the society.

The term Dangua seems to have been derived from the word 'dang' (a stick).

Gao-gōch (গাও-গছ) :

When a widow after secret intrigue becomes pregnant by a man, the society forces the putative father, the culprit, to marry that widow. This marriage is called Nika or Gao-gōch. The ceremony consists of feeding the friends of both the parties in one night and the union is accepted. The relatives generally avoid such a ceremony as it is not liked by them. This type of wife is called Gao-gōch-pachua.

In case the main culprit cannot be traced out, another man is paid some money and he agrees to take the widow as his

wife. This is called Gðch-khara-howa (গছ খারা হওয়া) and the man is called Gðch (গছ-a tree). The child born after the marriage, although of different father, is accepted by the 'Gðch' as his own and gets his 'porua' or Gotra and inherits his property if it is a son. But the other children of the widow born before the second marriage do not inherit the property but get the 'porua' or Gotra of the foster father.

About forty years ago Andharu Das of Padamati village (Maynaguri, Jalpaiguri) stood as 'Gðch' to save a pregnant widow from disgrace. (The name of the widow is omitted).

A virgin under similar circumstances is also treated in the same way.

Koina Patro :

The Rajas, big landlords and monied people used to keep an unmarried girl without marrying her. The girl so kept was called Koina-patro. This keeping was not objected to very much by the society. So common it was that a Rajbansi villager pointing to the young wife of a friend of the writer said 'Himak biha korichen na akhichen' (হিমাক বিহা করিছেন না আখিছেন—Have you married her or simply kept her). The children are not legitimate and cannot inherit the property of the keeper unless made legitimate by a subsequent marriage in Pani-chiṭa or Pani-sðrpdn fashion.

Tuleswari Devi, a Koina-patro, was kept by Raja Phanindra Dev Raikut of Baikunthopur Estate. She was called Koina-rani. Her name and identity is mentioned in the last will (testament) of the Raja. She is mentioned as Koina-patri, probably because the writers of the will were South and East Bengal people and they could not understand the meaning of the word Koina-patro¹ used for a woman and so they wrote Koina-patri.

Marriage Limitation :

Marriage is not allowed between own brothers and sisters and cross-cousin marriage is never allowed by the society. Marriage between the sons and daughters of regularly married parents or Dhokor sons and daughters of mother, father, brother, sister, mother's brother, father's brother does not take place. Marrying a grand-father or a grand-mother is not allowed. Younger brother's wife or widow (Bhausani) can never be married to the elder brother. Marriage between the sons and daughters of 'ag-cal'² or 'pach-cal'² does not usually take place, so also between 'ag-cal' and 'dhokors'. Marriage restrictions amongst Am-aut, Pandit, Godadhor and Nityanondo and other 'poruas' have already been described. Formerly marriage was allowed between a Rajbansi and Mech, Garo, Rabha, Palia, but such marriages are now few and far between; in fact the writer was informed that a Rajbansi was liable to be out-caste if such marriage happened. Marriage with caste-Hindus are taking place. The sister of the 'Mistor' (nearest friend) cannot be married. Marriage with 'Dhokor' daughter of mother's sister may be allowed.

Prohibition :

A Hindu woman is debarred by custom from mentioning the name of her husband and of the husband's superior relatives such as his father and his elder brother. A male as a rule does not mention the name of the wife of his younger brother (Bhausani).

One should not speak to the wife of his own sister's son, eat any food cooked by her. She should draw a veil (Ghongor - ঘাংগোর) over her face in his presence. He should not touch her even after her death. If per chance he touches her or if the elder brother touches her younger brother's wife, both will not take food for the whole day as atonement and will have a 'seva' performed in the evening near the Tulsi plant and then are allowed to take food.

Divorce

Amongst the Rajbansis divorce is a simple affair as stated before. There is no question of maintenance allowance after divorce; in a cultivator's family a woman is also an earning member and economically independent.

Marriage and divorce both being very easy the society goes on smoothly and is not overburdened with complications as in caste-Hindu or in some other modern societies. Amongst the educated Rajbansis divorce is a rare occurrence. Practically there

1. Martin - Eastern India - vol. III, p. 555, about Koina—patro.

'A Rajbansi girl who has never married may live with a man as concubine and is called Koina-patro. She cannot be turned away. She cannot marry any other except her keeper. There is no ceremony at the union. But an entertainment is given to the relatives. These women are more respected than widowed concubines. Living with such woman (Koina-patro) is considered more honourable than living with a widowed concubine. Her sons can more easily be married than those of widowed concubines. The sons born of a Koina-patro can be made legitimate by a subsequent marriage. Among the Rajbansis an unmarried woman who had a child must either live with her first lover or is considered only as a Koin; so that she is reduced to the rank of a widowed concubine.

2. Ag-cal — Children of regular marriage (Phul-bio).

Pach-cal—Children of widow remarried.

Dhokors—When a woman remarries the children by the former husband are called Dhokors.

has been none to the knowledge of the writer. Amongst the educated Rajbansi society a woman does not earn. The question of maintenance allowance is likely to crop up if there be a divorce.

Normally the reasons for a divorce are :—

- (1) The husband and the wife cannot agree to live peacefully.
- (2) The wife or the husband is guilty of adultery.
- (3) The husband or the wife is incapable of producing children or suffering from incurable or a bad disease.
- (4) The husband cannot maintain the wife and runs away.
- (5) The Ghòr-dzia (Ghòr dzānoi - ঘর ভাঙই) cannot tolerate the rude behaviour of his wife's father or mother or is incapable of doing the hard labour allotted to him and slips away to an unknown destination.
- (6) The girl is not allowed to go to her husband's house for more than two years.
- (7) The girl is married again.

There is no social court to grant the divorce. It is practically a family or sometime the village matter and is granted without ceremony. If the wife divorces her husband, she is called 'Bhatar chari' (Bhatar - husband ; chari - leave). The remarriage of a Bhatar-chari woman is done as widow remarriage and she is admitted into the society after the usual 'andhon' (cooking) ceremony. ('Randhon' is pronounced as 'andhon').

The children as stated earlier, if sufficiently old, live in their natural father's house. Very young children or the child in the lap remains with the mother and when grown up may either live with the mother or may go back to the house of the natural father.

General remarks :

Thus it is evident that the Rajbansis enjoyed absolute freedom of marriage. Marriage was merely a matter of consent to live together as man and wife and such union was never objected to by the society. Afterwards the impact of Brahminism restricted several forms of union. The law suits before the courts during the British period recognised only the Gandhòrbò and the Brahmo forms of marriage amongst the higher classes of Rajbansis in matters of succession, but the common people had much greater liberty in matters of conjugal union and the children born of such union were accepted as legitimate by the society with right of inheritance in most of the cases.

At the present moment all other marriages excepting the regular Phul-biha or Phul-Bio form are discarded and widow remarriage is much restricted in the educated society of the Rajbansis.

Marriage Rituals.

Primitive form :

The ceremony retains the very primitive form of marriage. The marriage tie is loose. Any time the wife may come away without any ceremony and marry any other man.

This form of marriage still exists among the poor classes in the far off villages and also among the Haris living in this area. There is no special marriage dress and ornaments are few. A new 'phota' or a mill made cloth and one or two silver bangles, ear rings or finger rings are enough.

The marriage is generally settled by the parents or by the elders of the family. The question of consent does not arise at all.

A go-between (karoa) who may not be a professional match-maker generally transmits the information about a suitable boy or a girl. The weekly bazar (hat) is usually the place where people from the neighbouring villages meet and gossip of all descriptions go about. The first start of marriage talk takes place in the bazar.

Previously the mother of the boy or an elderly woman of the family used to go to the girl's house to talk about the marriage. At present the father of the boy or an elderly male relative goes to the girl's house.

Before starting for the girl's house for talking about the first negotiation of the marriage a 'cow worship' ceremony is done. A cow is washed clean. Several round circles are painted on her body with turmeric and lime mixture. She is then tied to a pole with a new rope. The main articles for this puja are one bunch of ripe plantains, one powa (half pound) of aloa rice made from unboiled paddy, milk, curd, clarified butter, honey and a bunch of fresh Dub grass (Argestis tinearis).

The gifts are placed in separate 'dhonas' (pots made from plantain sheath). One of the 'dhonas' contains some pure water, flowers and Tulsi leaves. An Odhikary is called to perform the puja. He is seated on a piece of jute mat (asdn) near the articles of the gift.

The Odhikary then purifies the seat with the following montros :-

Kala kala tulsi gòpòr gari pad,
paten mohapobhu korben asdn.

কাল কাল তুলসী চপরি চারি পাদ
পাতেন মহাপভু কোরবেন আসন।

I place the black (green) tulsi leaves to put the four legs of the god.

Note : Tsòpòr tsari - all four ; pad - legs.

Mohapobhu - the correct word is 'Mohaprobhu' - the great god.

The priest then purifies his own body with the following montro :-

Hat suddhò pão suddhò ar suddhò kãẽa
ei suddhò kòro kristnò montro dia.

হাত শুদ্ধ পাঁও শুদ্ধ আর শুদ্ধ কাঁয়া
এই শুদ্ধ করো কৃষ্ণ মন্ত্ৰ দিয়া ।

By invoking the god Kristna I purify my hands, feet and the body.

Note : pão - leg ; kãẽa - body (note the nasalisation).

Then he starts the puja. The montro is simple and short.

It is :-

Aloa atòb noibò pòròsad
ghirto modhu pantso amrit
porbhu tomar bhoikkhòn
kisno mðhapòbhur aiagna panu

আলোয়া আতব নৈব পরসাদ
ঘিরতো মধু পান্‌চো আমৃত
পোরভু তোমার ভোইক্ষণ
কিষণো মহাপভুর আইজ্ঞা পানু ।

By order of mðhapòbhur Krishna, I offer you rice, honey, all gifts, clarified butter the five necters. Oh Lord, please eat them.

Note :- aloa atòb - preparations from unboiled paddy.

noibò - (no-i-bò) that is noibeddo - will take
pòròsad - offerings after they have been eaten by god.
ghirto - clarified butter. Ghrita or ghee.
pan tso - five ;
amrit - nectar
bhoikkhòn - food (gifts for eating).

The priest places some flowers and tulsi leaves on the articles of the gift with the above montro. Last of all the bunch of dubgrass is given to the cow to eat.

If the negotiation is fruitful, a 'panjiar' (astrologer) is consulted. He fixes a suitable day for the marriage.

On the day of marriage the bridegroom's party goes to the house of the girl towards the evening. After the usual reception and feeding the boy and the girl are led into the marriage assembly where the relatives and friends consisting of men and women are seated. The left hand of the boy and the right hand of the girl are placed one above the other by the Odhikary. The girl is given a silver ring by the father or guardian of the bridegroom which she puts on immediately. Khoi (parched paddy) is showered on the couple amidst music and 'ulu' by the women.

The priest then recites the following montro :—

Sòggò hate name hòrò gouri
mòtte dia pão
sòtto chari mitthao hòbo
dohai Siber matha khabo
uper sònge milòn holo
uper-e uper-e na gori
dui dzhòne milòn holo
Kesòrò kesòri.

সগ্গ হাতে নামে হর গৌরী
মত্তে দিয়া পাঁও
সত্য চারি মিথ্যাও হবো
দোহাই শিবের মাথা খাবো
উপের সঙ্গে মিলন হোলো
উপেরে উপেরে না গরি
দুই ঝনে মিলন হোলো
কেশর কেশরী ।

The Siva and his consort Gouri have come on the earth to witness the ceremony. This union is true ; if it proves false I shall be untrue to Siva. The man is united to the beautiful girl and both are united like a lion and a lioness.

*Note :—*Sòggò—heaven (S.C.B. shorgo) ;

Mòtte—to the earth (S.C.B. morte) ;

Pão—feet ;

Uper—with the beautiful person (S.C.B. ruper),

Then a fire worship ceremony 'Hom' is performed. The couple takes three 'dhonas' (pots made of plaintain sheath) filled with khoi (perched paddy). The 'dhonas' with the parched paddy are thrown into the fire prepared by the priest in the yard of

the girl's house. While doing this the priest recites the following montros and sprinkles on the couple some consecrated water from the dhona and declares the end of the ceremony.

Amer kosinu d̥z̥ɔl	আমের কোসিনু জল
N̥ɔk̥h̥ɔne dinu p̥ɔo	নক্‌খনে দিনু পিও
sointa uthia	সইন্তা উঠিয়া
b̥ɔr-mani nibao.	বরমানি নিবাও :

I purify the water with Ram montro, Lakhman comes here. Take away the wick from the lamp and put off the sacred fire.

Note : amer - of Rama ; kosinu - consecrate with montros ;

sainta - wick ; b̥ɔrmani - fire (Brohmani).

This finishes the marriage.

The couple is then led into a hut and seated. A feast is given to the invitees and songs are sung by the women with music of dhol, kansi and flute.

Next day the bride and the bridge-groom start for the boy's house in a procession. When a cart cannot be procured, all go walking.

An 'andhon' ceremony is performed on the day after the arrival of the girl when she distributes food to the boy's relatives and thus she is formally admitted into her husband's society.

Rituals of a Phul-Biha

In the year 1954 A. D., the writer was invited to attend a marriage ceremony of a daughter of Dhoroni Ray (a Rajbansi) of Bhitarghor (Dt. Jalpaiguri) which he witnessed for some time. The whole story of the marriage as he heard from Dhoroni is stated hereunder.

Seta Ray of Naharipara (Lahiripara) of the district of Jalpaiguri, was anxious to get his son Briksha Ray married. Briksha was 22 years of age and he became 'gabor' (young). Seta met Pendua Ray the 'karoa' (match-maker) of Maharaja Dighi village in a bazar and asked him to find out a suitable girl for his son. The village was about 10 miles from Naharipara. Pendua was a Rajbansi cultivator and acted as a 'karoa' whenever called upon to do so. Pendua went in search of a girl. He came upon Dharani of Bhitarghar. Dharani was his distant relative (sodor) and known to him personally. Pendua was the elder brother of Kal Singh who married Dharani's younger sister. Pendua sat in the outer yard of Dharani's house and after chewing pan gua (betel and nut) which is usually offered to a guest as a mark of welcome, started talking about family affairs. He talked about cultivation, market, society affairs and at last raised the question of marriage of Dhoroni's second daughter Upersori who was then 14 years old. Pendua had this information beforehand from the neighbours of Dhoroni. The girl was very suitable in the estimation of Pendua. Pendua told Dhoroni 'Anu, tor choa ɽa te gabur h̥ɔse, umak b̥ɔc̥ɔa khaben na ki'—Your daughter has grown up. Do you want to get her married? Pendua being the elder brother of Dhoroni's sister's husband addressed Dhoroni as 'anu'.

Dhoroni said 'B̥ɔc̥ɔa to kahabar nage, dulaha¹ dekh̥ibar nage, gh̥ɔr dekh̥ibar nage, s̥ɛlaɽ to b̥ɔc̥ɛbar katha uthibe. Agot koinaɽak to d̥ɛkho. P̥ɔch̥ɔnd̥ɔk² paille s̥ɛlaɽ dekha d̥zabe. (She is to be married certainly. A bridegroom is to be found, his family is to be seen, then the question of marriage would come. At first see my daughter. If she is found suitable then I shall decide what to do.)

Pendua then informed Dhoroni of Seta's son Brikaho and said that it would be a good match. Briksha had good health and his father was well-off.

After this preliminary talk with Dhoroni and having his dinner there he started for Seta's house at Naharipara. It is the custom to invite any relative or a guest or a new-comer to dine whenever he happens to come to a respectable cultivator's

1. Dulaha or Dula—bridegroom.

2. Pochondok paille - if she is found suitable.

There is a common saying when the girl is considered unsuitable :—

mutuk kesi (মূটুক কেশী - curling hair),

kh̥orom pai (খরম পাই - deep planter arch),

ts̥irol dati (চিরল দাতী - thin and irregular setting of teeth),

has galandi (হাস গালাণ্ডী - long neck),

singni kh̥or (সিংনী খোর - gap between two frontal teeth),

hati pai (হাতি পাই - flat foot),

kali tsuli (কালি ঢুলী - hair extending beyond the loins), the complexion of the skin is not seriously taken into account.

house on any job. Even a poor cultivator family offers some food to a guest whenever he or she happens to come. This is the social heritage of the villagers of this country.

Pendua had a long talk with Seta and fixed a date following a market day to see the girl. Such a day is usually fixed as foods and other articles of entertainment can be bought only on the market day. In this area there is no daily market in the villages. The market assembles once a week. People from far and near come to the market on that day. Along with buying and selling business, social, political and economic questions are talked about. This is the place where marriage negotiation or even choosing of a boy or a girl or their mutual acquaintance takes place and then formal business starts.

Before the day was fixed for seeing the girl a preliminary forecast as to the desirability of the match (suba-sup - সুবাসুপ্ ; S.C.B. - Subha subho) is ascertained. Two uncut betel leaves are placed one above the other. One naming the boy and the other the girl and two green areca fruits are also placed side by side on the betel leaves. These are placed at the foot of the Tulsi plant and covered with a basket and left over night. If the betel leaves and the areca fruits are not disturbed the match is desirable. Otherwise the question of seeing the girl is dropped.

While going to see the girl it is a sign of bad omen (khut - খুত্) if (a) a serpent crosses the road in front, (b) a cut bamboo is found on the road, (c) a man is found cutting a bamboo from a cluster, (d) a man is found walking with a spade in hand, (e) any of the party tramples on human excreta.

On the day fixed for seeing the girl, five persons along with the 'karoa' started for Dhoroni's house. It is called 'poth-hata' (পথহাটা). Dina, a grandson of Seta from daughter's side; Seta, the father of the boy and his relatives Poigu, Nindra (Indra), Joggnya came. They arrived late in the afternoon of the same day. Seta being a cultivator of some means came in a bullock cart with the 'karoa' and others came walking all the way bare footed. (Shoes are seldom used and the villagers do not mind walking a distance of ten miles.)

There being no pond in his house or near about, Dhoroni kept some well water in an earthen bucket at one corner of the outer yard. The guests washed their dusty feet with the water and sat down on the bed spread in the centre of the outer yard. The bed was simple. A thin straw mat was spread over the bare earth which was covered with a jute or cotton sheet. Some-times a thin straw or reed mat (sdp-sq) served the purpose of sitting. When a cotton sheet is spread over the under sheet the seat is called a bed (bichana-বিছানা).

Seta's party had the usual 'pan gua' welcome and a smoke of tobacco, they talked about various topics. After about one hour they were called to another corner of the yard where small wooden seats (pira) were placed on a row, one for each person and a piece of washed plantain leaf was spread in front of each seat. The guests were seated and chura (flattened rice), dohu (curd) and gur (treacle) were served. A bit of salt and green chillis were also served. They are eaten with dohu-chura to serve as a sauce and are relished. The eating and washing of the mouth and face being over, they all came back and sat on the bed.

Then came Upesori with a bell-metal plate containing some 'pan gua'. She placed it before the assembly, saluted all (bhokti dil) by kneeling on the ground, bending her body forwards to touch the earth with her forehead without touching the persons and then stood up. Amongst the would-be bridegroom party Nindra was the 'mukhia' (spokesman). Nindra asked her 'mai, tor nam ki' (মাই, তোর নাম কি-mother, what is your name). It is a sign of good taste to address a girl as mai (mother). She said 'mor nam Upesori' (মোর নাম উপেসরী-my name is Upesori; S. C. B. Rupeswari). Nindra asked 'kdē bhi, kdē bohini' (কয় ভাই, কয় বোহিনী-how many brothers and sisters you have). She said 'dui bhai, tin bohini' (দুই ভাই, তিন বোহিনী-two brothers and three sisters). Then Seta, father of the would be 'dula' (bridegroom) placed rupees two in the hands of Upesori without touching her. None should touch the girl until the marriage is actually performed. It is also a sign of good taste not to touch a girl without her previous consent. She saluted all as before and went away into the inner apartments. The party then took 'pan-gua', had a tobacco smoke and went away. Thus the simple formality of seeing the girl was over.

The bride-groom party came back home and waited for one week. If in the mean time nothing untoward (খুত্ না কারাঙ্- khut na karaṅ)³ happens in the house of the boy or the girl, further negotiation continues. If in case a 'khut karaṅ' happens the matter ends there.

About two weeks after, Pendua, the 'karoa', came to Dhoroni with the information that the party was satisfied with the girl and would be too glad to have her for the proposed young man. The 'karoa' then consulted the village 'pañjar' (the man who can study the almanac and the position of the stars) and fixed an auspicious day for the seeing the boy. The day must be so timed that it falls on the day following a market day.

On the day so fixed for seeing the boy, Dhoroni started for Seta's house at Naharipara with Sibdas (Dhoroni's maternal uncle), Dhirkanath (Dhoroni's father's brother), Kalsing (Dhoroni's sister's husband) and 'karoa'. Pendua, the 'karoa', being the chief negotiator must accompany every party.

3. Khut karaṅ :—If any member of the house dies, if there is a fire in the house, if any of the huts of any house catches fire, if there is a theft or burglary in any of the houses, if a cow dies, if the cooking pot breaks at the time of cooking. These are bad omen. If events like these happen the marriage may be abandoned or delayed for an indefinite period.

Now-a-days these are not very strictly considered.

When they reached Seta's house they were cordially received. They were given water to wash the dust of the feet and seated on a bed spread out in one corner of his outer yard. They were welcomed with 'pan-gua' and a tobacco smoke. The boys prepare the tobacco smoke in a chillim (tanku sulkaṭ-তান্‌কু সুল্‌কাṭ) and pass it on to the elders either as such or mounted on a 'hukka'. Amongst the Rajbansis the bride's party has the upper hand in a marriage negotiation. A veto from this party puts a curtain over the whole affair.

Dhoroni and others sat down on the bed and started talking about social and economic problems and then the subject of marriage was brought in. As the talk proceeded the 'hukka' passed from hand to hand, even the youngsters present had no scruple to smoke in front of their elders. There is no bar for the youngsters to smoke in presence of the elders, it is the custom and condoned by the elders.

When the talk proceeded some way the bride's party was invited to take some food and was led to the seats arranged in another corner of the outer yard. They were fed with 'dohu' and 'tsura'. After this preliminary feed both the parties sat together on the bed. Shibdas, the 'mukhia' of the bride's party wanted Briksho to be brought before them. Thereupon Briksho accompanied by Nindra and the 'karoa' came before the assembly and saluted all ('bhokti-dil'—the usual method of salutation by a male is to touch any part of the thigh or the leg by the hand and touching his own forehead with both hands; in case of elders of great respect, by kneeling and touching the earth with forehead in addition). He kept standing before the assembly. Then Sibdas asked him—

'tomar kãṭ kãṭ ache' (তোমার কাঁ‌ট কাঁ‌ট আছে— which of your family are alive.)

Briksho replied 'mor bapo ache, mao ache, bhai ar bohini ache, soggaṭ batsia ache' (মোর বাপো আছে, মাতা আছে, ভাই আর বোহিনী আছে, সোঙ্গাṭ বাচিয়া আছে—I have my father, my mother, my brother and sister, all are alive.

Q. Bhai kṛṭ jhṛṇ? ভাই কয় জন (how many brothers).

A. Ek jhṛṇ. এক জন (only one).

Q. Bohini kṛṭ jhṛṇ? বোহিনী কয় জন (how many sisters).

A. Tin jhṛṇ. তিন জন (there are three).

Q. Dzomi kṛto? জমি কতো (how much land you have).

A. Dṛs haler maṭi. দশ হালের মাটি (ten hals of land.) One hal is 5 acres.

Sibdas was satisfied, Dhoroni gave Briksho rupees two as a token of blessings (asubad) and then he went away. The money given to Upesori by Seta was returned in the sense, as Dhoroni told the writer, had the negotiation failed, the money paid to his daughter should have to be returned and hence he did it beforehand. The bride's party reserved their opinion for the time being. They were sumptuously fed with rice and goat's meat (khosi bhat-খোসি ভাত) and after taking the usual 'pan-gua' and tobacco smoke, they started back.

Such simple interviews generally settle up the first part of the marriage negotiation. Amongst the caste Hindus of Bengal and now amongst the educated Rajbansis, the bride is subjected to the sternest interview where many naughty questions are asked to test the intelligence of the girl, whereas the groom escapes the interview. It is a great ordeal for the girl and a rejection by the groom's party tells heavily on the young mind of the adolescent girl. Probably the early men of wisdom realised this aspect and made it a custom that the grown up boy also should stand before an interview and the interviews should be of nominal nature in both cases.

A week after Pendua went to Dhoroni and asked him 'ki anu, tsengraṭak pṛchṇṇ hoil ki na hoil' (কি অনু চংরাটাক্‌ পছন্দ হাইল্‌ কি না হাইল্‌—hallo anu, just tell me whether you liked the boy you saw).

Dhoroni said - 'pochin to hoil ke' (পোছিন্‌ তো হাইল্‌ কে—yes, he was to my liking). Then Pendua raised the question of the bride price (pṛṇ or bori-পরি, বোড়ি).

Pendua said - 'kṛto pṛṇ tsais' (কতো পরি চাইস্‌ - how much price you want).

Dhoroni - 'Dṛs-kuri' (দশ কুড়ি - 10 × 20 rupees).

Pendua - 'dui kuri ne kṛnek' (দুই কুড়ি নে ক্যানেক্‌ - Why not take 2 × 20 rupees).

Dhoroni - 'Sat kurir kṛm na hṛṭ' (সাত কুড়ি কম না হই - not less than 7 × 20 rupees).

Pendua - 'Accha, tin kuri ne' (আচ্ছা তিন কুড়ি নে - all right take 3 × 20 rupees).

Dhoroni - 'Achha, tui dzelaṭ kṛhṛṭgen te tsar kurit kam ṭa hṛba paṭ' (আচ্ছা, তুই ঝালাṭ কহইচেন তে চার কুড়িৎ কমটা হব পাṭ— all right, as you are saying I am ready to dispose of my daughter for Rs. 4 × 20).

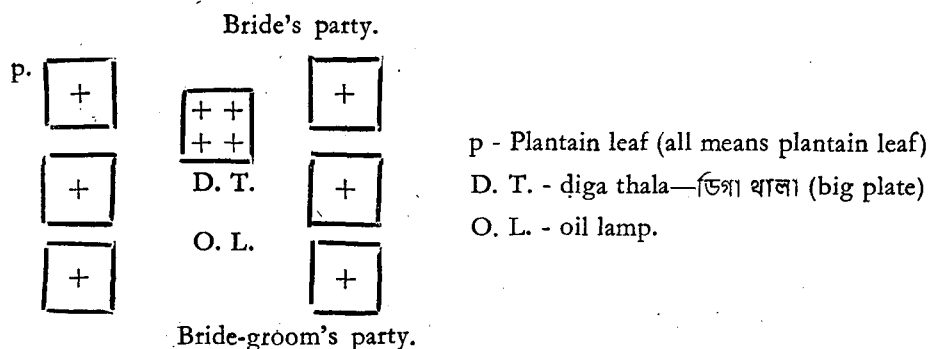
The bride price was at last settled at Rs. 4 × 20 i.e. Rs. 80/-. This required ratification by Seta.

(in this part of the country counting is done in terms of twenties)

Pendua went to Seta's house to ascertain if he agreed to this price. Seta having agreed Pendua came back to Dhoroni with the firm order and fixed the date of 'Dara-gua'⁴ i.e. final blessings (asubad) in consultation with a 'panjiar'.

Eight days after, on the day of 'Dara-gua', Seta, Dina, Poitta and three other relatives of Seta forming a Põnts⁵, came to Dhoroni's house with three pitcherfuls of curd, one basketful of tsura (flattened rice in a 'tsurar basna') and betel leaves and areca nuts worth about five rupees. The pitchers of curd and the basket of tsura were sent into the inner apartments of Dhoroni's house and the 'pan-gua' was kept outside.

The party was seated on a bed in the outer yard. A part of the outer yard was swept clean and a few washed and clean plantain leaves were spread in the following order :—



The middle leaf was big. Three plantain leaves put together made a big leaf (diga thala) and three smaller leaves on each side of the 'diga thala' were placed. One small earthen cup containing some mustard oil in which a round cotton wick (torpa - তরপা) was dipped with one end protruding out forming a piddim was placed in front of the 'diga thala'. The lamp was lighted. The bride's party sat on one side and the groom's party on the other side of the 'diga thala'. The 'pan-gua' were distributed on the six smaller leaves. Some 'pan-gua' were taken from each and naming each member of the bride's party were placed on the 'diga thala'. In this way the 'pan-gua' on the 'diga thala' heaped up. When the 'pan-gua' in honour of all the members of the bride's party present were placed on the 'diga thala', Seta rose up and saluted all by placing his both hands folded on the forehead and said 'elač dōs thakurer ghōr, pan-gua deoa hoise ki' (এলাচ দশ ঠাকুরের ঘর, পানগুয়া দেওয়া হোইসে কি - Now, you gentlemen, have you received your 'pan-gua'). The bride's party accepted saying 'hoise' (হোইসে - yes, done). Then the 'pan-gua' on the big leaf were distributed to all members of the bride's party present there. Seta also paid rupees twenty five as part payment of the bride-price.

At the time of 'Dara-gua', the bride's Põnts demand some money from the boy's party. It was generally from Rs. 2/- to Rs. 5/-. The boy's party agreed after some higgling. An agreement having been reached the guardian of the boy brought out a metal plate (thala) containing some rice, one betel leaf, one areca nut (pan and gua) placed on the rice heap; one 'piddim' and a part payment of the bride-price was placed on the plate. Recently a few of the 'pan-gua' are smeared with vermillion. The lamp was lighted and the whole thing made over to the bride's party. The plate was then carried inside the main hut and handed over to the waiting women.

When the 'Dara-gua' ceremony was in progress, the women of the house and of the neighbourers sat in front of the main hut of Dhoroni's house at a little distance from the place where the ceremony was being performed, and began to sing :—

O-re bela hoshe tor hi tsik-tsik
põnthe ònek dur
ēlane sadzāč dilo-re Seta
Tui kotu na kotu.

ওরে বেলা হোসে তোর হি চিক্ চিক্
পন্থে অনেক দূর
এ্যালানে সাজায়ে দিলো রে সেতা
তুই কোতু না কোতু।

Meaning :—

The sun has just gone down
you have come so late
now at dusk thou make this gift, you Seta
you must be a dog
what else should we call you.

4. Dara-gua : Dara-confirmation.

In recent years Daragua is called 'nirikhini'.

5. Põnts : A batch of village people previously selected by the father or guardian of the girl generally from the members of the five families including some relatives who assist and work in the celebration of the marriage and other ceremonies including funeral. Similarly a 'Põnts' is also selected by the father or guardian of the boy as bride-groom's 'Põnts'. ('Põnts' is also called 'Poits'). The leader of the 'Põnts' is called Poramanik (পরামণিক).

No body should reply to this. The groom's party must quietly bear with such insulting songs.

Thus the 'Dara-gua' ceremony having over all the members of both sides and their friends who happened to be present there were fed with hot rice and meat curry (khosi bhat). Then there was exchange of greetings and the groom's party left the house. If the dining continues till late in the night the party is not allowed to go in the mid-night. The guests sleep in the bride's house and start next morning.

Soon after this ceremony the 'karoa' fixed the date of marriage in consultation with a 'panjiar' and approved by both the parties. The luckiest months being Jaistha, Aswar and Sravan the date was fixed on the 15th of Jaistha.

A fortnight before the date of actual marriage, Seta with two friends and a 'Sangi-bhar'⁶ carrying two pitcherfuls of curd, one basket of flattened rice (tsura) and a bunch of ripe plantains came to Dhoroni's house. The articles were sent to the women of the house and the remaining portion of the bride-price and one pair of silver bangles were made over to Dhoroni by Seta.

Previously, after the bride-price, ornaments and cloth have been given, the bride dressed in the new garments and ornaments started for the bride-groom's house with the party next morning. A 'Dani-buri' (elderly lady) accompanied her. The women started on a bullock cart, sometimes the bride was carried in a palanquin (palki or duli). The males went on foot. This part of the ceremony was called 'Chala-mulani' (ছালা মূলানী) or (mdṭṭhadan-মঠদান) that is outright purchase. It is now seldom practised.

Preparation for Odibas :

About three days before the date of 'Odibas' the guardian of the groom goes to the houses of the village with small bamboo seives (ḍala) each containing a few betel leaves areca nuts, and lime. He gives one 'ḍala' to the headman of each house and invites him to work in the marriage ceremony and also to dine in his house. The guardian of the girl also does the same in his own village. He invites about ten to twenty persons of the same village and they form the 'Poits (পইচ) or 'Pḍongs' (পনচ). If the man is well-to-do he also invites friends of other villages. In the latter case the invitees form a 'Pḍonkhḍ' (পংখ). Such invitation to assist in the ceremony is called 'ḍzigisa neoa' (জিগিসা নেওয়া). The invitees come and ask the guardian of the boy or the girl as the case may be, 'kitaḥ ḍakalu' (কিতাহ ডাকালু - why have you called us). The host says 'mor bḥtar (or bḥtir) bio. Kadz kam koribar nage. Tḍmrak ḍala desu' [মোর বাটার (বেটার) বিয়ো। কাজ কাম করিবার নাগে। তম্রাক ডালা দেসু - my son (or daughter) is going to be married. You are to assist me and so I offer you the 'ḍala']. The men agree to work and ask 'bḍro poits khabe na choṭo poits-la-o khabe' (বড় পইচ খাবে না ছোটো পইচ লাও খাবে - whether only men will dine or the women also). If only men are invited it is 'bḍro poits' and if women are invited it is 'choṭo poits'. If it is agreed to invite 'choṭo poits' also a fresh invitation is sent to the women. The invitation to women with 'ḍala' is called 'ḍḍl deoa' (দল দেওয়া).

Choosing of a friend (mistor-er pan kata-মিস্তরের পান কাটা) :

Mistḍr, boy's nearest friend is a great factor in Phul-bio. About a month before marriage a go-between connects two families of nearly equal rank in the same or in a near-by village. Two young men of the two families of about the same age are chosen and made friends. Thus the father and the mother of the two boys also become friends. The father or the guardian of the boy to be married with a few of the villagers goes to the house of the boy's friend about a fortnight before marriage with 'pan-gua', flattened rice (tsura), curd, sweets etc. and all dine at his house along with the members of that house. This is called 'Mistḍr-er pan kata' (মিস্তরের পান কাটা) and thus friendship is firmly established.

Ghot Bhora :

Both in the houses of the girl and of the boy, on the day of 'Odibas', five married women take an empty unornamented pitcher on the head of each and stand in a row in the inner yard of the house. A borderless white cloth is spread over the pitchers. They then start moving towards a nearby river or pond or well with song and music. They fill the pitchers with water and take them on their head which are again covered with the white cloth. They at first go to the place of the village deity (garam ṭhakurer than) and pour some water there. They then move towards the house and pour some water at the place of the household deity, the Monosa and the Kali. Then they come inside the house, a little water from the pitchers is poured on the boy or the girl as the case may be at the time of 'Odibas' and then keep the pitchers covered with the white cloth in one corner of the hut where the bride and the bridegroom will enter after marriage. The pitchers are left there for eight days. On the 'Aṭhora day' (Phul bhasanir din) the pitchers of the boy's house are taken to the water side and the contents

6. Sangi-bhar (সঙ্গী ভার) :

A fresh piece of bamboo is cut from a cluster. This is made smooth and washed clean. A piece of about five feet long is cut. From this piece are suspended by means of strings small newly made earthen pitchers which may be 7 or 9 in number. Three or five of the pitchers contain curd and the rest are filled with flattened rice (tsura) and sweetened parched paddy (murki). Two bunches of ripe plantains, coconuts, mangoes, jackfruits and one or two fishes are tied to the bamboo pole. The whole thing is carried on shoulders by two men. The contents of 'Sangi bhar' have been much modified at present. 'Sangi-bhar' is now becoming out of date.

are poured into the water. The empty pitchers are carried back home and used as household utensils. The pitchers of the girl's house are emptied on the 'Aṭhōra' day and sent to the house of the groom.

Odhibas at Seta's house :

Seta's family was a bit modernised. He had a Bastu-ghḍr in his house. A day before the marriage of Briksho an 'Odhikary' was called and he performed the Horo-Gouri puja (the puja of Mahadev and Parvati) in the Bastu-ghḍr and fixed five cowries on the mud wall to the right side of the Bastu deity and put five dots of vermillion on the left side of the deity.

In Seta's house there was a 'Tulsi-tola' in the south east corner of his inner yard. A plantain tree was fixed upright on the north of the Tulsi plant and a new 'pira' made of wood from a jackfruit tree was placed in front of this plantain tree. Some paddy was spread at the foot of the plantain tree and an earthen pitcher full of clean water with an 'amer-pelob', two betel leaves and two areca nuts at its mouth, was placed on the paddy. The pitcher and the plantain tree were then wrapped with a piece of a new cloth coloured yellow with turmeric. A new winnowing fan (kula) full of paddy with two earthen pitchers having 'amer-pelob', two betel leaves and two areca nuts in husk at their mouth, placed on the paddy was kept by the side of the Tulsi-plant. A bunch of green plantain smeared with vermillion was placed on the 'kula'. A bamboo-made winnowing seive (ṭṣanni) was kept on the other side of the Tulsi plant. Five small earthen piddims, twenty cowries, twenty betel leaves, twenty areca nuts in husk, some paddy, dub grass (agrestic tinearis), a 'duri-ghunsi' (দুরী ঘুন্সী, a small wooden box), a necklet of wooden beads (কাঠের মাল), a small looking glass, a small wooden comb, one pair of small earthen pot for keeping musturd oil (পঁচি-petsi), were kept on the winnowing seive. The piddims were lighted and the flame should be kept on burning till the eighth day after the marriage. A small pond about 2' square was excavated near the Tulsi plant. The husband of the sister of the boy gets the first preference to dig the pond. A cowrie with face up was fixed in the earth on each side of this pond and one was fixed at the bottom. The pond was then filled with water. Four small twigs of bamboo (punkī-পুন্কী) were planted upright at four corners of the pond. Seta's old mother went to the 'Tulsitola', burnt some incense (ṣṇḍapohara-সন্ডাপোহারা) and spread some turmeric powder at the foot of the plantain tree and worshipped Horo-gouri with a handful of flowers thrown at the foot of the tree without uttering any montro and saluting each time the flower was thrown by touching the earth with her forehead. The other women of the house shouted 'Ulu'.* This was the first part of the Odhibas. Commonly spoken as 'odibas'.

Briksho clad in a new and unwashed cloth was seated on the 'pira' in front of the pond. His grandmother took a little turmeric powder on the tip of her middle finger and touched the forehead of Briksho five times and threw away the surplus over her own head towards the back. Then five married women with husband living (bhatatti-ভাততি) came with a new earthen pitcher full of water and poured it on the head of Briksho five times. Then the Boiratis made an emulsion of turmeric and sandal powder in musturd oil (ṣṇḍapohara-সন্ডাপোহারা). This emulsion was smeared on his body and then he was bathed with cold water. He was given another new cloth to put on and new scarf was wrapped round his chest and back and a turban was tied on his head with another piece of new cloth. Thus dressed he was conducted to the Bastu ghḍr. At the entrance of the room an earthen cup was kept covered with another earthen cup called gḍcha (গছা or diari-ডিয়ারী). Briksho's sister's husband broke it under his feet before Briksho was allowed to enter the Bastu ghḍr. A new reed mat (মপ) was kept spread out in front of the Bastu deity and Briksho was seated there. In the meantime the 'kula' and 'ṭṣanni' from the 'Tulsitola' were brought and kept on two sides of Briksho. Thus ended the 'odibas' of Briksho.

If the house of the bridegroom is far away from the house of the girl then the 'odibas' of the boy is done at the house of the bride in the way the bride's party directs. On the day of 'odibas' the turmeric is at first given to the 'Thakur'. 'Thakur' is the plantain tree placed in front of the 'Tulsitola' with a decorated pitcher in front. The turmeric is dabbed on the pitcher (ghot-ঘোট) and a marriage crown (Sāhera-সাঁহেরা) is tied to the pitcher. Then the 'odibas' of the girl begins.

This is also done even when 'odibas' takes place separately in the boy's house and in the girl's house.

The 'poits' (Pḍnch) were fed with flattened rice and curd (dohu-ṭsura) and then with rice and curry. They will not eat meat curry until the marriage is completed. The 'dohu-ṭsura' eating is called 'phḍlahar' (ফলাহার) and the rice-curry meal is called 'atika' (আতীকা). The Poits or Pḍnch will cook themselves.

Cooking restrictions :

In a marriage ceremony men and unmarried girls (aokari-আওকারী) will cook. No married woman (biati-বীয়াতি), woman with child in the lap (choati-ছোয়াতি) or widow (ari-আরী) are allowed to cook.

Starting for bride's house :

Before starting for the house of the bride Briksho was blessed by all elders of the house by putting dub grass on his head. The members of the groom's party were fed with rice and curry (but no meat curry). This feeding is called 'ṭṣopori or ṭṣopohori' (ঢাপোরী, ঢাপোহোরী), probably meaning 'food for the day' as there is no knowing when the marriage will end.

* Ulu - A shrill sound made by quickly moving the tongue in the mouth.

Odibas of the girl :

On the day before the marriage an 'Odhiary' was called. He came in the morning and placed two earthen pitchers full of water in which was dipped a mango twig (amer pelob) with a ripe plantain on the middle of the leaves. The pitchers were kept near the Tulsi plant (Ocymum Sanctum). The pitchers were wrapped with a piece of cloth dyed yellow with turmeric (halud—Curcuma Longa), some 'aloo' rice was kept on a metal plate, some milk in a pot, some gura and 'dohu' on a plantain leaf were placed in front of the Tulsi plant. The bride Upesori was then brought and seated facing the Tulsi plant and the pitchers. The 'Odhiary' then sprinkled on her head some water in which some Tulsi leaves were dipped and invoked the gods to bless her. The food articles were offered to the Tulsi plant representing the Thakur (Bistnu) and the 'odibas' was done. The girl was then led into the northern hut and seated on a new mat.

Marriage dress :

It is the custom amongst the Rajbansis to wear white borderless cloth during marriage. Both the bride and the groom should wear white cloth. Lately a white turban is tied on the head of the boy. The girl wears no blouse (boti) nor the boy any shirt. It is said that there are three turning points in one's life, they are birth, marriage and death. At birth the child is wrapped in white cloth, after death the corpse is covered with white cloth and at the time of marriage similar dress should be worn. This is the idea of the elders of the village and it is handed down from generations.

The marriage dress may be (1) 'ek-kapra', (2) 'Do-kapra'. In the former case one piece of cloth is used for wearing and also to cover the upper part of the body including the veil. In the latter case one piece is worn to cover the lower part of the body and the other piece covers the upper part of the body and a part serves as veil.

Formerly the bride used to wear 'Phota' and there was no question of any veil. The introduction of the veil for the bride and turban for the boy was a recent addition as the writer was told by the old men of the villages.

Marriage day : Preliminaries :

On the day of the marriage Briksho (the groom) with about thirty in a party, Briksho's mother and five women Bairatis came in five bullock carts towards the evening. They parked under the big banyan tree at a distance from Dhoroni's house. They all got down, assembled and sat down, to rest. Seta did not come. He stayed at his house to make preparation for the reception of the bride and the groom when they go back after the marriage. The party washed themselves clean and waited there till the feeding of the bride's party and the relatives was over. The women of the party and Briksho were invited and led into the inner apartments of Dhoroni's house by the mother of Upesori and the Bairatis of the bride.

The Põnts of Dhoroni's side came in the morning of the marriage day and took up the cooking of food assisted by the unmarried daughters of Dhoroni. At first the Põnts people were fed and then other invitees were feasted. The food was served on plantain leaf plates and the feeding was done on the inner yard of his house. The bridegroom's party will not take any cooked food until the marriage is over. They were served with 'dohu-gura' (curd and flattened rice).

While the feast was proceeding, a barbar paired the nails of the boy and the girl. This was 'Kõtha-kaman' (কাঁঠা কান্দ). Then they were anointed by the elderly women of the house by smearing 'Kur' (turmeric powder and mustard oil made into a paste) on the face of the boy and then on the girl. A small 'ghat' (a square pond about 2' x 2' x 6" deep) was dug in one corner of the yard. The boy and the girl were led there and bathed by the women of the house assisted by the Bairatis of both sides. Jaistha being the summer season, bathing in the night was not objected to. Dhoroni said that in winter months bathing was a nominal affair. After the bathing ceremony and change of cloth, the girl was seated in the northern hut and the boy was allowed to go out to his party.

As Dhoroni was to make over his daughter he did not take any food. Dhoroni told that in some villages the bridegroom's party had to wait outside including the women of the party, till the night was nearly over. The feasting of the bride's party continued till the early hours of the morning. The elder women following their old custom would not enter the groom's house before the actual marriage was completed. They took 'dohu' and 'gura' sitting outside the bride's house, although arranged and served by the bride's party. In such a case the actual marriage took place next morning.

Inviting groom's party and preparation of marriage booth.

When the feasting of the bride's party was nearing completion, Dhoroni with his Põnts consisting of Samarsing, Kalsing, Thelo, Boital and Dhendua went to the waiting groom's party, offered them 'pan-gua' and invited them to come and join the marriage ceremony. The Põnts of the groom's party consisted of Poitta, Nindra, Nome Das, Ghumaru and Ghega. They were separately invited as special guests of honour. Briksho (the groom) and his party were conducted to the outer yard of Dhoroni's house where a 'Maroa'⁷ (marriage canopy) was set up at a height of about ten feet from the ground and at one corner under the

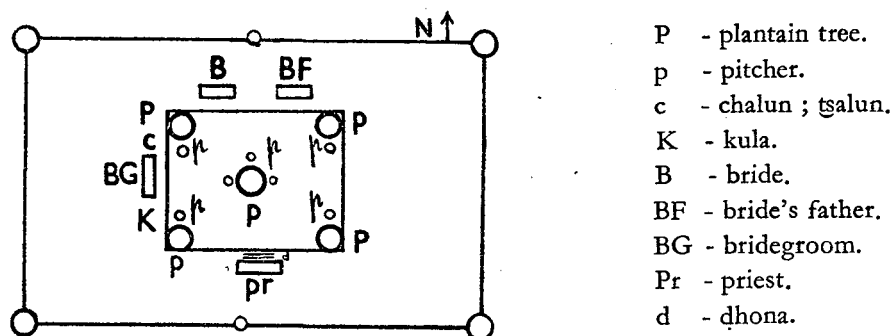
7. It is the duty of the groom's party to set up the maroa and to prepare the marriage bower (maroa ban lha). But generally the bride's party does it and the costs if any are realised from the groom's party.

The canopy of the maroa is generally a cotton or a jute sheet (chandoa). Where a cotton or a jute sheet cannot be procured, dried sticks of jute plants (sindza-সিন্ধা) are woven together to form the roof of the maroa in the shape of a canopy.

canopy five small plantain trees were planted. Four of them formed a square of about five feet each side and the small tree was in the middle. This was the marriage booth. Mats of reed (sdp - সপ) were spread on the ground under the canopy for the guests to sit. The party was again entertained with 'dohu tsura'. The Põnts of the bride's party were all attention to the guests.

After the groom's party was comfortably seated, the Põnts of the bride's party made many demands from the groom's party such as more money, more ornaments etc. This sham fight of words continued for some time and then an amicable settlement was arrived at. This fight lasted for about two hours.⁸ They also demanded subscription for village deities, clubs etc. which is called 'beheri' (বেহেরি) in Jalpaiguri or 'Khuli Khortsa' (খুলি খর্তসা) in Rangpur.

When the quarrel as above was proceeding Dhorni's son with the help of some other members of the village and the Põnts of the bridegroom started setting up the bower for the marriage. For earthen pitchers were filled with clean water and a twig of mango (amer pelob) was placed at the mouth of each. One such was placed at the foot of each plantain tree at the corners of the square. Three big ornamented earthen pitchers were then brought, filled with water and a piece of new napkin was placed at the mouth of each with an 'amer pelob'. One such was placed at the foot of the central plantain tree ; This was 'Mistõr Ghõra' (friend's pitcher), the two others were placed on two sides of the central plantain tree. On the western side of the bower a tsaluni⁹ (tray - চালুনি) containing some paddy, a bunch of dub grass (Argestis tenearis) and a few earthen lamps (piddim) were placed on the left side and a 'kula'¹⁰ (winnowing fan) containing one bunch of ripe plantains, some paddy, one earthen piddim and two small earthen pitchers, was placed on the right hand side. In between the two a seat (bichana - bed) for the bridegroom was placed. It consisted of a jute mat with a clean cotton sheet spread over it. On the northern side were placed two wooden seats (pira) one for the bride and the other for her father Dharoni. On the southern side a wooden pira for the priest Dhularam Thakur, a Kamrupi Brahman ; in front of his seat were placed a few 'dhonas' of plantain sheath (petiole), one of them contained some clean water, a few tulsi leaves, dub grass and some flowers, one contained some 'aloa' rice and some flowers and the front one was empty. The arrangement of the bower¹¹ was as follows :—



8. In all probability this sham fight of words is the legacy of actual fight of the long forgotten ancient days.

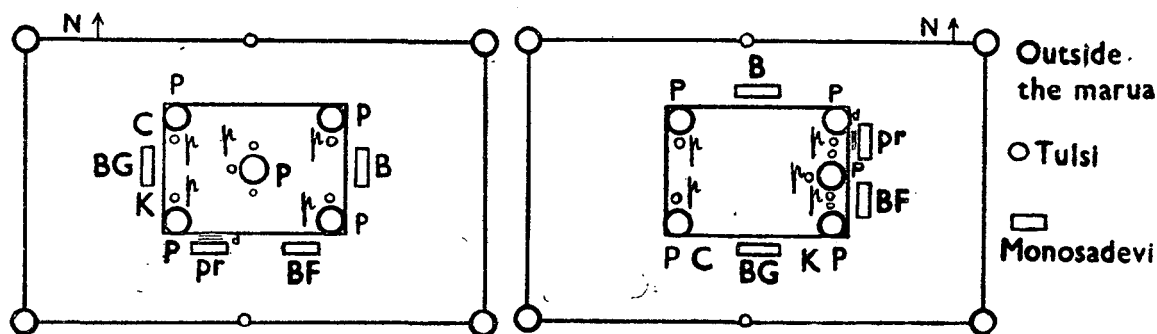
The actual wedding takes place in the outer yard of the house. The writer was told because the inner yard was kept reserved for dining purposes and because of the custom that the members of the bride-groom's party would not enter the inner apartments of the bride's house before the girl was formally made over to the boy.

If the feeding of bride's party continues upto late hours in the night, the actual marriage ceremony should wait upto the morning of the next day. There is no bar of the marriage being celebrated during the day although night is generally preferred.

9. Tsaluni ; Tsanni : A round plate (tray or sieve) of bamboo mat or a round bamboo sieve about 1½' in diameter with perpendicular margins raised about ¼" high which is made strong by binding it with bamboo strips and jute strings. It is sometimes coloured and painted. The plate has small holes in it.

10. Kula : A bamboo or cane woven rectangular plate with one end rounded off and perpendicular margins raised ½" and strengthened as in tsaluni. The sides are flat and taper towards the other end but the margins are placed at an obtuse angle. The other end is flat and the margin remains flush with the base.

11. Some other forms of arrangement of the bower as the writer saw in some other houses are :



Where one of the parties is a little modernised the fifth small plantain tree of the marriage bower is replaced by a small fire and the couple move round the fire keeping it to the left for five to seven times according to the spot decision of the priest. The Guti-mara is done after each turn.

Wedding.

Dualram thakur started the puja of Narayan. After about fifteen minutes Upesori was brought in the booth. The bride, the groom, Dhoroni and the priest sat on the seats reserved for them. The groom's party sat behind Briksho and the bride's sat behind Dhoroni on the opposite side. Many villagers came and remained standing or sitting anywhere they could push themselves. Dhol (drum), Kāsi (cymbol) and Bāsi (flute) started playing in a music and continued till the end of the ceremony.

After the puja was done Briksho stood on his bed facing east and Upesori was brought from her seat and made to stand on a 'pira' in front of him on the other side of the bower. Then accompanied by the Bairatis she started walking round the bower and her groom anticlockwise, one of the Bairatis took the 'galun' on her head and the other showered kholi on the heads of the bride and the groom. In the meantime Ghega and the younger brother or Hriksho spread a sheet of cloth across the bower between Briksho and Upesori. The women Bairatis gave a handful of 'aloo' rice, some pith balls (guti) and a little 'kholi' (parched paddy) in the right hand of Upesori. She threw them towards the feet of Briksho. He also in his turn was given the rice, 'guti' and 'kholi'. He threw them with his left hand over the screen towards the head of the bride. This was done five times one after each round of circumambulation. When Upesori was throwing the screen was raised up to give her a clear shot at the groom but the reverse was done in the case of Briksho so that some of his throws struck the cloth. The 'guti mara' or 'marca dzhika' (গুটি মারা, মারেরা ঝিকা) ceremony gave a nice fun. The writer was told that the idea of raising the upper margin of cloth in case of the bridegroom was to test his strength. A great effort was necessary to throw the missiles over the cloth. If most of the 'guti' strikes the cloth the visitors whisper that the boy is weak and may not be able to keep his wife under control. This happens to be true in many cases. But Briksho was physically strong and he did his part well. The 'guti-mara' being over the Bairatis led Upesori to the left side of Briksho and both were seated. In some areas the girl is seated to the right side of the boy. The boy sat on his bed and the girl on the 'pira' that was removed there from her original seat. This sitting of the girl on the 'pira' is called 'Sikot dora' (সিকোট চড়া).

As the marriage was proceeding 'pan-gua' was eaten and tobacco smoke in the form of biri or in a chillim mounted on a 'hukka' passed from hand to hand *ad libitum*. No alcoholic drink nor any other narcotic was taken by any one during the marriage ceremony as it is a sacred function in one's life and also of the society.

Tying the crown.

After the boy and the girl were seated, Nindra acted as the Pani-chita-bap¹² in absence of Seta (boy's natural father) and tied the wedding crown (sāhera or phul-sāhera, ফুল) made of pith, on the heads of the boy and the girl. After the crowns were fixed the Bairatis took a small pitcher, filled it with water, put a mango twig on its mouth, placed a new napkin on it and then put the whole thing in front of the couple. The Bairatis then put the right hand of the bride on the left hand of the boy on this pitcher. The left hand of the boy was placed on the pitcher with palm up and on it was placed the back of the right palm of the girl. Nindra came and tied both hands with a string of 'kush' grass (Saccharum spontaneum). Two bunches of ripe plantains form the 'chaluni' and 'kula' were kept in front of the couple and were covered with a portion of the cloth of the boy and the girl. The grass tie was then removed.

Mistor dhora.

Now the Mistōr (nearest friend of the boy, Dhoroni could not remember his name) entered the bower, took the new napkin from the Mistōr's pitcher and placed his own on it. He put the napkin on his shoulders and raised the pitcher on it. Briksho asked him 'Bhōbo mistōr, bhōbo mistōr, ki dhorā ailen' (well friend what have you brought) and the friend replied 'Tomar bihar tane pobitro Gōnga dzōl dhorā ailam' (I have brought the sacred Ganga water for your marriage). After saying this the 'mistōr' took down the pitcher from his shoulder and placed it on the ground. He then threw on the stretched hands of the bride a piece of 'sari' (mill made cloth), a 'nachera' (নাচেরা - fine chuddar) and one rupee. This was Mistor dhora¹³ ceremony. The 'mistōr' is forbidden to touch the wife of his friend and so the presents were thrown on her hands from a distance.

In some villages of Sadar and Rajgunj P.S. of Jalpaiguri and in Siliguri (Darjeeling) the following conversation takes place. Groom says :-

'bho bho mistōr ki dhorā asitōn'

'ভো ভো মিস্তর কি ধরিয়া আসিছেন'

Well may friend what have you brought? Mistōr says :-

'মাটির মুটুক, স্বপনের ঘাড়া, স্বপনের কোলসী ঘরত্ নিয়া তমার বিহোর নাম শুনিয়া মিস্তর হোইসি ধরো। বারো মাসে বারো ফল, একটা ফল বাকি। সাতালোর পাহাড়ের নাম কলো গাড়িল সারি সারি। উপরে টানিয়া দিল সব অংগের চাল। রাম ডালি কদলীর ফল ঘোটেতে ঢালিয়া দিলে বাসি গঙ্গা জল। বামে বসিল মিস্তর, ডানহাতে মিস্তরীণী, বামণ করে হম হম, মিস্তরে হিটায় পারি। যদি মিস্তরের হুকুম পাই জলের ঘাড়া মাটিতে নামাই।'

12. The choosing of a Pani-chita-bap for this purpose is now discarded and replaced by Phulbandha-bap. It is a more elegant name. But the Pani-chita-bap or phul-bandha-bap is just like the Acharya Guru of the caste Hindu's. After his death the boy must observe mourning for three days.

Formerly, if the boy had no father or even when he had a father, sometimes a second father was chosen from amongst the elderly men of the locality called Pani-chita-bap, who did the work of fixing the crown and sprinkling the sacred water on the couple. In some villages of Jalpaiguri a man from boy's side will fix the crown on the boy and one from girl's side fixes the crown on the girl.

13. The mistor-dhora ceremony is now rarely done and completely discarded amongst the advanced class.

‘maṭir muṭuk, sḍpḍner ghara, sḍpḍner kolsi gharḍt nia tomar bihar nam sunia mistḍr hoisi khara. Baro mase baro phḍl ḍkṭa phḍl baki. Satalir paharot ram kḍlo garil sari sari. Upore ṭania dil sḍb ḍng-er ṭali. Ram ḍali kodolir phḍl ghoṭot ḍhalia dile basi gḍnga ḍḍḍl. Bame bosil mistḍr ḍahine mistirani, bamone kḍre hḍm ḍḍḍm mistḍre chiṭaṭ pani. Ḍzodi mistḍrer hukum pai ḍḍḍler ghara maṭit namai.’

I have come with earthen crown and pitchers of a dream land to attend your marriage as a friend. Twelve fruits grow in twelve months but one fruit is yet to burst. A row of plaintain trees have been sown in the hills of Satali (a hilly place in Jalpaiguri Duars). The leaves have drawn a canopy of variegated hue. That plantain fruit has poured stale Ganga water in this pitcher. Here my friend sits on the left and his wife on the right, the brahmins doing the fire worship and the ‘mistḍr’ sprinkles the sacred water. I can keep down the pitcher on the earth if my friend orders me to do so.

The groom says : Thḍ-ḍ (থ-ḍ) - Keep. After this the friend will bring down the pitcher from his shoulder on the earth. This he will do three times. Then the friend will sprinkle the water of the pitcher on the groom and the bride.

Then some water from the ‘mistḍr’s’ pitcher and also a little from the four pitchers placed at the foot of the four plantain trees was poured into the two pitchers placed on the ‘kula’.

Konnya dan.

Nindra, who tied the ‘sāhera’ (সাঁহরা) came in front of the couple and paid some money and a nice ‘phota’ or cloth to the bride. He dipped a mango twig into the water of the pitcher on the ‘kula’ and sprinkled at first on the two pitchers in front of the plantain tree inside the bower and then on the heads of the couple. The elders present then did the same. Thus the ‘Konnya dan’ was complete.

Fire worship.

In the meantime the priest lit up a fire within the bower with ‘aṭ-khori’ that is with pieces of wood from eight trees e. g. mango, blackberry, jack, jujub, tamarind, olive, fig and beal. The bride and the groom stood in front of the fire. Dhoroni’s son placed a bunch of ripe plantains and some parched paddy (khoi) in the hands of both of them. When the priest uttered ‘Nomoh’ they threw some ‘khoi’ into the fire. This was done four times. Last of all that is at the fifth time the remaining ‘khoi’ and the plantains were thrown into the fire. This was ‘Hom’. The parties did not utter any montro. It was entirely done by the priest. After the ‘Hom’ (fire worship)¹⁴ they made ‘pronums’ to the fire and came back to their seats.

Lḍgḍn gait (tying the knot).

The village barber was summoned, he came and tied two betel leaves and two green areca nut fruits at the skirts of the ‘nachera’ (urani or chuddar) of the bride and of the groom and both were again tied together. Thus Lḍgḍn gāit (লগন গাঁইটে) was tied.

Blessings.

Then came Dhoroni and blessed the couple by putting some paddy and dub grass ¹⁵ (argestis tinearis) on their heads. Nindra then blessed them in the same way. Afterwards the elders present blessed them. The couple saluted all the elders by kneeling and touching the earth with the forehead. They did so from the place where they were seated and each time turning to one side or the other. There was no individual saluting (pronom).

The marriage ends.

The main part of the marriage ended here. The Bairatis ¹⁶ led the couple into a hut at the northern side of the inner yard. After the marriage the women of the groom’s party became ‘Sagai’ (relatives) and they were invited into the house by the women of the bride’s party.

Khoṭua Khela : Kia-Khela (cowrie play).

Briksho and Upesori were seated on a mat in the hut and invited to a dice play (khoṭua khela - খটুয়া খেলা). Nine cowries were put in a small wooden box containing a little vermilion and the lid was closed. The bride opened the lid and threw the cowries on the bed. The groom collected them and put again in the box and closed the lid. This was done five times. The groom in his turn did the same. The number of cowries after each throw was counted. The Bairatis did the counting and

14. Fire worship is a new addition. The old people say the fire worship was never a part of a marriage ceremony. They asserted when they were married about forty years ago there was no fire worship.

15. The Rajbansis do not use the clean top leaves of the dub grass but pull the whole plant out and use it sometimes unwashed with the earth clinging to the roots.

16. The general works of the marriage ceremony are done by the Bairatis. Two married women with husband living act as Bairatis. They must be selected from amongst the relatives. They are just like the Eo (ayo) of South Bengal. When Bairatis are not available from amongst the relatives, professional Bairatis are engaged. A widow remarried cannot be a Bairati nor a ‘ghor sodhani’, nor a ‘gao-goch’. They cannot take part in Phul-Bio ceremony.

acted as umpires. The total number of cowries that remained face up was greater in case of Upesori and she won the game. During this play Briksho stole a cowrie and tried to smuggle it into his throw to increase the number with face up. But he was caught and there was a great fun. The cowries were then wrapped in a piece of cloth and kept on the tsalun (tsanni - সান্নি). This play is also called 'Passa khela' (পাশা খেলা) or 'Kia-khela' (কীয়া খেলা).

Sendur dan.

After the play Briksho dipped his left ring finger into a wooden pot containing vermilion and dabbed it on the forehead of Upesori, the bride also did so on the groom with her right ring finger.¹⁷

Khilli bodol.

The groom then took a rolled prepared betel leaf (khilli pan) in his left hand and pushed it into the mouth of the bride and the bride did likewise with her right hand into the mouth of the groom.

Groom's exit.

The bride and the groom saluted all present in the room in the same fashion as before. In the meantime a Bairati dragged the bed (seat) of the groom from the marriage bower to the front of the room. This was the signal and the groom came out of the hut immediately and went back to his party.

Feeding.

By this time all have become relatives and a joint dinner was arranged. The women in the inner apartments and the men in the outer yard were fed with rice and meat curry (khosi bhat). The feeding came to an end when the first blazing rim of the sun just tipped the eastern horizon.¹⁸

Colour water play.

After the feeding all the members of the bridegroom party entered the inner apartments and enjoyed a colour-spraying ceremony. The coloured water was prepared by mixing lime and turmeric in water. There was no restriction at this stage as all became relatives (sagai). The members came out with coloured clothes after the merriment. By this time the sun was up.

March back.

By about 10 A.M. all started for Seta's house. Upesori and the women Bairatis who came from Seta's house entered into a covered bullock cart. Dhoroni's younger sister accompanied the party. Briksho and some young men, his friends, got into one cart and others started either on the bullock carts or on foot. The carts that Seta sent could not carry all the members. A music party accompanied them. Amidst music Upesori started for her husband's house. Dhoroni was sorry as his daughter whom he reared for so many years was going away but was also happy as she could be placed in a good family. Just after the start Upesori began to weep loudly and this was heard even after she had traversed a long way. Dhoroni said laughingly that it was the age old custom, probably arising from the 'Chalamulani' custom when the girl went to her husband's house for good as a purchased commodity. This weeping added to the variety of the ceremony as it was known to every one that she was not really unwilling to go her new home.

Preparations and ceremony in the bridegroom's house.

The party arrived at Seta's house in the afternoon. When the party was seen from a distance preparations were set on foot for their reception. A bed was spread in the middle of the inner yard and an earthen pitcher full of water with a mango twig at its mouth was placed in front of the bed. As soon as the couple arrived Briksho's mother sprinkled on them some water with a palm fan (তাল পাখা) and conducted them into the house. They were seated on the bed, their hands were again placed on the pitcher and they were blessed by the elders by putting dub grass on their heads. After the blessings they got up and saluted the assembly by touching the earth with the forehead.

Cleaning the cowshed.

After some rest Upesori was led to the cowshed and made to clean a portion of it with her own hands. Looking after the cows is the primary duty of all women in a cultivator's family. So this token cleaning indicated her admittance into the new family and the nature of the work she was expected to do.

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17. The writer was informed by many of the old people he met, that this dabbing with vermilion was unknown about thirty years ago and was not a part of marriage rituals. The ceremony of sindur-dan which ordinarily forms a binding ceremony in orthodox Hindu marriage is relegated by the Rajbansis to a position of complete obscurity. Even now the bride may take the vermilion on the day of marriage but it is not obligatory on her part to apply it always on her forehead. Formerly the bridegroom used to put a small black spot of Kajol (lamp black) on the forehead of the bride. Sindur dan is of recent origin and probably due to the long association with Caste Hindus of South Bengal. The present educated and advanced section of the Rajbansis applies the 'sendur' always on the forehead.
18. The first feeding of the bridegroom's party with 'dohu and tsura' is called 'Ek-Sanji' and the second feeding with 'Khosi-bhat' is called 'Do-sanji'. (These are usually pronounced as 'ek-sandzi, do-sandzi').

Andhon :

On the day following the arrival of the bride and the groom the Andhon (আন্ধন - cooking) and dhakñ bhat (ঢাকন ভাত) ceremony were performed. Friends, relatives and the Pñts of the boy's party were invited. Rice, fish and goat's meat were cooked by the women of the house. When all the guests sat down for eating Upesori dressed in a new cloth and wearing the ornaments she received at the time of the marriage, came with a plate containing some rice and curry. She distributed the food at first to Seta, then to Briksho and then to all others. The Pñts cooked their food themselves and ate. They were simply the witness of the ceremony. Upesori was then formally admitted into the new family.¹⁹

The writer was informed that in some families a little of the food cooked by the Pñts was mixed with the food of the bride's plate before distribution.

Athora :

After eight days' stay in her husband's house another ceremony called Athora²⁰ (আঠোরা) was performed. Dhoroni's sister who accompanied Upesori stayed with her for these eight days. On the Athora (eighth) day an Odhikary was called. He performed the puja of Narayan at the tulsi bari. The marriage crowns were preserved in the Bastughñr. The seive (tsalun) and the kula (winnowing fan) were cleared of their contents and kept aside in the Bastughñr. The relatives were invited and given a feast. (Bhagi sagi sogake sodor khoabar nage—ভাগী সাগী সোগাকে সোদোর খোয়াবার নাগে - near and distant relatives should be given a feast). Music was performed both on the Andhon and Athora days.²¹

The coming back :

On the day following the Athora, Dhoroni himself went to Seta's house to take back Upesori. With the consent of Seta, Dhoroni took his daughter and his sister in a bullock cart and started homewards. There was no ceremony attached to this coming back.

Post marriage ceremonies :

The girl went with her father but the bridegroom Briksho did not go. He was not allowed to go before six months and some formalities must be gone into before he enters the house of his father-in-law. After about six months to one year the boy takes with him one pitcherful of curd and some sweets and goes to his father-in-law's house and dines with him. It is called 'Sodor Khoa' (সোদোর খোয়া). After this function the boy can go to his father-in-law's house without any hindrance.

If the marriage is performed after the Durga puja (devi puja) then, before the Dole puja or if the marriage is held after the Dole puja then, before the Devi puja, the bride must be sent back to her husband's house.²² She must have with her one pitcherful of curd and some sweets. This is called 'Mangona' (মাংগোনা). If any woman accompanies the bride, she must be given a sari or a phota. At present owing to high price of cloth some money is paid in its stead.

If the bride is invited to her husband's house before the 'Mangona' then the bridegroom's party must shoulder the responsibility of taking and sending her back. If after the 'Mangona' the girl is invited to the house of her father then the bride's party should have the onus of taking and returning the girl. The usual expression is 'Nigi thuite hoibe' (নিগি থুইতে হইবে - Take away and return).

If the son-in-law or his mother or any woman from the boy's house goes on invitation to the house of the girl's father with the girl, then the girl must be returned with them and should not in any case be allowed to over-stay at her father's house.

19. When the marriage takes place in the house of the bridegroom as in Chalamulani, the bride, the bridegroom and the Bairatis start for the bride's house on the next day. This is called PothPhirani (পথফিরানী) and the Andhon ceremony is performed in the house of the bride.

Previously, when the bridegroom finally settled in the house of his father-in-law, this Andhon ceremony took place in the house of the bride where the relatives of her husband were invited to dine and the girl served the food.

The Andhon ceremony is just like the 'Pakosparsa' ceremony of the caste Hindus of South Bengal.

20. The Athora ceremony is like the 'Ostomongol' ceremony of the caste Hindus of Bengal.

21. After the Athora ceremony the Sahera and the pitchers are thrown into a river or a pond whichever is nearer. A batch of boys and girls go there for the purpose, they eat dohu-tsura near the water and then consign the articles to the water.

In case it is decided not to throw the Sahera in the water they are kept fixed over the doorway of the hut where the couple live. As soon as some part of it falls on the ground it is at once swept clean with a broom. In that case the marriage is called Samta-phul-bio (সাম্‌টা ফুল বিয়ো) - (Samta-broom).

22. At present the bride will not go to her husband's house in the month of Bhadra (Aug.-Sept.). She must be sent back before this month. About a fortnight before the Devi Puja the father of the girl or an elderly relative goes to the house of his son-in-law with the girl and a Sangi-bhar of presents in the shape of foods. He also gives a new cloth to the father and the mother of the boy. This ceremony is called 'Poila magna' or 'Bhadorkatani' (পোইলা মাগ্না, ভাদোর কাটানি).

Some additions and changes in the rituals of Marriage in more advanced
section of the Rajbansi Society.

Nirikhini

At the time of the first blessing of the girl (nirikhini) she is given a Chorakathi (চোরাকাঠী) or a Kathimala (কাঠিমালা a necklace having three or four rounds) of silver necklace or a simple silver necklace. Dara-gua has been replaced by 'nirikhini'. If after the 'nirikhini' the negotiation breaks off the ornaments are taken back and the girl becomes 'ao-pari' and then it becomes difficult to get this girl married in advanced society.

Marriage dress

The marriage dress of the girl is supplied by the father or the guardian of the girl and the boy's marriage dress is supplied by the father or the guardian of the boy. If the bride's party is rich, both the dresses are supplied by this party.

Sanghi bhar

Instead of old Sangi-bhar custom a pitcherful of curd and some fish are sent to the bride's house on the day of the marriage. These are eaten by the Pongs of the bride's party. These should reach the bride's house early in the morning otherwise the Karoa is taken to task.

Wedding

Under the 'maroa' the bridegroom is seated facing east. An Assamese brahman who conducts the marriage seats facing north and the guardian of the bride seats facing south in front of the priest. The priest places one pair of 'dhona' of plantain sheath in front of the guardian of the bride and the bridegroom. Into one of them are kept a few flowers and some water and into the other two 'dhup' sticks are kept burning. The priest utters some montros and when he utters 'Nomoh' the bride's guardian and the bridegroom throw into the 'dhona' where the 'dhup' stick is burning, a few flowers and some water. They do not utter any montros. Then a bell-metal plate is brought there containing some 'atap' rice, an earthen pitcher containing some water and a little curd on a plantain leaf. The priest goes on uttering montros and as soon as he utters 'Nomoh' the bride's guardian and the groom throw some water and flowers from the 'dhona' into this plate. They do not utter any montros. Then one earthen pitcher containing one silver ring, a myrobalum and a little 'atap' rice with its mouth closed tightly with a piece of thick plantain leaf, is placed before the bridegroom. He tears open the leaf with his left hand, brings out the ring and wears it himself round one of his fingers and keeps the myrobalum at his loin wrapped in his cloth. This pitcher is called 'Bhordner paila' (ভৰণেৰ পাইলা). It is said that the tearing of the plantain leaf tests the strength of the boy.

Then the Guṭimara and Phulbandha (tying the marriage crown) are done. The priest utters montros all the time.

Walking round the groom

The boy stands on his seat. The bride with the Bairatis walks round the groom seven times. She is not carried on arms. The face of the bride is covered with a fine 'chuddar'. During the walk round 'atap' rice and 'kholi' (parched paddy) are showered on the bride and the groom. After the seventh round is completed the bride and the bridegroom will look at each other's face. This time a piece of cloth is held over their heads to act as a cover so that the blessed look may not be disturbed. The bride is then seated on the west side of the square facing east and the bridegroom facing west as before.

Koina dan

A red napkin is then kept on the pitcher in the middle of the square on which is placed the left hand of the bridegroom and the right hand of the bride one above the other. The priest or the guardian of the girl then ties both hands with a string made of kush grass (Poa Cynosuroides). The priest utters some montros and after he has said 'Nomoh' the hands are untied.

A bed consisting of a cotton carpet with a white linen cover is spread on the east side of the square and both are conducted there and seated, the bride to the left of the bridegroom.

This bed is supplied by the bride's party. If any bed is supplied by the groom's party it is wrapped up and returned to the party.

Bashi biha

On the next morning of the marriage night a fire worship is performed under the 'maroa' by the Assamese priest. The bride and the groom are conducted there. The priest utters montros and as he says 'Nomoh' the couple throws some 'kholi', one betel leaf and one areca nut into the fire. This is done three times. At the third time a ripe plantain is also thrown into the fire to make the offering complete.

It appears therefore that the Rajbansis are abandoning many old customs and are adopting the rituals of Caste Hindu marriage of Bengal.

Other forms of Regular Marriage.

Some other forms of marriage are also found in Rajganj and Sadar P. S. of Jalpaiguri and in Siliguri sub-division of Darjeeling. Such forms are not found in the Duars (Jalpaiguri) and in Coochbehar.

Tokrot biha.

The marriage takes place at the house of the girl. A 'karoa' acts as a match-maker. An Odhikary officiates, no 'maroa' is erected, the marriage is celebrated in the open outer yard. The boy and the girl are seated on a 'dhòkra' (jute mat) on which a dūhalòn (বালন - cotton sheet) is spread. The girl is seated on the right side of the boy. There is one Bairati or Arati (আরাতি) from the boy's side and about five from the girl's side. They keep a few prepared betel leaf (খিলি পাত) in front of the couple. The boy takes one by his left hand and puts it into the mouth of the girl, the girl also takes one by her right hand and puts it into the mouth of the boy. This is 'Khili khoa' (খিলি খোয়া). Then they are engaged in Khoṭua or Kia khela which is done three times. After this all elders bless them (asubad) and give presents. A brass pitcher (loṭa) with a folded new napkin placed on its mouth is kept in front of the couple. The boy puts his right hand with the palm up on the napkin and the girl places her left hand with the plum up on the boy's palm. The presents are given on the palm of the girl, she at once tilts her palm so that they fall on the palm of the boy and raises her hand. The boy then keeps the presents to his side and again both hands are placed on the pitcher as before to receive more. When the present giving ceremony is over the couple go to the basil plant (Thakurbari) and salute the plant. Then they salute Bisohori, Garam thakur (Mohadev) and then the elders of the house. They do not touch the elders but kneel on the ground from a distance and touch the earth with the forehead. Then they are led to a hut for rest.

Next day the party leaves for the boy's house. An elderly woman (Dani-buri) accompanies the girl. Two earthen cups (piddim or gēcha - গাছা) are placed near the gate. The girl at first breaks one under her feet and the boy breaks the other and then proceed. They go direct to the place where Basi-bio (বাসি বিহো) has been arranged. They pass through the same rituals of marriage as above. This ceremony being over they are led into a hut. Sometimes a new hut is erected for this purpose. This hut is called 'Kohubdra ghòr' (কোহুবরা ঘর). Before entering this hut they are again made to trample over two earthen cups.

Konua biha

If such marriage as described above is performed inside a hut instead of in the open yard, it is called 'Konua-biha' (কোনুয়া বিহা). That is marriage in secret.

Gòndhòròk biha (গন্ধরক বিহা)

The Karoa settles the marriage. There is no priest and no canopy (maroa) is erected. The marriage takes place at the house of the girl. The girl and the boy are seated in the yard on a bed. The boy with his right middle finger dabs some vermilion on the forehead of the girl and the marriage is completed. Then there is a feast to ratify the marriage.

Moṭha-dan (মঠা-দান)

It is outright purchase (Chalamulani) of the girl. The girl is taken to the house of the boy one day before the marriage. The marriage is performed in 'panichṭa' form. On any day within seven days following the Basi-bio, usually on the third day of the marriage, the girl, and the boy with a party go to the girl's house. This is called Dan-para (দান-পারা). All members are sumptuously fed and sometimes the members of the party are given presents (man-kòra - মান-করা). They all return with the girl next day.

There is a song about 'Dan-para' :

hauilar bhat òdòl bòdòl	হাউলিয়ার ভাত অদল বদল
bio-r bhat kina	বিয়ের ভাত কিনা
sogol katha budzha dzabe	সোগোল কথা বুঝা যাবে
dan-parar dina.	দান পারার দিনা।

In case of 'hauil' (co-operative cultivation) feeding moves from house to house, each family feeds others in turn ; the food of a marriage invitee is purchased (as money is spent on account of presents) ; but the man will be known by his arrangement on the third day feast (feast on Dan-para day—when nothing is to be paid by the invitees).

Marriage songs—Bio-r gan (বিয়ের গান)

Song of odhibas in boy's house by the bairatis. The song is repeated several times :—

holdir dūbòdm kunṭhe ge, holdir dūbòdm kunṭhe	হোলদির জলম কুন্টে গে, হোলদির জলম কুন্টে
holdir dūbòdm giros bhair bari ge	হোলদির জলম গিরোস ভাইয়ার বাড়ি গে

kular d̥ɔ̀ɔ̀ɔ̀m kunthe ge, kular d̥ɔ̀ɔ̀ɔ̀m kunthe
kular d̥ɔ̀ɔ̀ɔ̀m haɖi bhaiar bari ge
ghoɽer d̥ɔ̀ɔ̀ɔ̀m kunthe ge, ghoɽer d̥ɔ̀ɔ̀ɔ̀m kunthe
ghoɽer d̥ɔ̀ɔ̀ɔ̀m kumhar bhaiar bari ge.

Note :—Giros - a good cultivator (S.C.B. - Grihosto).

কুলার জলম কুন্ঠে গে, কুলার জলম কুন্ঠে
কুলার জলম হাড়ি ভাইয়ার বাড়ি গে
ঘোটের জলম কুন্ঠে গে, ঘোটের জলম কুন্ঠে
ঘোটের জলম কুমহার ভাইয়ার বাড়ি গে।

Kuro (কুরো) songs.

This song is sung by the bairatis during pounding the turmeric and smearing the boy and the girl with it.

S̥ɔ̀ngɔ̀t koria baɽen kuro
mao ge d̥ɔ̀loni
hamar bapoi-er d̥ɔ̀ɔ̀ɔ̀ deha
mao ge d̥ɔ̀loni.

সঙ্গত করিয়া বাটেন কুরো
মাতো গে জোলোনি
হামার বাপোই-এর জালা দেহা
মাতো গে জোলোনি।

Note :—S̥ɔ̀ngɔ̀t - carefully ; d̥ɔ̀ɔ̀ɔ̀ - very young, fine skin ; d̥ɔ̀loni (jononi) - mother.

The groom's party arrives and the senior woman of the girl's house goes to receive and invite them (b̥ɔ̀ɔ̀ɔ̀ ana-বরাদা আনা). The groom is seated in the outer yard and a lamp burning with mustard oil fuel (g̥ɔ̀ɔ̀ɔ̀ - গাছ) is lighted and kept in front of him.

The following song is sung by the bairatis of bride's house.

baser thoɽa h̥ɛlek l̥ɛka
p̥ɔ̀the ðnek dur
ɛlane asil b̥ɔ̀r re
kura kuta.

বাসের থোপ্টা হ্যালেক ল্যাকা
পন্থে অনেক দূর
এ্যালানে অসিল বর রে
কুড়া কুতা।

The bridegroom is very thin and tossing like a bamboo twig after coming a long distance. Now he sits quiet like an idle dog.

Note :—h̥ɛlek l̥ɛka - tossing ; kuta - dog (S.C.B. - kutta ; kukur) (Note the joke - you are an idle dog).

Koɽha Kaman (কোঠা কামান) - pairing the nails. (Song by bairatis of bride's party).

ɛh̥ɔ̀ pakhe mana
ɛh̥ɔ̀ pakhe mana
nauaɽa-te koɽha kamache
dono ɽokhu kana.

এাহ পাখে মানা
এাহ পাখে মানা
নাউয়াটাতে কোঠা কামাছে
দোনো চোখু কানা।

Don't go this way, don't go that way. The barbar is pairing the nails but he is blind.

The girl is being brought to the marriage bower :—

(song by bairatis of bride's side)

Chiko chiko mai-ge tor kapale-te ache
Kalo masena tor bade ache.

ছিকো ছিকো মাইগে তোর কাপালেতে আছে
কালো মাসেনা তোর বাদে আছে।

Oh, poor girl, a black groom is there for you.

Note : If the boy is black skinned 'Kalo masena', if he has big and wide eyes he is called 'd̥h̥ɛpra ɽokhu' - ঢাপরা চোখু.

After the girl is seated. Referring to the boy the bairatis sing.

Ki d̥ɛk̥h̥ɛɽis bapoi-re tui
ɽanni kular bhiti
sei ɽanni g̥ɔ̀ɔ̀ɔ̀ɔ̀ tor mao d̥ɔ̀loni.

কি দ্যেখছিষ্ বাপোই রে তুই
চান্নি কুলার ভিত্তি
সেই চান্নি গরোইসে তোর মাতো জোলোনি।

What you look at my dear boy.

Your mother has made the seive.

(Mark the joke).

Pani Chita song :-

tsiniha akhis re bapoi
tsiniha akhis
sasuri chitache pani
tsiniha akbis.

চিনিহা আখিস রে বাপোই
চিনিহা আখিস
শাসুড়ী ছিটাছে পানি
চিনিহা আখিস

Remember the face you boy. Your mother-in-law is sprinkling the water.

(a bit slang - don't fail to recognise your mother-in-law).

Dan deoa song - At the end of the marriage.

Hamar mai-or hatot
dan poil ge
taka dan poil
dulahar mon ta
bhabenat poil ge
bhabenat poil.

হামার মাইওর হাতোৎ
দান পৈল্ গে
টাকা দান পৈ
দুলাহার মন টা
ভাবেনাত্ পৈল্ গে
ভাবেনাত্ পৈল্ ।

My girl gets the money. The groom is anxious. (Joe—the girl may abscond - be careful).

Kia-khela song :-

Kia khèlaite bapoi
haribo-re
nèm nèm tor baper dari
dubalo re.

কিয়া খ্যালাইতে বাপোই
হারিবো রে
ন্যাম ন্যাম তোর বাপের দাড়ি
ডুবালো রে ।

You boy, you are sure to be defeated in the play. Your father goes down.

Note : nèm nèm - grown up, big : dari - beard.

Bairatis sing during the Hom (fire worship) ceremony :-

Bamòñ tsahe dhuti
bamòñ tsahe dhuti
bamòñer bade ania thuitsi
mòdra gorur bhuṭi.

বামন চাহে ধুতি
বামন চাহে ধুতি
বামনের বাদে আনিয়া ধুইচি
মরা গোরুর ভুটি ।

The priest wants cloth but we have brought for him the intestines of a cow. We give him nothing.

Note : bhuṭi (ভুটি) - Intestines. (note the joke).

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Chapter V

Death and its Attendent Ceremonies

✓ When a man is about to die, the dying man is made to drink a little water from the Ganga when available. Failing this a little water in which a few 'tulsi' (basil) leaves are dipped is given to drink.

The person is allowed to die in bed in the room. After death the corpse is brought out and laid on the ground on a jute or reed mat spread near the domestic shrine or thakur-bari. The place where the body is to be laid is first cleaned, besmeared with cowdung emulsion and sprinkled with water in which a few basil leaves are dipped. The head of the corpse is always placed in the north.

As soon as a person is dead it is publicly proclaimed by loud lamentation set up by members of the family. The body is fully covered with a clean and washed piece of cloth. The sons of the dead then put a little sacred water, containing basil leaves into the mouth of the deceased. The dead body is allowed to remain at the shrine for about three to five hours until the bier carriers arrive. During the rains, or if death occurs late at night or on a severe wintery night, the dead body is kept inside the room or placed in the verandah (cali ঘাট), whichever convenient. In the meantime the mourners sit round the bed while touching the corpse lest some evil spirit take possession of it. A mustard-oil lamp is also kept burning near the head of the corpse.

Transportation of the corpse :

After the corpse is laid on the inner court yard, friends and other relatives prepare a bamboo bier (Mogli or Mogkuli) made of two long bamboo poles with a few split bamboo cross bars tied to the poles firmly with a rope. The length of the 'mogli' should be a little longer than the length of the corpse. The poles should project sufficiently long beyond the crosses to allow two or more persons to carry the bamboo on their shoulders on each side.

The body is laid on the bier and fastened with crosses of ropes passed round the body and the poles so that it may not slip during transport to the cremation ground. Normally the sons and very near relations (bhagi) carry the dead body. When a sufficient number of them is not available, unrelated Rajbansis may also help. The pñch (poits) of the family, as previously described, do not usually touch the corpse, although they make all arrangements for the funeral. When there is a shortage of carriers, the Pñch of the family may assist in carrying the dead. When they are obliged to do so, they must refrain from eating fish or meat or oil for three days and will have the hair of the head shaved off on the third day for becoming clean.

The body is carried to the river. If a river is not found within easy reach cremation may take place on the bank of a pond or a low land where sufficient water is available. The head of the corpse is always placed in the north.

It is a custom that the dead body should not be touched by anyone excepting the near relations (Sagi) or the successors (Bhagi) or the Pñch of the family. If many of them are not found in the village, messengers are sent to other villages and the transportation of the corpse is postponed until they arrive in sufficient numbers. When the number of Bhagis and Sagis is insufficient, there is relaxation of the rules. The Bhagis at first raise the bier then others put their shoulders to it.

When the bier is carried from the house a woman takes one pitcherful of cowdung emulsion and a broom in hand. She sweeps the ground over which the bier carriers have gone, with the broom and sprinkles diluted cowdung upon it for purification. Thus she follows the carriers for some distance outside the area of the house. She then breaks the pitcher and another woman carrying a lota of water pours the water on her head. She is thus rendered clean and both of them return to the house without looking behind. If they do so, it is believed, the soul of the dead becomes a ghost (bhut) and is sure to attack them. This breaking of the pitcher is called 'dusker doka bhangil' (দুস্কর ডোকা ভাঙিল)

On the way to the cremation ground (mdsan) there should be no chanting, singing nor music of any kind. When a very old man or a woman of a well-to-do family dies, a singing party, singing kirtan, is allowed to accompany the procession. The carriers chant the name of God, as Hori Hori Bolo (not Bolo Hari as in the case of South Bengali Hindus). No woman is allowed to accompany the procession. In exceptional cases, where the deceased has no son, the widow goes with the procession but should never shoulder the bier.

Cremation :

✓ The Rajbansis burn their dead.

✓ Burial :

There are cases where the body is also buried. A person dying of cholera (haga chēda, হাগা চৈদা) small pox (guṭi or Sitala thakurani), snake-bite, suicide, drowning, mauled by wild animals, children before teething or children before eruption of the permanent teeth, when the deceased has no friends or relations (unclaimed body), the Rajbansi Vaisnava who has taken 'kopin and

ḍor' (a confirmed Vaisnava) is buried. If a woman with a child in her womb dies, she is buried with the child. In some areas the husband is made to cut open the abdomen and take out the child. The child is then buried. The abdomen of the mother is then sewed up and she is cremated.

Modern Rajbansis burn all their dead excepting children before teething.

Cremation rites : ✓

Upon arrival at the ghaṭ (mḍsan) the body is untied, stripped of all cloth excepting a small bit covering the loins and laid on the Mother Earth. It is the belief that there was a touch of Mother Earth at the start of life and this should also be at the end of life. (Maṭi hate asil, maṭit dṛauk—মাটি হাতে আসিল, মাটিতে ঝাউক). Some clarified butter (ghee) is then smeared on the whole body which is then bathed in cold water. In some villages west of the river Tista, the body is kept on the Moṭgli (মোচলি) and removed directly to the pyre without going through the bathing formalities.

Preparation of the pyre : ✓

In the meantime friends and relations prepare the funeral pyre (cita). Wood is not always available in this area and so the pyre is made with dry bamboo. The length of the pyre is slightly longer than the length of the corpse. One thick piece of log wood about $2\frac{1}{2}$ ' long is placed at the head end and one at the foot end. Such logs are called 'Dhamguṛi or Dham khōri'. The dry bamboos are placed lengthwise on the logs till a bed about three feet thick is prepared. Four strong bamboo poles are fixed by driving some portion of them into the earth, while about five feet stand above the ground. The poles form a rectangle within which the pyre is set up. The poles serve as support to the bamboos forming the pyre. A mango twig (amer pelob) and a bundle of jute sticks are tied to each pole. A cross channel (akha) is dug in the middle of the square just enough to admit a bundle of dry jute stems (sindza) to light the pyre and also to admit draught and keep the pyre burning. About 20-25 full grown bamboos are required to burn an adult. Every one of the village contributes dry bamboo for funeral purposes. Nobody refuses. There is a common saying 'morar name khōḍi, adṛar name kōḍi'—'give fuel to the dead, give money to the king'. Sometimes a small piece of wood from a fig tree or a small piece of sandalwood when available, is also placed on the pyre. The dry bamboos for burning are transported to the burning ground on bullock carts or by the men where carts cannot go.

Four long branches of green bamboo with green leaves on the top (chuki) are brought near the pyre. They must be freshly cut from clumps which are found in all villages. A new piece of white cloth is taken and its four corners are tied to the top of the four bamboo twigs. The bottom is fixed to the earth on four corners of the pyre so that the cloth forms a canopy (cāḍoa) over the pyre at a height of nearly 8-10 feet where the flexible ends of the branches converge, whereas the base forms a big square around the pyre. A betel leaf, a green areca nut and a ripe plaintain are placed on the canopy. It is under this canopy that the body is burnt. At that height, the canopy does not catch fire. Now-a-days, on account of the high price of cloth, a small canopy is set up at the site of the pyre after the body has been burnt. It is usual to find such small canopy set on small bamboo twigs in the cremation ground. It is allowed to remain there until they are destroyed by wind and rain. The sticks are called Cil (চিল) and the cloth is called dhvaza probably derived from the Bengali or Sanskrit expression dhvajā, a flag.

Cremation : ✓

After having been bathed, the corpse is laid fully stretched on the pyre with the face towards the sky and the head towards the north. Male, female, widow are all cremated in the same way.

The last trace of the cloth is then taken out and the body is left fully naked. Then it is completely covered with sufficient chips of dry bamboo. In some villages west of the river Tista the sheet covering the dead is allowed to remain and the bamboos are piled on this. A strip of cloth, about two feet wide, is torn off after the body has been laid on the pyre, by a relative or or by a member of the Pōngs. It is kept suspended round his neck until the cremation is over. After cremation when all have taken their bath in the mḍsan this piece of cloth is made over to the son who first lighted the pyre. He has to keep this piece suspended round his neck for twelve days.

If a woman dies without any male issue the husband lights the pyre and ties the cloth round his right hand for twelve days. If a man dies without any male issue the pyre is lit by the nearest male agnate but the widow should tie the cloth round her left hand.

A thick rope of rice-straw, $1\frac{1}{4}$ by length of the hand of the person who lit the pyre, is made. One end of it is ignited and the smouldering fire is carried to the cremation ground. It is with this fire that the jute sticks used to ignite the pyre are lighted. The rope is carried back home after cremation and is kept alive in the room where the man died. In the Sadar and Rajgunj P. S. in the district of Jalpaiguri, it is left in the cremation ground. A new rope is made, lighted and kept in the dead man's room.

Lighting the pyre :

When the pyre is ready, the eldest or the youngest son of the deceased takes a torch of jute sticks and ignites it. He moves round the pyre anti-clockwise three times with this flaming torch. Seven rounds are made by those who have taken the sacred thread. Each time he moves round, he touches each vertical bamboo pole (goṭṭ—গোত্) supporting the pyre at the place where the head of the corpse is resting under a heap of bamboo. Another man from amongst the bier-carriers follows him with a pitcher of cold

water. He sprinkles some of this water on the place where the burning torch is touched otherwise the pyre may catch fire before the circumambulation (Uka) is over. After three or seven rounds, he stands facing east or sometimes south and places the burning torch under the pyre in the channel dug in the middle. The pyre is thus lit up. In the rainy season when dry bamboo is not available some clarified butter is sprinkled over the pile to help starting of the fire. The price of clarified butter has gone up and kerosene oil is now used instead.

Gathering the bone :

When the corpse is nearly burnt one expert from amongst the bier carriers takes a piece of bamboo (d̥dkha nori) and isolates a portion of the frontal bone of the dead from the pyre and brings it out. It is cooled and placed inside the hollow of a piece of green bamboo (Khuṭi or thuri) the open end being closed with a lump of earth. A hole is dug in the hard earth near the water and the bamboo cylinder containing the bone is buried, the place being tightly rammed with earth. A small basil plant (Ocymum sanctum) is planted on the spot. It is left there for three or ten days according to the local custom. After cremation an offering consisting of sun-dried rice, ripe plantain and sweets is offered to the departed soul. In some villages west of the river Tista the offering consists of lumps of earth only. A Kamrupi Brahman or an Odhikari recites some montros. Those who can repeat, do so, but the majority make the offering while the priest goes on reciting. Such offering is also made on the third and tenth days at the place where the bone of the dead lies buried. The burning rope is carried to the cremation ground from home on those days. Those who do not carry back the rope prepare fresh ones on those days and keep them burning in the cremation ground as long as the ceremony of offerings continues.

After the first offering has been made, the pyre is extinguished with water drawn from a source of water and the ashes are thrown into the water and the whole place is washed clean. The canopy is left as it is and never removed. In case death occurs in new moon or full moon day or night or on Tuesday or Saturday the canopy is pulled down and burnt lest it is used for witchcraft by someone else. In Rajgunj in Jalpaiguri District, the pyre is kept alive for three days by feeding it with wood or bamboo every day ;—it is extinguished only on the third day.

Returning home :

When the cremation is over, the party returns home. The burning rope of straw that was taken from home is carried by the son who lit the pyre and deposited in the room where the person died. This fire is kept alive for three or ten days according to local custom ; usually three days for those who have put on the sacred thread and ten days for others.

Before entering home, members of the funeral party take a bath anywhere outside the dead man's house, say in a river or pond or in well water drawn by other people. They must touch a fire lit by other men with either a bundle of paddy straw or dried jute sticks or dried jute leaves and be sprinkled on the head with water in which a few basil leaves have been dipped. The party is then considered to be 'clean' and admitted into the house.

It is said that the fire of the straw rope prevents evil spirits from entering the room in which the person died, and the soul of the dead can rest in peace in the hut where it stays until this fire is removed.

The frontal Bone :

On the third or twelfth day the case containing the frontal bone of the dead is dug up and the bone taken out. It is then broken into eighteen nearly equal pieces. These are arranged on a plantain leaf in the shape of a miniature human being. This bony human figure is worshipped and an offering is made for the peace and well-being of the departed. Of the broken bone the one representing the forehead only is now brought home in an earthen pot. In the west of the river Tista, this bone is wrapped up in a portion of the cloth torn from the cover of the dead body. It is then placed in a small bamboo case and brought home. The other pieces are mixed with earth and thrown into the water near the burning ghat. The frontal piece of the bone which is carried home is buried near the basil plant (Thakur badi) of the inner yard. Every evening an earthen lamp is kept alight over the place where the bone lies buried.

Purifying the house :

The bedding and the clothing of the dead are washed with alkaline water and dried in the sun. In case of cholera or small pox, poor people cannot afford to destroy either the bedding or clothing. They are boiled in alkaline water, dried in the sun and used again. The huts and the yards are sprinkled with an emulsion of cow-dung in water for purification.

Period of mourning :

The son who lights the pyre does not sleep on a bedstead or on the bamboo platform for three or twelve days after cremation. His bed is laid on the earthen floor on loose jute and a mat made of jute spread on it. He wears the same cloth he did on the day of death for twelve days. Every day after bathing, the same cloth is allowed to dry on his body. No other cloth is worn during the mourning period. After three or twelve days when the buried bone is brought back home he is allowed to sleep on the bedstead or on the 'machang' and allowed to use his own bedding. But his cloth is not to be changed. On the twelfth day a village barber is called, the head is shaved and purification ceremony of the body in the burning ghat

is performed and then his cloth is changed. An Odhikary or a Kamrupi Brahman takes some water, a cowrie, a piece, of fresh turmeric a few dub grass (*Argeſtis tinearis*), a little cowdung, one copper piece and some unboiled milk in a dhona, utters some montros and sprinkles water on him. The barber receives the old cloth. The priest is paid from annas four to rupees two. The other sons of the dead are not to observe the mourning with equal rigour. They desist from eating fish, meat, mustard oil or any curry prepared with mustard oil and per-boiled rice for thirteen days.

The widow observes mourning for thirteen days with her sons and breaks off the bangles on the second day of the death of her husband. In some villages west of the river Tista, the conch shell bangles are taken out immediately after the death of her husband and placed on the bier.

The bier-carriers observe mourning for three days and abstain from fish or meat. On the third day they go to the cremation ground to perform the Kangh naman ceremony. They are led to the river or the pond near the cremation ground, they stand or sit in the water, if it is shallow, in a circle till the water reaches upto the neck. A rope is passed round their necks. All of them hold in the centre a small earthen pitcher (*khuſi*) containing some unboiled milk and sun-dried rice just above the water. The odhikary or the Kamrupi Brahman utters some montros. When the recital is over, the pitcher is let into the water, the men dip their heads into the water, throw away the rope and then rise up and come out. Then their heads are shaved. They again bathe, a little water is poured on the three offerings to the departed soul by the son who lit the pyre, and come back purified.

When a mother dies her children do not drink milk or take curd. When a father dies his children do not eat ripe plantain during the period of mourning.

A peculiar custom was observed in a village in Rajgunj of Jalpaiguri district. The deceased had two sons. Both of them observed mourning on the first day. The first one observed mourning for the first three days. On the fourth day the 'uturi' that is the piece of the cloth brought from the cremation ground was handed over to the second son who suspended it from his neck and observed mourning up to the twelfth day. In the meantime the first son led a normal life. Thus the mourning rite was divided amongst the sons. If the deceased has three sons it is divided equally amongst them. The writer is informed that such custom is commonly found in Sadar and Rajgunj police station areas of Jalpaiguri and in Siliguri Sub-division of Darjeeling.

On the tenth day, ten offerings are made to the dead in the cremation ground by the son who observes mourning.

On the twelfth day, the son in mourning goes to the cremation ground (*mòsan*). The *uturi* that was round the neck is thrown away. It is done in the following manner. An earthen pitcher is taken and a fish curry with mustard oil and turmeric is cooked by the *Pòramònik* that is the head-man of the *Pònch* (*Pòis*). The son is asked to take a dip in the river or pond. As soon as his head goes under water he throws away the *uturi* and the *Pòramònik* breaks the pitcher over his head. The son invariably raises his head a little away from the place where he took the dip. No body could say the significance of this rite but all asserted that this should be done.

Then his head is shaved. He bathes again. Twelve offerings of rice, milk, ripe plantain and sweets are arranged on twelve leaves of *pakri* (*Ficus religiosa*) tree and offered to the deceased.

Then the soul of the deceased is made to go over to the other side of the river or the pond. A *dhòna* is taken in which are placed flattened rice (*chura*), curd, ripe plantain and treacle (*gud*). The *dhòna* is carried by the son to the other side of the river or the pond, it is covered with a piece of new cloth, a mustard oil lamp is lighted on it. The son at once goes away without looking back at it, and he goes home direct. By this the soul of the dead is made to leave the village and go wherever it likes and eats the food given for his passage.

The twelfth day ceremony in the cremation ground is called *Khaur*. The word is probably derived from Bengali word *Kheudi*, meaning shaving.

Thus ends the rites in the cremation ground.

After returning home from the cremation ground the son touches the tail of a black cow calf and again performs a body purification rite. Then all other son become 'clean'. The latter is done by the *Kshatriya Rajbansis*.

Sraddha Ceremony

On the thirteenth day the Baitarani-rite is performed in the house of the deceased. A small drain is dug in the outer yard of the house, it is filled with water, some live fishes are let into it. An *Ògròdani* Brahman (a brahman of lower order than the priest) is called. He conducts a *Sraddha* with sun-dried rice, ripe plantains and sweets. Some bits of gold and silver, if the party can afford it, are added to the gift. A black heifer is also presented. The offering is made to the departed soul and so ancestors up to three ascending generations on the father's and mother's side if they are dead. After the *Sraddha* the heifer is made to cross the drain, the son holding the tail, and shouting *Hori bol*. Thus the Baitarani is crossed. The Baitarani is supposed to be like the river Water Ski-ing. The Brahman receives the articles and the heifer. The ceremony is a little different from that of the caste Hindus, where the functioning priest is not an *Ògròdani* Brahman.

Poor people who cannot afford the cost of this rite, avoid it.

Sradh (Sraddha)

On the thirteenth day after the Baitarani ceremony, a Kamrupi Brahman or an Odhikari officiates in the performance of gifts for the departed soul (Danadi) and the first prayer for the peace of the departed soul Adya Sraddha. The son who lit the pyre performs these ceremonies. Sixteen receptacles of plantain stem (dhona) are made. In each of them are kept some sundried rice, a ripe plantain with its skin peeled off and some treacle or sugar. These are kneaded together and made into lumps called pinda. These pindas are offered to the departed soul and to the three ascending generations on the father's and mother's side.

Sitli Seva

On the fourteenth day or sometimes on the thirteenth day after the Adya Sraddha, another ceremony is performed, which is supposed to be equivalent to fourteen monthly 'offerings' made in advance. Then the Swapinda Karan and a fire worship (yajna) are done. The Swapinda Karan is done in the same way as the Sraddha. Thus the Adya Sraddha, fourteen months' monthly Sraddhas and the Swapinda Karan are all performed on the same day. This is unlike the caste Hindu Sraddha rites performed by upper castes.

In the same evening the relatives and the persons attending the funeral are feasted with rice, fish and meat and with their permission the sons and the widow observing mourning rites are allowed to eat fish and meat from that day and are also allowed to discard the mourning dress and wear their usual dress.

After the feast is over, a *Kirtan (Dhumali)* is arranged at the family shrine. Five lamps fed by mustard oil are kept on a bamboo sieve and lighted. When the music has progressed the odhikari with the kirtan party and the sons of the deceased bring the sieve to the outer yard of the house. A small hut is made in one corner of the outer yard. The place is cleaned with cowdung emulsion. The son who lit the pyre brings the sieve with the lighted lamps on his head from the inner yard and places it in the hut. The Odhikari offers a ball of sundried rice, ripe plantain and sweets to the departed soul. A cotton string is placed on the offering. The son who carried the sieve stands with his face to the north and pours some water on the rice-ball. By this it is assumed that the soul of the dead that was sleeping in the domestic shrine wakes up and goes out of the house. The men who shouldered the bier stand in a circle near the hut and the Pòramònik or head of the Pònts holds the sieve with the lighted lamps over their heads while the *kirtan* music goes on. Then the men and the sons of the deceased lie down on the earth with face towards the earth and one hand stretched towards the pinda. They remain in this stage for about five minutes until raised up from this state by the Pòramònik and the odhikari while the kirtan still continues. This is the final and the greatest respect shown to the soul that is about to leave the house for good. This is called Sitli Seva.

The writer was informed by many old people whom he met, that about forty years ago the Sraddha was performed on the third day with offerings of rice, plantain and sweets. An odhikari acted as priest. No Brahman was called. There ended the post-funeral rites. All men of the house led a normal life from the fourth day. They further stated that Baitarani ceremony and all other paraphernalias of Sraddha as described above, were gradually introduced after the Kshatriya movement was started in Rangpur. Even now many Rajbansis of Rajgunj P. S. (Jalpaiguri) who have not accepted the sacred thread observe mourning for three days only and perform Sraddha in the form of Pinda-dan on the third day with feeding of Bhagi and Sagi relatives.

Consigning the bone into the Ganga

On an auspicious day as determined by the Brahman or the Panjar, within one year from the day of death, the bone buried near the basil plant is to be immersed to the Ganga either by one of the sons or by any near relative. He is sent out for the purpose. Every year a batch of pilgrims proceeds to the river Ganga with the object of consigning the bones of the dead to the river. Poor people who cannot afford the expense of a pilgrimage to the Ganga, do so in the Karatoya or the Tista which are held to be as sacred as the Ganga. After the bone is thus disposed of, a sraddha ceremony is performed on the anniversary of death, calculated by the lunar calendar. This is done only once, but repetitions are performed by more advanced 'Kshatriya' Rajbansis. This ceremony is called Dibasik sraddha.

Concept of the soul after death ~

It is the general belief that the soul of the dead loiters near the house for ten days and then departs for some distant place after the Sraddha, finally to reach the Vaikuntha-heaven-after the bone has been immersed in the Ganga or the Karatoya.

If a man dies unmarried or in case of unnatural death the soul becomes a malevolent ghost.

The soul of a bad man dying after marriage becomes Dèò and that of a great sinner or a miser becomes Surdèò. This Surdèò is said to way-lay people and suck their blood. The Surdèò remains attached to the wealth he had accumulated during his lifetime.

The soul of a wicked woman or of an unmarried girl or one who died an unnatural death, becomes a Pèttani. This Pèttani attacks a woman and causes hysteria and other mental diseases.

The soul of a dead pregnant woman or of one dying from child birth, becomes a Poiri. The Poiri has a special fascination for pregnant woman and causes anti-partum diseases.

When a woman dies with a child in the womb, she is buried with the child and a plantain tree is planted on the grave. It is believed that the soul of both of them remain in the tree and is released and goes to Vaikunṭha when the plant starts to bear fruit.

If any one dies on Tuesday or Saturday his soul is sure to become a ghost. The body of such man is slightly mutilated by cutting off a finger so that the ghost may not give trouble to the family. It is the general belief that if any one dies on Tuesday or Saturday another death will follow in the family. In order to prevent it, a plantain tree is laid beside the corpse on the bier and cremated with the dead body so that the soul of the plantain tree may keep company with the soul of the dead man and prevent it from hankering after another soul.

These spirits are believed to reside in some particular trees e.g. Seora (*Streblas asper* lout), Chatim (*Alstonia Scholaris*, Dita), Jalpai (Olive tree), Tetul (Tamarind tree, *Tamarinda Indica* Linn), etc.

The soul of a good man becomes Dèbta and that of a woman becomes Ai-dèbti. These souls go to Vaikunṭha—heaven directly.

The bad spirits also get a chance to go to Vaikunṭha if the bone of the dead is immersed in the Ganga or an offering (pindo) is given in Gaya (a place of pilgrimage in Behar State, India). Every year batches of Rajbansis make a pilgrimage to Gaya to offer 'pindo' for the deliverance of the departed soul from earthly bondage.



A 'Chil' in a 'Mosan'

Chapter VI

Social Relations

Family and village head :

Social solidarity is maintained in a simple but primitive manner among the Rajbansis. This is true of any village in North Bengal irrespective of the nature of persons living there.

The oldest man or woman of a family is the head whom everybody is expected to obey. Headmen of the families in a village function as a village panchayet (court) and dispose of village problems. The biggest land-lord (deunia or giri) acts as chairman. As soon as a dispute or a problem arises he summons the panchayet (pongy). The meeting place is generally the outer yard of his house. No woman may attend in the 'panchayet.

Village acts as one unit :

There are occasions when all the villagers work as one unit. In case of community hunting (Bisua, Bisoba), community fishing in shallow water (baho mara), marriage, funeral rites and co-operative tilling of land (nauli), the order of the village panchayet is obeyed by every one. At the present moment the Government have set up village defence parties mainly to prevent theft and robbery. Some of the young men have enlisted themselves and they work under the direction of a commander selected from amongst them. (Creation of Gram Panchayat under West Bengal Panchayat Act of 1957 has given further impetus to the village people).

Grouping :

Although the Rajbansis are divided into Paruas they do not by any means form separate classes living in separate and isolated groups. Each family belongs to one parua class.

Acquiring and losing membership :

When a male member of the Rajbansi family marries a Mech, Koch, Dhimal or a caste-Hindu girl, the bride becomes a Rajbansi. Conversely, if a Rajbansi girl is married to a male member of the above tribes or castes she is no longer a Rajbansi and belongs henceforth to the tribe or caste of her husband. If any Rajbansi adopts any religion other than Hinduism, he or she is no longer considered to be a Rajbansi.

Recently a question arose in a border village of Rajgunj P. S. Jalpaiguri (name of the village and the persons concerned are avoided at the request of the party), where a Rajbansi girl was forcibly taken away to Pakistan by a Mohammedan. She was returned after three years with two children in arms born there. A village Panchayet decided the case as follows :-

The children were declared as Muslim as they were begotten by a Muslim father. Their mother did not accept the new faith and so she was allowed to remain as Rajbansi. A young Rajbansi consented to marry her and she was married in Panchayat form. The children had to pass through some rituals to be reconverted into Hinduism before they were accepted by the new husband of their mother. The children then became Rajbansis. Such cases do occur and the society is very liberal in this matter.

Social Structure

Family :

A poor Rajbansi cultivator has a simple family. Adult members live in separate huts. The landlords, jotedars or mulandars having more than ten acres of land generally prefer a compound family where the old parents, grown-up children, ghordzi¹ and one or two wives live in one house but in separate huts. This is due to economic reasons. The greater the number of adults, the greater is the advantage in cultivation works where each member contributes his or her labour. The widowed sisters if they do not prefer to be married again and orphans (mao-khai, bap-khai choa) are allowed to live in the family. Half siblings (dhokar bēṭa, dhokar beṭi) if they prefer, also live in the family. A fairly well-to-do cultivator's homestead is thus found to consist of many huts to accommodate the members of his large family. Joint family or extended family under the authority of one head is found in the villages.

The family is patrilinear and patrilocal with recognition of social relations with the kin on both sides (father and mother). The household contains the dependent members from the father's side and sometimes from mother's side also. But other relatives come and go freely. Rarely, a married son breaks away from the family and lives elsewhere. If it is so, it is due to economic reasons when the son goes away either to till some one else's land or to seek a job.

1. Ghoardzia is house son-in-law living in his wife's house.

With the expansion of education and the new economy where a single individual becomes the sole earner on account of his occupation, big joint families are breaking down and educated people are shifting to distant towns and other places to earn their livelihood. In many cases they have abandoned their ancestral homes and settled in their places of earning. The cultivation in such cases, instead of being under personal supervision, is entrusted to other people either of his family or to paid agents.

A random survey of the members of a few families of Sarkarpara and Barhamtol villages of Rajgunj P. S. of Dt. Jalpaiguri was taken in December 1958 to ascertain the number of adults and children. It was observed that the number of female children is higher than that of the males. Members above the age of 18 were recorded as adults and those below 18 as children.

Families

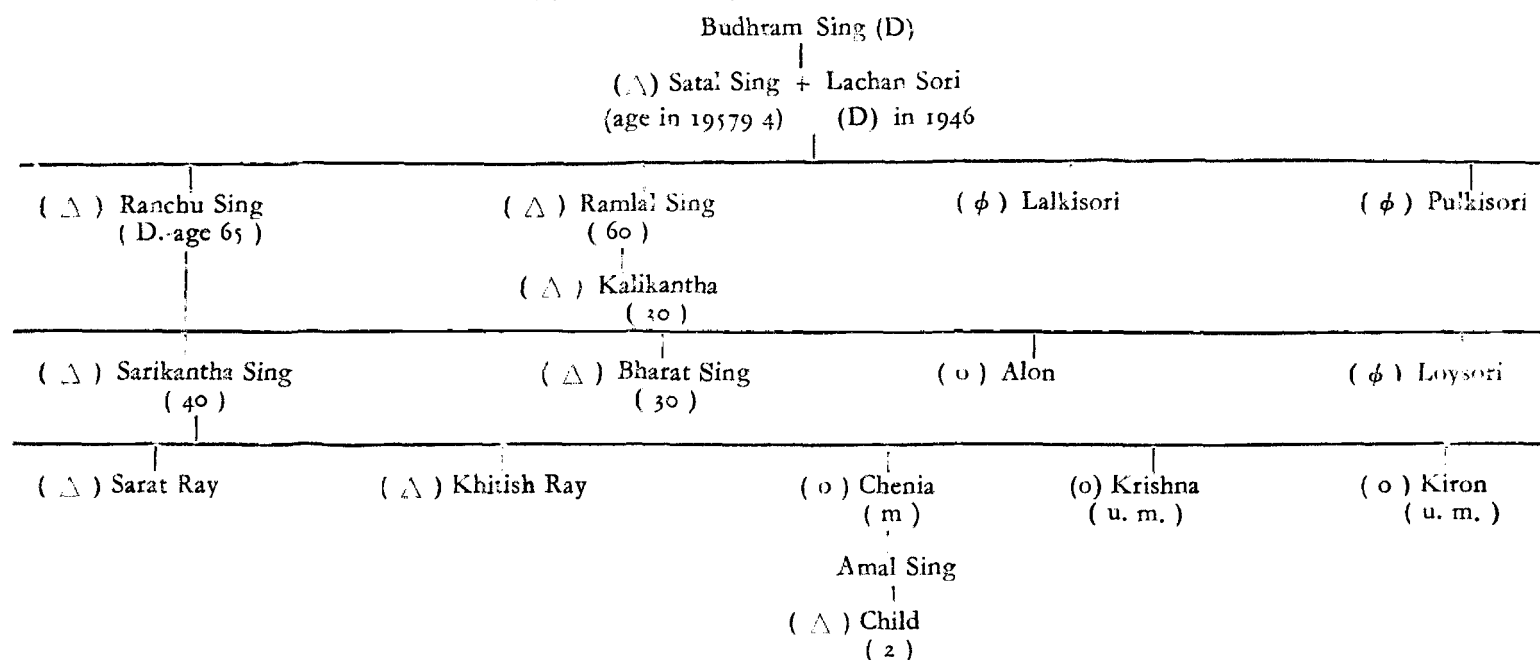
1. B. Sing family :-
Joint family with brothers ; Head man - B. Sing (age - 45) ;
Total population - 17.
Adults :- males - 2 (age - 45,36)
 females - 4 (age - 70, mother of B. Sing ; 38,32,30)
Children :- males - 6 (age - 16,12,10,8,6,2)
 females - 5 (age - 14,11,9,7,4)
2. M. Ray family :-
Joint family with married and unmarried sons :
Head man - M. Ray (age-60) :
Total population - 8.
Adults :- males - 3 (age - 60,30,18)
 females - 2 (age - 46,24)
Children :- male - 1 (age - 2)
 females - 2 (age - 12,8)
3. S. Ray family :-
Single family : Head man - S. Ray (age - 40)
Total population - 5.
Adults :- male - 1
 female - 1
Children :- females - 3
4. J. Ray family :-
Single family : Head man - J. Ray (age - 30).
Total population - 5.
Adults :- male - 1
 female : 1
Children - male - 1
 females - 2
5. U. Ray family :-
Extended family : All brothers living in the same house with
 separate kitchens : Head man - U. Ray (age - 40).
Total population - 15.
Adults :- males - 3
 females - 4
Children :- males - 2
 females - 6
6. D. Mohon family :-
Joint family with married sons :
Head man - D. Mohon (age - 55) ;
Total population - 5
Adults :- males - 2
 females - 2
Children :- female - 1

Genealogical Tables

Ref :- (Δ) - male, (o) - female, (D) - died after marriage, (m) - married (u.m)-unmarried, (X : φ)-died unmarried, (+) married to.
Figures within brackets refer to age of the person.

(1)

(1) Village - Goghomari, Terai, Darjeeling.



All excepting the married daughters live in one house. Kalikantho, the informant, called Budhram his Jetho (Dzetho) and referred to him as Jetho (Dzetho), calls Satal as Dado and refers to him as Bara baba, calls Ramlal as Ba and refers to him as Baba, calls Sarikantha as Dada and refers to him as Jethor (Dzethor) bēta bhai, calls Sarat as Nati and refer to him as Nati, calls Chenia's son as Bau and refers to him as Po-nati.

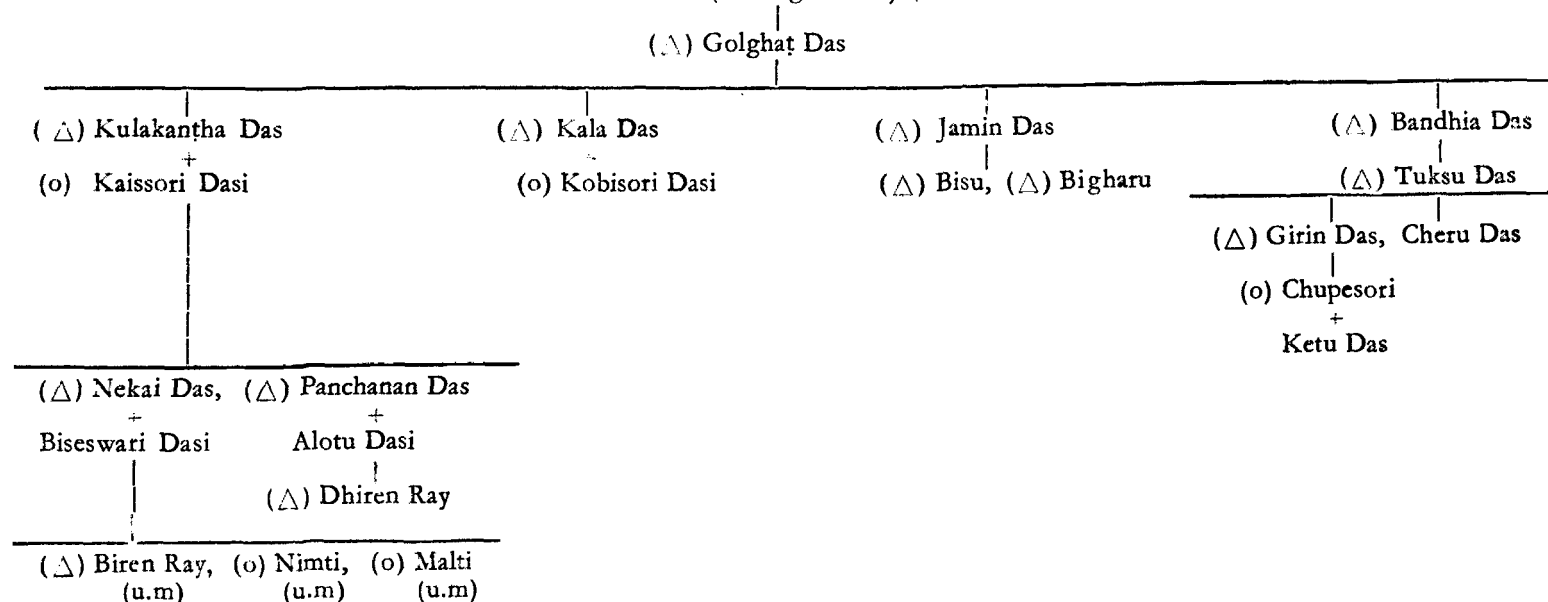
Sarat, another informant, calls Alon as 'Pisai and refers to her as Paisai.

(Note the gradual change of surname and tendency to adopt modern South Bengali names).

(2)

Village - Parkata, Dist. - Jalpaiguri

Goal Das (was a ghòrdzia) (D)



All are living in the same house.

Dhiren refers to Panchandn as ba or baba, to Kulakanth as dado, to Golghat as Jetho (Dzetho), to Goal Das as bdr̥ jetho (Dzetho).

Biren refers to Dhiren as jethor b̥ta bhai and Dhiren refers to Biren as kakar b̥ta bhai.

Bigharu refers to Kala Das as jetho (dzetho), to Kulakantha as bdr̥ jetho (dzetho), to Bandhia Das as Khura or kaka, to Kobisori as jethor beṭi boin.

(3)

Village—Patkata, Dist.—Jalpaiguri

Biren Singh Das (D. age 35)

Dhendu Das (100)

<div style="display: flex; justify-content: space-around;"> <div style="text-align: center;"> \div 1st. wife—Maidhoni Dasi (widow remarried) \div (Δ) Khokon Sing Ray (47) </div> <div style="text-align: center;"> \div 2nd. wife—Helaya Dasi (virgin married) \div </div> </div>	
<div style="display: flex; justify-content: space-around;"> <div style="text-align: center;"> \div 1st. wife—Simon Dasi \div (Δ) Khirode Ray </div> <div style="text-align: center;"> \div 2nd. wife—Tulsi Dasi \div Two sons, one daughter </div> </div>	

All living in the same house.

The writer was informed that Khokon Sing being the son of a widow remarried was not accepted as legitimate until Dhendu married Helaya a virgin girl.

Khirode calls Simon as ai and refers to her as mao.

(4)

Village—Dhupguri, Dist.—Jalpaiguri

Chemaru Das

(Δ) Naṭu Barman (He became Barman after taking the sacred thread).

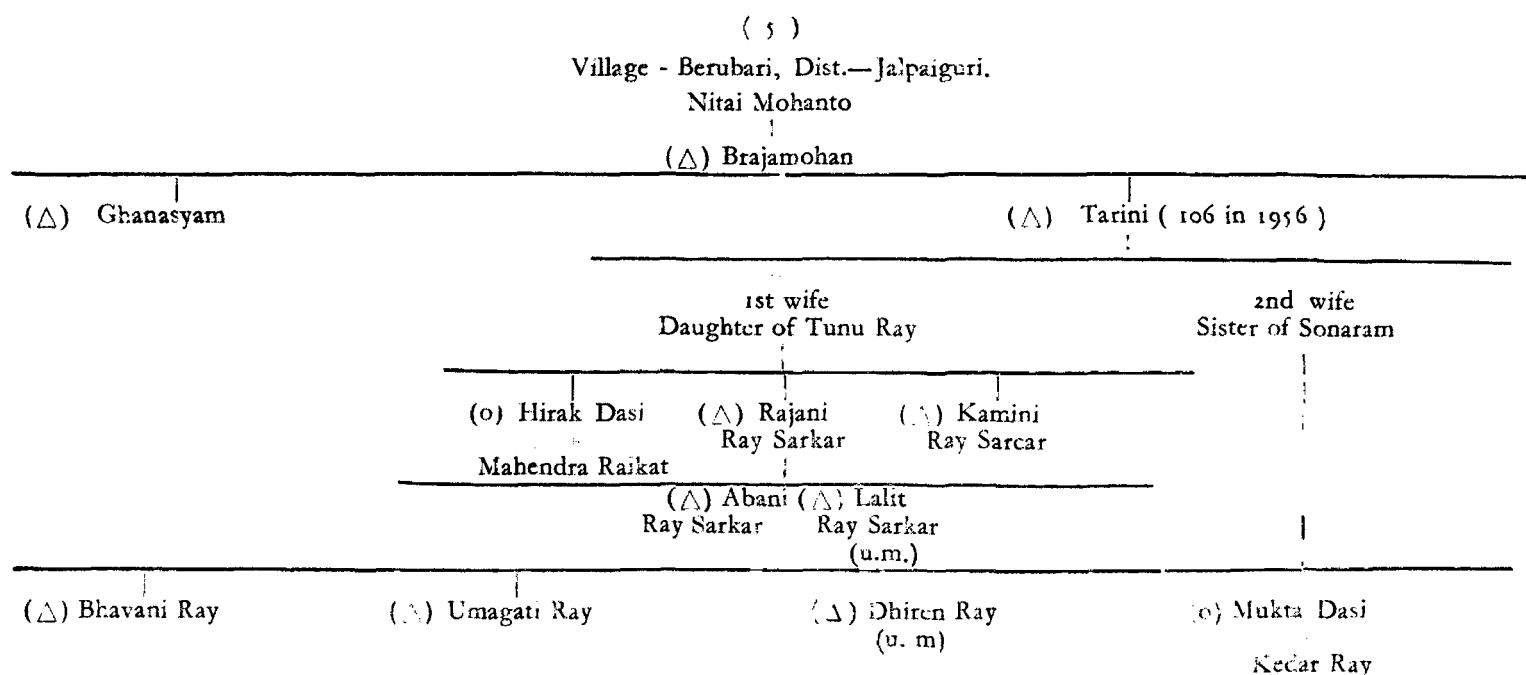
(Δ) Dineswar Barman

<div style="display: flex; justify-content: space-around;"> <div style="text-align: center;"> \div 1st. wife—Hiddesori, \div (Δ) Digin Barman. </div> <div style="text-align: center;"> \div 2nd wife—Sbnjabati, \div </div> <div style="text-align: center;"> \div 3rd wife—a widow, \div </div> <div style="text-align: center;"> \div 4th wife—Kiranbala (widow) </div> </div>			
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All are living in the same house.

Dineswar refers to Chemaru as dada, to Naṭu as ba or baba, Kiranbala has no child by Dineswar. A son by her former husband aged six is living with the brother of her former husband.

(127)



All excepting the married daughters are living together.

Analysis of the terms of relationship

The Rajbansis of North Bengal use some terms which are widely different from the standard Colloquial Bengali (S.C.B.) terms e.g.

The equivalent of mother which in S. C. B. is ma is termed by the Rajbansis as ai or ai-a, 'mother's mother' which in S.C.B. is aji-ma is termed as abo. But 'mother's father' which in S.C.B. is aja is termed asaju or adzu; 'father's mother' which in S.C.B. is thakurma is termed as ai or bōrai (bōrb-ai) literally meaning bōrb-ma (elder mother).

In case of brothers, the second brother which in S.C.B. is called mejo is termed as madz-kila or mats-kila. The equivalent of S.C.B. sejo is not to be found in Rajbansi terms. It is expressed as choṭo-madz-kila. Elder brother's wife which in S.C.B. is boudidi is termed as bhodzi or bhaudz (ভোজী, ভাউজ). The latter expression is also found in many districts of East Bengal. But most of the Rajbansis use the term bhodzi. Younger brother's wife' which is expressed in S.C.B. as bou-ma is termed as bhausani (ভাউসানী) by the Rajbansis.

Wife is expressed in S.C.B. as bou or stri, but the Rajbansi term is mai-a, bonush, ghorni, girthani, giththani (গিথানী). It is difficult to make out how the word mai-a is used for wife where the word mai is referred to daughters or such like relations. It may be the honorific expression as in S.C.B. where the word tini or uni is used while referring to wife. The word 'bonush' may be an equivalent of S.C.B. word bou. The word girthani or giththani appear to be an equivalent of S. C. B. word grihini meaning the manager of the house.

Husband is termed as bhatar. This term is also used in many parts of Bengal. It probably means the man who feeds and maintains. The woman whose husband is living is called in S.C.B. as sōdhōba, but the Rajbansi term is bhatatti (ভাততি), or bhatari (ভাতারী). A widow in S.C.B. is called bidhaba, but the Rajbansi term is ari or adi (আরি; আড়ি), modern Rajbansi term is bidhua which nearly approaches S.C.B. term. Adult unmarried daughter in S.C.B. is called kumari, but the Rajbansi term is a-kuari, a-koari, a-kumari. The prefix a may be an abbreviation of ai meaning mother as affectionately called mother-daughter. Little daughters are addressed as ma or mai (mother).

Another peculiar term used by the Rajbansis of this area is bōrdhōna (বর্ধনা) meaning husband's or wife's elder brother which in S.C.B. is named as bhasur and bōrb sala or sōmhōndhi respectively.

Son-in-law of any description is S.C.B. in called jamai but here it is called dūṭai or dūṭoi; nasalisation is there always.

Elder brother's wife's father is called Sosur bap probably indicating that at certain time he may be the Sosur (father-in-law). This term is very significant.

Adult unmarried son is called dhēna, a like term is never found in S.C.B. There are other terms of similar nature e.g. son's friend's father is Songra and mother is sungri, the friend's son is 'sōmōn bōṭa' and the daughter is Sōmōn beti. The word may be sōmōn or sōman, meaning 'equal to' or 'equivalent to'.

The other terms of kinship are nearly the same as the terms used in East Bengal with slight regional variations. (As usual 'j' is pronounced as 'dz' in the terms of relationship).

*It may be an expression similar to dhenga (tall) of S.C.B.

Plate XIV
RAJBANSIS (Features)



BHOJA DAS (front)



BHOJA DAS (profile)



Bhoja's Wife MALANI



MALANI (profile)



A COUPLE TO THE TOWN



WIFE'S PROFILE

Plate XV
RAJBANSIS (Features)



SATAL SINGH—age 96



Satal's daughter—ALON (married)



Satal's Grand daughter KIRON BALA (u.m.)



PROFILE VIEW



TARINI PANCHAYET—age 106

Rajbansi Terms of Relationship

TABLE I

Relations through father

<i>Terms of Relationship</i>	<i>Kinship</i>	<i>Terms of address</i>	<i>Terms of reference</i>
1. Father	Bap	Ba, Bapo, Ba-ge, Baba	Bap
2. Step-father (married)	Dhokor-bap	Ba	Dhokor-bap
3. Widow's second husband (not regularly married)	Dangua	Dangua	Dangua
4. Woman's man (Unmarried husband)	Dhemna	Dhem-na	Dhem-na
5. Father's elder brother (general)	Jeṭho, Dzēṭho	Jeṭho, Dzēṭho	Jeṭho, Dzēṭho
6. Father's eldest brother	Bòrò-Jeṭho, Bòrò-dzēṭho	Bòrò-Jeṭho, Bòrò-dzēṭho	Bòrò-Jeṭho, Bòrò-dzēṭho
7. Father's second elder brother	Mashkila-Jeṭho, Mackila-dzēṭho, Madzkila-dzēṭho	Jeṭho, Dzēṭho	Jeṭho, Dzēṭho
8. Father's younger brother	Khura	Kaka	Khura
9. Father's youngest brother	Choṭo-Khura	-do-	Choṭo-khura
10. Father's elder brother's wife	Jeṭhai, Dzēṭhai	Jeṭhai, Dzēṭhai	Jeṭhai, Dzēṭhai
11. Father's younger brother's wife	Khurai, Kaki	Khurai, Kaki	Khurai
12. Father's sister	Pisai, Pisai	Pisai	Pisai
13. Father's younger sister	-do-	-do-	-do-
14. Father's elder sister	-do-	-do-	-do-
15. Father's younger sister's husband	Pisa	Pisa	Pisa
16. Father's elder sister's husband	-do-	-do-	-do-
17. Father's elder brother's son	Jeṭhor-bēṭa-bhai, Dzēṭhor-bēṭa-bhai	Dada (if elder) ; Bhai or By name (if younger)	Jeṭhor-bēṭa-bhai, Dzēṭhor-bēṭa-bhai
18. Father's younger brother's son	Kakar-bēṭa-bhai	-do-	Kakar-bēṭa-bhai
19. Father's elder sister's son	Bòro-pisar-bēṭa-bhai	-do-	Pisar-bēṭa-bhai
20. Father's younger sister's son	Choto-pisar-bēṭa-bhai	-do-	-do-
21. Father's elder sister's daughter	Pisai-er-beṭi bohini (bohini)	Bai ; Didi (if elder) Mai (if younger) or by name	Pisai-er-beṭi bohini (bohini)
22. Father's younger sister's daughter	-do-	-do-	-do-
23. Father's elder brother's daughter	Jeṭhor-beṭi-bohin (bohini), Dzēṭhor-beṭi-bohini	-do-	Jeṭhor-beṭi-bohin Dzēṭhor-beṭi-bohin (bohini)
24. Father's younger brother's daughter	Kakar-beṭi-bohin, (bohini)	-do-	Kakar-beṭi-bohin (bohini)
25. Father's father	Bòrò-bapu, Dado	Bapu, Dado	Bòrò-bapu
26. Father's father's father	Jeṭho, Dzēṭho	Jeṭho, Dzēṭho	Jeṭho, Dzēṭho
27. Father's mother	Ai, Bòrai	Ai, Bòrai	Ai, Bòrai
28. Father's father's mother	Buri Jeṭhai, Buri dzēṭhai	Jeṭhai, Dzēṭhai	Jeṭhai, Dzēṭhai
29. Father's son's son's son	Pa-nati, Gu-nati, Pota	Bau	Pa-nati, Gu-nati, pota
30. Father's son's son's daughter	Pa-natini, Gu-natini, Poti	Mai	Pa-natini, Gu-natini, poti
31. Son's friend's father	Shongra	Shongra	Shongra

TABLE II

Relations through the mother

<i>Terms of relationship</i>	<i>Terms of kinship</i>	<i>Terms of address</i>	<i>Terms of reference</i>
1. Mother	Mao, Ai, Ai-a	Ai, Mao	Mao, Ai
2. Mother's elder sister	Bðro-Mosi, Bðro-Mousi	Mosi, Mousi	Mosi, Mousi
3. Mother's elder sister's husband	Bðro-mousa, Mousa	Mousa, Mosa	Bðro Mousa
4. Mother's younger sister	Chofo-Mosi	Mosi, Mousi	Mosi
5. Mother's younger sister's husband	Mousa, Mosa	Mousa, Mosa	Mousa
6. Mother's { (a) Son	Masir-bèta-bhai	Dada (if elder)	Masir-bèta-bhai
Sister's { (b) Daughter	Mosir-beṭi-bohin or (bohini)	Bhai (if younger) Bai (if elder) by name (if younger)	Mosir-beṭi-bohin or bohini
7. Mother's { Elder—	Bðro mama	Mama, Mamu	Bðro-mama
Brother { Younger—	Chofo-mama	- do -	Chofo-mama
8. Mother's brother's wife	Mami	Mami	Mami
9. Mother's { (a) son—	Mamar-bèta-bhai	Dada (if elder)	Mamar-bèta-bhai
Brother's { (b) daughter—	Mamar-beṭi-bohin or (bohini)	Bhai (if younger) Bai (if elder) by name (if younger)	Mamar-beṭi-bohin or bohini
10. Mother's father	Aju, Adzu	Aju, Adzu	Aju, Adzu
11. Mother's father's father	Jeṭho, Dzeṭho	Jeṭho, Dzeṭho	Jeṭho, Dzeṭho
12. Mother's father's father's wife	Jeṭhai, Dzeṭhai	Jeṭhai, Dzeṭhai	Jeṭhai, Dzeṭhai
13. Mother's mother	Abo	Abo	Abo
14. Son's friend's mother	Shungri	Shungri	Shungri

TABLE III

Relations through the Brother and Sister

<i>Terms of relationship</i>	<i>Terms of kinship</i>	<i>Terms of address</i>	<i>Terms of reference</i>
1. Brother	Bhai	Bhai	Bhai
2. Elder brother	Bðro-bhai	Dada	Bðro-bhai
3. Second elder brother	Bðro-majkila, (Madzkila)	-do-	Bðro-majkila (Madzkila)
4. Third elder brother	Chofo-majkila, (Madzkila)	-do-	Chofo-majkila (Madzkila)
5. Elder brother's wife	Bhoji, Bhodzi, Bhaudz	Bhoji, Bhodzi	Bhoji, Bhodzi, Bhaudz
6. Elder brother's { (a) Son—	Bhatija, Bhatidza	Bau, Bapoi	Bhatija, Bhatidza
{ (b) Daughter—	Bhatiji, Bhatidzi	Mai	Bhatiji, Bhatidzi
7. Younger brother	Chofo-bhai	Called by name	Chofo-bhai
8. Youngest brother	Shoggate-chofo-bhai	-do-	Shoggate-chofo-bhai
9. Younger brother's wife	Bhausani	Bhausani (Never called Koina-mai)	Bhausani
10. Younger brother's { (a) Son—	Bhatija, Bhatidza	Bau, Bapoi	Bhatija, Bhatidza
{ (b) Daughter—	Bhatiji, Bhatidzi	Mai	Bhatiji, Bhatidzi
11. Sister { (a) Elder	Bai, Didi	Bai	Bai
{ (b) Younger	Bohini, Bohin	Called by name	Bohin, Bohini
12. Elder Sister's { (a) Man's—	Bonu, Boina, Bohonai	Boina	Bohina or Bohonai
Husband { (b) Woman's—	Bohonai	Boina	

<i>Terms of relationship</i>	<i>Terms of kinship</i>	<i>Terms of address</i>	<i>Terms of reference</i>
13. Younger sister's { (a) Man's Husband (b) Woman's	Bonu, Boin-jǎoi, (Jǒai, Dzǒai)	Called by name	Bonu
14. Sister's (elder or { (a) Son Younger) (b) Daughter—	Bhagina	Bau	Bhagina
	Bhagini	Mai	Bhagini
15. Woman's Sister's daughter	Bhatiji, Bhatidzi	Mai	Bhatiji, Bhatidzi
16. Elder brother's wife's mother	Maoi, Mahoi	Mai, Mahoi	Maoi, Mahoi
17. Younger brother's wife's mother	Sasuri	Ma, Mao	Ma
18. Sister's husband's mother	Mahoi	Mahoi	Mahoi
19. Elder Brother's wife's father	Tahoi, Sosur-bap	Ba	Sosur-bap, Tahoi
20. Younger brother's wife's father	Sosur	Ba	Ba, Baba
21. Sister's husband's father	Sosur	Ba	Ba, Baba
22. Sister's son's son	Nati	Bau, Nèndo	Nati
23. Sister's daughter's son	-do-	-do-	-do-
24. Sister's son's daughter's husband	Natini Jǒ-ai (dzǒ-ai, dzǎ-oi)	-do-	Natini-jǒ-ai, (dzǒ-ai, dzǎ-oi)
25. Sister's son's daughter's daughter	Natini	Mai	Natini

TABLE IV

Relations through the wife of a man

<i>Terms of relationship</i>	<i>Terms of kinship</i>	<i>Terms of address</i>	<i>Terms of reference</i>
1. Wife	Mai-a, Bonush, Ghòrni	Giththani, mother of so and so.	Mai-a, Bonush, Ghòrni
2. Wife's brother { elder— younger—	Bòrdhòna	Dada, Ano	Bòrdhòna
	Sala	Called by name	Sala
3. Wife's { (a) elder brother's wife— (b) younger brother's wife—	Bhoji, Bhodzi Jèth Salar bonush	Didi	Bhoji, Bhodzi
	Salar bonush	Mai	Salar Bonush
4. Wife's brother's { (a) son— (b) daughter—	Bhatija, Bhatidza	Bau	Bhatija, Bhatidza
	Bhatiji, Bhatidzi	Mai	Bhatiji, Bhatidzi
5. Wife's elder sister	Jeithani, Dzeithani	Bai, Didi	Jeithani, Dzeithani
6. Wife's elder sister's husband	Jèth-poit, Dzèth-poit	Dada-ge	Jèth-poit, Dzèth-poit
7. Wife's elder sister's { son— daughter—	Bhagina	Bau, Bapoi	Bhagina
	Bhagini	Mai	Bhagini
8. Wife's younger sister	Sali	Mai, by name	Sali
9. Wife's younger sister's husband	Salpoit	Salpoit	Salpoit
10. Wife's younger sister's { son— daughter—	Bhagina	Bau, Bapoi	Bhagina
	Bhagini	Mai	Bhagini
11. Wife's father	Sosur	Baba, Bapu, Thakur	Sosur
12. Wife's mother	Ma, ai, sasuri	Ma	Ma, ai, Sasuri
13. Wife's son by previous husband	Dhokor-bèta	Bau	Dhokar-bèta
14. Wife's daughter by previous husband—	Dhokor-bèti	Mai	Dhokor-bèti
15. Man's unmarried wife	Dhemni	By name, addressed by teknonym	Dhemni
16. Co-wife	Sotini, Soutin, Sotoni	By name-if younger, Didi-if elder	Sotini, Soutin, Sotoni,

TABLE V

Relations through the husband of a woman

Terms of relationship	Terms of kinship	Terms of address	Terms of reference
1. Husband	Bhatar, Svami	Ei, Ge. Hay	Bhatar
2. Husband's elder brother	Bhosur, Bòrdhòna	Never addressed Sometimes-Dada	Bhosur, Bòrdhòna
3. Husband's elder brother's wife	Bòro jao (dzao)	Bai, Didi	Bòro-jao (dzao)
4. Husband's elder brother's	son — Bhatija, Bhatidza	Bau, Bapoi	Bhatija, Bhatidza
	daughter— Bhatiji, Bhatidzi	Mai	Bhatiji, Bhatidzi
5. Husband's younger brother	Dèor	By name, Dèora	Dèor, Dèora
6. Husband's younger brother's wife	Chofo-jao (dzao)	By name, mother of so and so	Chofo-jao (dzao)
7. Husband's younger brother's	son— Bhatija, Bhatidza	Bau, Bapoi	Bhatija, Bhatidza
	daughter— Bhatiji, Bhatidzi	Mai	Bhatiji, Bhatidzi
8. Husband's elder sister	Nonodi	Didi, Bai	Nonodi
9. Husband's elder sister's husband	Jethpoit, Dzèthpoit	Dada	Jethpoit, Dzèthpoit
10. Husband's younger sister	Nonodi	By name, mother of so and so	Nonodi
11. Husband's younger sister's husband	Salpoit	By name	Salpoit
12. Husband's sister's	son— Bhagina	Bau	Bhagina
	daughter— Bhagini	Mai	Bhagini
13. Husband's father	Sosur	Baha, Bapu, Thakur	Sosur
14. Husband's mother	Sasuri	Nā, Ai	Sasuri

TABLE VI

Relations through the son

Terms of relationship	Terms of kinship	Terms of address	Terms of reference
1. Son	Bèta	Bau, Bapoi	Bèta
2. Son's wife	Bohu, Bètar Bohu	Mau, Ai	Bohu, Bètar-bohu
3. Son's wife's father	Behai	Behai	Behai
4. Son's wife's mother	Behani	Behani	Behani
5. Son's son	Nati	Bau, Nèndo	Nati
6. Son's son's	son — Pa-Nati	Nèndo	Pa-Nati
	daughter — Pa-Natini	Mai	Pa-Natini
7. Son's daughter	Natini	Mai	Natini
8. Son's daughter's husband	Natini jāoi, (dzōai)	Bau	Natini Jāoi, (dzōai)
9. Son's daughter's	son — Pa-Nati, Gu-nati, Pota	Bau, Nèndo	Pa-Nati, Pota
	daughter — Pa-Natini, Gu-natini, Poti	Mai	Pa-Natini, Poti
10. Son's male friend	Sòmòn bèta	Bau	Sòmòn bèta
11. Son's woman friend or his male friend's sister	Sòmòn beṭi	Mai	Sòmòn beṭi
12. Adult unmarried son	Dhèna	By name	Dhèna

TABLE VII

Relations through the daughter

<i>Terms of relationship</i>	<i>Terms of kinship</i>	<i>Terms of address</i>	<i>Terms of reference</i>
1. Daughter	Beṭi	Mai	Beṭi
2. Daughter's husband	Jāoi, Dzāoi, Dzōai	Jāoi, Dzāoi, Dzōai	Jāoi, Dzāoi, Dzōai
3. Daughter's husband's father	Behai	Behai	Behai
4. Daughter's husband's mother	Behani	Behani	Behani
5. Daughter's son	Nati	Bau, Nèndo	Nati
6. Daughter's daughter	Natini	Mai	Natini
7. Daughter's daughter's husband	Natini-Jāoi (Dzōai)	Bau	Ntini-Jāoi, (Dzōai)
8. Adult unmarried daughter	Akuari, Akoari, Akumari	Mai	Akuari, Akumari
9. Daughter with husband living	Bhatatti mai, Bhatari mai	Mai, Mao	Bhatatti, Bhatari

Chapter VII

Religious beliefs and practices.

The Rajbansis worship nature gods and goddesses such as the goddess of rivers, god of the forest etc. They worship ghosts e.g. *bhuts*, *pettenis*, and make offerings to them for their propitiation. They are essentially Saivas but the impact of Saktism, Vaisnavism, Buddhism, Tantrism have produced a curious blend in their religious usages. They believe in witchcraft, they worship Siva (Mahakal), Bisahari (Bisohori—Snake goddess), Durga, Kali, Lakshmi (Than-Sri), they worship Narayan, Visnu, the sacred basil plant and take part in kirtans, they perform Dharma-thakur puja, Chandi puja and also take part in Goroknather gan, they worship their ancestors (Sradh). They formerly worshipped Sij (Cactus) representing Bisahari (Bisohori), but this has now been largely abandoned. They also believe in transmigration of soul.

Their religious practices are in common, in a great measure, with those of the Upper-Caste Hindus in East and North Bengal, the Kacharis, the Meches and the Anams. The more and backward illiterate members of the Rajbansi caste still maintain practices inconsistent with orthodox Hindu beliefs.

Their female gods are said to be of pre-Aryan origin. It is found in the Tantras that some forms of Sakta cult were imported into the religious system of the Aryans from China. When the Sakta Cult came to be recognised by the Indo-Aryans, they raised it into a highly refined and spiritual faith, sanskritised its vocabulary and Aryanised its mode of worship. It was after a great struggle that the Aryan worshippers could be persuaded to accept female gods for worship, and the story of the fight between Manasa Devi and Chand Sawdagar appears to be a pointer. This story is very popular in this area of North Bengal.

Divine orders :-

There are certain divine orders amongst the Rajbansis who are respected and held in high esteem by the people.

The village Priest :-

He is called Odhikary. In some sense his office is hereditary. He lives like a common man by agriculture. He officiates in religious festivals when necessary. Some of them have abandoned the profession but retain the surname Odhikary.

The Odhikary belongs to two classes :-

(1) Pad-dhari :-

Par-dhari, Paṭ-dhari, Cbkrḍdhari, Godian. These are the different names by which he is called. He is the priest of the first order. He conducts marriage, *sradh*, *seva* and *puja*. He can initiate disciples. His credential is that he possesses a copper Cbkrḍ or is authorised to prepare a Cbkrḍ.

(2) Kantulsi :-

He works as an assistant to a Pad-dhari for some years. When the Pad-dhari is satisfied that he has acquired some proficiency his teacher puts a sacred basil leaf (*Ocymum Sanctum*) on his ear. Then he is allowed to work independently and may perform rituals in the shrine in the absence of a Pad-dhari. He belongs to the Second Order of the priests and is also respected. He also lives by cultivation.

(3) *Doesi* : He performs worship in the temples.

(4) *Deori* : He works as an assistant in a temple.

(5) *Deodha* : He is the mouthpiece of the goddess. He does not eat fish and meat. He performs *homa* or fire-sacrifice and other Tantric rites belonging to Tantrism. Sometimes he is possessed of a goddess and answers question that are claimed to have come from the goddess herself.

Dèodha may also belong to Hari caste.

Now-a-days the Assamese Brahmins are taking the place of those priests. They have little education but they try to follow Brahmanistic rites and utter mantras although imperfectly.

Exorcists :-

They are not strictly priests but their assistance is sought in times of trouble when the influence of an evil spirit is suspected. They belong to two classes.

(1) Dhami :—He is a Rajbansi. He is engaged to offer worship to village deities or sanctify oil or water by means of spells and use them to ward off the influence of evil spirits. A Dhami may belong to the Hari caste.

(2) Ojha :—He may or may not be a Rajbansi. He may be of the Hari caste. The word Ojha is generally pronounced as 'Òdzha' or 'Ròdzha'. He belongs to a higher class of exorcists. He is engaged to exorcise powerful evil spirits and to perform necessary worship.

Images.

It was learnt from the old people of the villages that formerly all the images of the deities in the form of *Chalan* or *Mondus* or *Moura* were made with cork. This practice still exists in the remote villages. The pith of a leguminous plant of sub-group *Papilionaceae* growing in the swamps is used for the purpose. The plants are about eight to ten feet high and the submerged portion of the stem swells up and attains a diameter of one and a half inches. The writer examined some plants to verify this. Before using, the plants are uprooted and kept in shade for a few days. Then the roots and the above-water portion of the stem are cut off. The skin of the swollen portion is stripped off with a sharp knife and the pith is sized into required shape. This plant is called *solar gach*.

Clay images were first made about forty years ago. Some men called Mali of Hari class took up this work in addition to making the cork images. The clay images made for the writer's house at that time had invariably flat noses. The lion of the Durga looked like a tiger, as they had no idea of a lion. The Kali image made for the Rajbansis did not stand on Mahadev nor was her tongue protruded. But in the writer's house the Malis (image maker) were taught to make the images like those found in other parts of Bengal, that is, in which Kali stood on the prostrate body of Mahadev with her tongue protruded. Probably due to the influence of the Bengalis from the south, at present many of the clay images have the conventional features of the images as in other parts of Bengal.

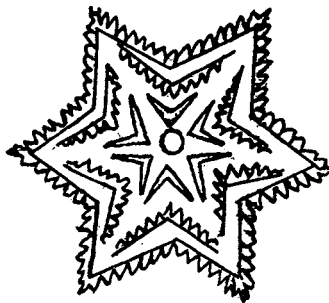
The Rituals of Worship.

Seva :-

This type of the *puja* is done at the *Thakurbari* (*Tulsi tola*) that is at the place where the sacred basil is planted. A priest (Odhikary) either of *Còkròdhari* or *Kantulsi* class is called to perform the *puja*. This is the *puja* of Narayan or *Mòddònmòhò* or Krishna who are worshipped as the symbol of Lord Visnu.

The requisites of the *puja* are as follows :

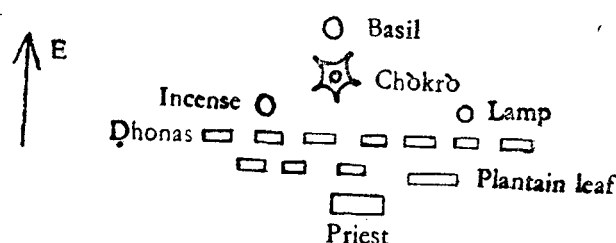
1. One *Còkrò* or discus (if a *Còkròdhari* performs the *puja*) of copper supplied by the priest, or when it is not available a plantain leaf cut in the form of a discus is used. The shape of the discus is nearly as follows :-



When a *Kantulsi* priest performs the worship there is no discus.

2. Ten pots made out of plantain stem called *dhona*.
3. Nine ripe plantains of which one must be of the *Malbhog* and eight other *Athia kèla* (S.C.B.-Bica kòla) variety.
4. Sundried rice, incense, an earthen lamp (*gècha*), honey, curd, green areca nuts, betel leaves, flowers, *bael* (aegle-marmelos) leaves and basil leaves.

The discus is placed on a piece of plantain leaf at the foot of the basil plant. The *Dhonas* are arranged in front of the seat of the priest as under :-



Dhona for :—

1. Brahma
2. Bishnu
3. Sannyasi (Mahadev)
- 4-5. Thakur (Preceptor)
6. Baisnav
7. Manasa
8. Kali
9. Betel and areca

1. The writer was informed in Cooch-Bihar by a very senior Rajbansi lawyer that long ago the Maharaja of Cooch-Bihar used to confer a copper *Còkro* to some educated men and authorised them to act as priests. Their descendants are using the *Còkro* although many of them do not possess the proficiency of their ancestors.

The priest sits facing east. The incense burns. The lamp is lighted. Into one Dhona pure water, flower, bael and basil (woodapple) leaves are placed. The single Dhona on the left contains two betel leaves, a few green areca nuts in shell.

Into the other Dhonas rice, plantain, curd and sweets are placed. There is no music in this puja. The priest starts the puja. He places flower, bael leaves in each Dhona and sprinkles water on them while uttering incantations. The main puja is done of the discus of Vishnu. Flowers, bael and basil leaves, sweets, curd and some sun-dried rice and water are placed on the discus and also in the Dhona in front of it while uttering incantations. After the worship all members of the house present salute the discus by kneeling and touching the earth with the forehead. The water in the discus and the container is sacred and is called 'Tsònnòdmittu' (S.C.B-chòrdnamtò). It is given to all to drink. The discus is then taken out, washed, wrapped in a napkin and taken away by the priest. If the discus is cut out of a plantain leaf, it is torn off and thrown into water, lest some one inadvertently dishonours it.

This worship is performed in all ceremonial occasions and also in the sixth or ninth month of pregnancy in the house. The expectant mother is given some consecrated water to drink. This puja is also done in Ek-Kamani and Do-Kamani ceremony after the birth of a child.

Bisohori puja :-

In all ceremonies related to marriage, *Sradh*, pregnancy and child birth, worship is offered to Bisdhori Thakurani in the outer yard of the house with curd, flattened rice and ripe plantain as offering. There are two types of Bisdhori. One is *Kani-Bisohori* which is more commonly worshipped. The other is *Gitali Bisohori*. She is worshipped during a marriage ceremony. The image consists of *Beulani* (Behula), *Bala* (Lacchindar), *Godā*, *Godani*, *washerwoman*, *Siva*, fish, snakes etc. The story of 'Bisdhori' is depicted on a sheet of cork. It is called *Mer*.

Sannyasi puja :-

(Mahadev or Mahakal).

Mahadev or *Dang dhora Sannyasi* is also worshipped in all ceremonial occasions with curd, ripe plantain, flattened rice, flowers of *Datura* (*Cannabis*) and a little hemp (*ganja*).

Chauni puja :- (Tsauuni puja—চাঁউনী পূজা)

This is also called Poiri puja, that is, the worship of the female evil spirits so that they may not come and attack the expectant mother or the new-born. This worship is done when the pregnancy advances to six or nine month or when there is a case of hysteric fits in the house. A basketry tray is taken on which some sun-dried rice, ripe plantain, curd etc. are placed. The tray is then kept near the centre of the inner yard. An 'Odzha' sits near it, utters some incantations and sings songs to drive out the evil spirits, and his associates join in the song. The song sometimes continues for two to three hours. After the song the tray is taken outside the house and tied to a high branch of a neighbouring tree. It is believed that evil spirits do not venture to come up to a place from where this tray is visible.

Thakur Bosa :

If there is protracted illness in the family or a continued litigation or long-standing quarrel in the family, it is believed that the family deity has left the house in disgust. The deity is to be called back and re-installed. A Godian Odhikary priest is consulted. He is the only person who can do this. This priest comes and requires the following articles :-

(1) water from five wells (2) water from the nearest bathing ghat (3) water from a sunken boat (4) water from a river that flows northwards (5) water from a pit made by the foot print of a cow (6) milk of five cows (7) dung of a bull (8) urine of a heifer (9) sun-dried rice (10) ripe plantains, sweets, basil leaves, *dub* grass, incense, a lamp (*gècha*).

A large area round the basil plant is smeared with the bull's dung, calf's urine and water. When the place so smeared is dry the priest sits on a 'pira' near the basil plant facing east and arranges the articles as in 'Seva' puja. The discus of Vishnu is placed at the foot of the basil plant. The priest takes some water from the dhona, (a container cut from a banana stem), placed in front of him and sprinkles it round the basil plant and the articles arranged on two sides of him while uttering incantations in order to purify the place. Then a few basil leaves are placed in a container and offered to the basil plant with incantations requesting the house-deity to be pleased to come back and reside in the basil plant and protect the inmates of the house. Then a little water from all the waters collected and some milk of the five cows are mixed in a container and given to all the members of the house to sip as *Prosad* or consecrated offering. At last a conch is blown by the priest making a loud and sharp sound. This is the final call to the deity.

1. Rajbansis belonging to Krishnapath sect plant Tulsi (Basil) in the South East corner and those belonging to Balarampath in the North East corner of the inner yard.

There is a story about blowing of a conch after the worship. Many years ago there was in a village a poor priest who used to perform the worships on behalf of the villagers. Whenever he offered food to god, the god used to come in person from the heaven and eat the offerings. The villagers respected the poor priest and spoke highly of his great powers. But the priest lived like a poor man tilling his own small plot of land. The king of the area came to know of this and called the priest one day to perform a worship in his palace. But the priest refused to go as he was then tilling his land and there was none else to take charge of the plough. The king sent a man to work in his absence and until he was back. The priest went to the king's house and started the puja ceremony. But God did not come. The sun was rising high, the priest became restless and very uneasy. At last a Voice came from the heavens telling the priest that it was very tiresome to go to the earth every time and instructed him to blow a conch after the puja. He would hear the sound from the heavens and bestow His blessings and that would be as good as going down to the earth and partaking of the offerings. The king and all persons present heard the Voice and were satisfied and the priest was let off. Thenceforward a conch is invariably blown after the worship is over.

Garam :-

This is the most powerful village deity. It is a combination of many deities enshrined in a meagre temple erected on the outskirts of a village, usually inside a bamboo grove. Formerly and even now in remote villages, there is no image of any deity, only a few earthen mounds represent the deities. Sometimes the figures of some deities are drawn on sheets of pith and suspended from the roof of the shrine or kept erect on the earth with jute stick props. The figures drawn on sheets of cork are called *Moura*. The deities in the shrine are arranged as follows :-

Tista Buri		Than Kali
Madar		
Horibola	GARAM	Haowa Kali
Sannyasi		
Satya pir		Bhadra Kali

Tista Buri—goddess of the river : Madar and Satya pir—Islamic deity adopted by the Hindus : Horibola—A Vaisnava deity : Sannyasi—Siva—Saiva deity : Kali—Sakta deity.

Garam is a curious combination of deities of all faiths forming one omnibus village deity. This deity is worshipped on all ceremonial occasions. A castrated goat is sacrificed for the Sannyasi and he-goats for others. It is only for the Sannyasi that the sacrificed goat is cooked on the spot, offered and eaten there.

Religious festivals and pujas.

On the first day of Baisakh (April-May) the Rajbansis offer worship to the god enshrined in the basil plant. An earthen pitcher with a hole at the bottom and a jute wick passing through it is suspended over the basil plant from a bamboo frame. It is filled with water that drips on the plant through the wick. This is the season when rains are over and protracted draught is ahead. The plant may die. Thus regular watering is started with a ceremony which is called *Silua*. On this day the members of the family and also the neighbours play by spraying coloured water on one another. They also make an emulsion of sticky earth in water and throw the liquid mud on one another. Such revelry is enjoyed in other parts of Bengal on the Dole puja day but the Rajbansis of this area do it on this day.

Bhedei Kheli songs are started from the *Silua* day. The month of Baisakh starts with *Silua* and *Bonmara* (offering Seva with bamboo basket and songs) on the first day and the whole month is spent on 'Bhedei Kheli' (Tista Buri puja) and on the last day of the month the *puja* ends with *Dzat-Sinani*.

Meceni khela : Bhedei kheli

This puja starts from the first day of Baisakh. Although the term used is *Khela*, it is essentially the puja of the goddess of the river Tista called 'Tista Buri or Meceni'*. It is said that the worship had its origin from the Mechs who inhabited this part of the country before the Rajbansis settled in this area. The river Tista is held in high esteem by the local people and is as sacred as the Ganga. In the month of Baisakh when the snows of the hills melt and flow into the river Tista, the water becomes holy due to admixture with the water of the heavens. This is the time when the monsoon is about to burst and the presiding deity of the Tista must be propitiated to save the lands from disastrous floods.

* Hemkanti Ray, a Rajbansi of Barnes on the eastern side of the Tista opposite Jalpaiguri town told the writer a curious story of Meceni Khela. In the village Uttar Phulbari under Dhupguri, P. S. Jalpaiguri, Duars, there was a Mech settlement. Siva left Kailas and came there to live with the Mech women. Hearing this, Parvati and Ganga the two wives of Siva, disguised as Mech women lived in the same village with Siva. Here Kartik and Ganesh were born. Tista Buri is said to be the emblem of the said Parvati and Ganga and the puja is called Meceni puja. The word 'puja' is sometimes expressed as 'khela' when it is accompanied with dance and music.

Only the women take part in this worship. On the first day of Baisakh the women take a bamboo basket (sadzi-সাদ্জি), wrap it in red cloth, place it on the crossing of a road under an open umbrella and worship the Tista Buri with flowers and vermilion without any incantation. The basket is then taken to the house of the head of the party (maroani-মারোয়ানি) and placed in the Bastu ghôr or under the basil plant of the house. From the second day the women move from house to house in a party with the bamboo basket holding an umbrella over it. They sing, dance and collect subscriptions. On the last day of Baisakh they retire to the side of a tank or river and perform the Tista Buri puja with the help of a priest. The priest is a Dêodha, Dêmdha (দ্যোডধা ; দ্যেমধা) of Rajbansi caste. He may also belong to the Hari caste. After the worship the flowers are thrown into the water, the basket is washed and brought home for the next year. Some say that it is also the worship to prevent an attack of small pox and so the goddess is placed on the first day on the crossing of roads so that the evil spirit causing the disease may not enter the village.

Modon Kam : Bas Khela

In the month of Baisakh after harvesting of paddy, the Rajbansi young men perform the Bās puja or Bās Dzagao on the Mōdōn Choturdasi day. This is called Mōdōn Kam puja¹. A few pieces of bamboo poles are wrapped with coloured cloth and a Chamor (Cêhor-চাঁহর, yak's tail) is tied at the top of each bamboo. Seven bamboos are taken. They are named as (1) Salsiri Maharaja (2) Garam (3) Sannyasi (4) Kali (5) Tista Buri (6) Bisôhori (7) Madar Pir. The priest is a Rajbansi Deosi. He carries an earthen pitcher containing some rice and flowers. The first day of this puja (khela) is called Bās Jagao (Bās Dzagao) day.

Some boys dress as girls and some boys take fancy dress of various descriptions. The bamboo poles are carried by some members of the party and the persons in fancy dress sing and dance with music of drum and bell-metal gong. When they arrive at the house of a villager they keep aside the bamboos on a piece of cloth and then begin their song and dance. It is called *Birsani Khela*. They move from house to house and collect money, rice and vegetables. In the afternoon they retire to a field and perform the worship of Kali. This is called *Bosani puja*. Goats, even castrated goats, pigeons are sacrificed. The number varies according to the donations raised. Puffed rice (muri), sweet puffed paddy (murki), milk, ripe plantains are distributed to all present. The worship is finished before the sun sets. It is for the welfare of the village specially to ward off epidemics. In this area the goddess of small pox Sitala is not worshipped. Kali is worshipped to prevent small pox epidemics. After the worship the cloth covering the bamboos and the yak's tail are taken out and then the bamboo poles are thrown into the water.

Kali puja :

Kali² is a part of Garam Dêo, the goddess of the village. This worship is done in any part of the year and is performed during the day. There is a Kali sanctuary in a bamboo grove near each village. In this area there are five types of Kali e.g.

- (1) Than-Kali, Bāo-Kali—stands with left leg in front.
- (2) Bhôdrô-Kali—stands on hooded snakes.
- (3) Haowa-Kali—stands with right leg in front.
- (4) Nangha-Kali—stands completely nude with just a girdle about nine inches wide.
- (5) Sasan-Kali—stands with left leg in front but worshipped in the cremation ground.

Previously all the images of Kali were painted on sheets of pith made from jute sticks or cork plants but now images of earth are being made.

Usually in the Kali sanctuary there are three huts for the three sisters (1) Than Kali or Bāo Kali, (2) Haowa Kali, and (3) Bhôdrô Kali. Kali never stands on Mahadev. There is always a separate hut reserved for Sannyasi (Mahadev) where He resides. Probably on this account Kali, in this part of the country, never protrudes her tongue out of the mouth unlike the images of Kali as seen in all other parts of Bengal.

A Deosi or Debasi of Rajbansi caste performs the worship. He abstains from any food on the puja day. Now-a-days Kamrupi brahmans are trying to replace the old Deosis.

The offerings of the Kali puja consist of goats - two, one for all the Kalis jointly and one for Mahadev, pigeons-four pairs, ripe plantains - eight bunches, sun-dried rice - three seers, flattened rice - two seers, curds, milk, one piece of new cloth, one new napkin, flowers etc. for all the deities ; some hemp (ganja) for the Sannyasi (Mahadev).

¹ The name 'Bedei Kheli' is probably on account of the time when Bhadoi (Aus or rain) paddy seeds are broadcast on the tilled land. In all probability the puja is done to have a good crop of Bhadoi (Aus).

² In Haldibari, Cooch-Bihar, Meceni Khela is different from Bhedei Kheli. Some men dressed as women and some men dressed as males start songs carrying a bamboo pole (Madar Pir) and collect subscriptions. This puja is done in the month of Phalgun (February-March). This song is attended with 'Khol' and 'Kartal' instead of 'Dhol and Kansi'.

The puja is attended with music of 'dhol' and 'kāsi'. The Deosi gets rupees two as fees plus the new cloth, the napkin, some rice, chapped rice etc. The musicians get rupees two plus some rice, chapped rice etc. The image-makers get rupees three for his labours. The Deosi sits in front of the images with two dhonas, one containing some clean water and the flowers dipped in it. One empty dhona is placed in front of the former. He utters some incantations and places a few flowers at the feet of the images and also in the empty dhona. The birds and animals are then brought to the spot. A little vermilion is applied on the forehead of the animals, water is sprinkled on them from the dhona and some flowers are also thrown on them. During this act the Deosi goes on uttering incantations. The goats are made to stand one by one in front of the image. It is curious that the goat to be sacrificed stands still and stretches the neck of its own accord. Then it is beheaded with one stroke of the chopper. The pegions are held by the head which is severed with a sharp jerk. The animals and the birds are immediately skinned, cut into pieces and cooked. After some time the cooked rice and meat are placed in front of the deities, the Deosi utters some incantations and offers them by throwing a flower on each pot. Then the sacred food is distributed to all present. Nobody eats in the puja premises ; but it is carried home and eaten.

This puja propitiates the gods and goddesses that look after the welfare of the villagers. It is also performed in case of epidemics. In the month of Kartick (Oct-Nov), when Kali puja is celebrated all over Bengal, the Rajbansis also perform 'Goru tsumani (গোরু তুমারী) puja. On that day, cows are taken out of the shed, bathed and cleaned and then the horns are smeared with vermilion in oil and lamp black. This is called Goru nēotani. Next morning the cows are taken to the field and they are fed to their heart's content with bits of white gourd, onion, spices (randhuni), tender grass, water and salt mixed in a pot. This is called Bakhōr khaowa (বাখর খাওয়া).

Dhorom Thakur puja :

It is the puja of the Sun God and according to some, the puja of Siva. It is celebrated in the month of Baisakh. It is the puja performed by the women. They do not eat fish, meat or eggs in the month of Baisakh and do not take any food on the day of celebration until it is finished. Throughout the month of Baisakh the women bathe every morning before the sun rises. This is called Uchrōn (উচ্চর). The puja is performed on any Sunday, as it is considered to be the day of the sun (probably from its name). The votaries must also remain without food on the previous Sunday. The priest is a Dēodha or Dēōdha (দেউধা ; দেওধা) or an Odhikary or a Kamrupi brahman.

A goat preferably of white colour, is brought to the spot, some vermilion is smeared on its horns. It is then offered to Dhōrōm Thakur and let off without killing. Ducks if offered, are also similarly let off. Eggs, ripe plantains are also offered.

Dhōrōm Thakur is one of the gods of the 'Nath' sect. The puja is nearly similar to that of the Naths. This shows the influence of 'Nathism on the Rajbansis of North Bengal. So also Goroknather puja, to be described afterwards, proves the influence of Nathism.*

Jagannath puja

This is the puja of the Vaisnavas amongst the Rajbansis. It is the puja of Narayan. Congregational singing or Kirtan is the main function of this puja in which the whole village irrespective of faith, takes part.

(R)oa gara puja or Gotsu puna

In the first week of the month of Jais̥tha (May-June) the cultivators celebrate the first transplatation of paddy if there is sufficient rain for the purpose. Otherwise it is delayed till there is sufficient rain to cover the field with water. This ceremony is called *Oa gara puja* or *Gotsu puna puja* or *Maodhottir puja* probably it is a corruption of *ma dhoritrir puja*, that is, the puja of the Mother Earth.

The owner of the field carries a small plantain tree, five paddy seedlings and some weeds to the sacred basil plant in the house. Some vermilion is sprinkled on the plants. They are then carried to the field. The five paddy seedlings are planted in the field ; the plantain tree is sown in one corner of the plot and the weeds are thrown away with the prayer that they should spare the field from their ravages. Prayer is also offered to the plantain tree to be on guard over the land. Then some milk and a few ripe plantains are thrown in the field for appeasement of the mother earth.

1. N. R. Ray—Bangalir Itihas, p. 585. It is noted that Madan Kam puja is performed in the month of Choitra from 4th. to 16th. century.

2(i) N. R. Ray—Op. cit. p-579. Kali in Bengal represents one of the goddesses of the old tribal people residing in Bengal. The name Sannyasi is due to the impact of Brahminism and Buddhism in the old religion of the tribal Bengali.

2(ii) N. R. Ray—Kalika Purana—Canto 41, 42—Kali is also the wife of Mahadev.

*(The writer is indebted to Sri U. N. Burman for supplying the details of these two pujas).

Sotyonarayon puja : Sotyonarayon pudza

This *puja* is performed in the month of Asad (June-July) by a Rajbansi Odhikary. At present, Assamese Brahmins are sometimes called for the purpose. The rituals are the same as in East and South Bengal. This puja appears to be a new addition to the religious rites of the Rajbansis.

Jitua puja :

This is said to be the puja of Jimutabahan, son of Chitramgada of Monipur by Arjuna. This puja is done in the month of Bhadra (Aug-Sept). It is limited within the area of Devigunj (formerly in Jalpaiguri district) and northern parts of Dinaipur and Rangpur. It is sometimes called *Itu puja*.¹ The origin of this puja could not be traced.

In the duars of Jalpaiguri, this puja is observed in the month of Aswin (Sept. Oct.) when there is any trouble or sickness in the family. A good number of green and ripe plantains are placed on a bamboo basket and offered to the deity. Generally no priest is engaged for this puja.

Othai pothai puja (worship of the road)

This simple puja is celebrated by the Rajbansi women usually by young girls on the day of Car Festival in the month of Sravan (July-August).

The real word is *Rothai* which is pronounced as *othai*. The word *Roth* means strength of the body. This puja is done to acquire sufficient strength of the body and mind by the grace of God so that one can move about on the road (probably over the road of life) without let or hindrance. The common village folk think of bodily strength only.

The puja is done on a road. A clump of *binna* grass is placed under an open umbrella and all other articles are arranged. There is no priest and no incantation. A little vermilion is put on the plant, a lamp is lighted, the incense burnt and flowers are showered on the *binna* and the foods. Thus the puja is done and then the story is told.

Story

One girl will tell the story and hearers will say 'hu' (হু—yes). The story runs thus :—

দুকুনি আৰ সুকুনি দুই বোহিনী, হাট যাচ্ছে। বড় বোহিনী দুকুনি কহছে 'হা গে বাই, তুই কাৰ বলে হাট যাছিস, অথেন বলে না পথের সুকে'। ছোটো বোহিনী সুকুনি কোহিল 'দিদি, পথের সুকে যাছু, তুই কাৰ সুকে যাছিস'। এই কথা কোহিবা সাত সাত সুকুনিৰ হাত পাও অবস হ'য়া গেল। স্যালা দুই বোহিনী বসিয়া কান্দেসে। এ্যাক বন নোখোলিয়া ঐঠে আসিয়া দোন বোহিনীক দেখিয়া পুছিলেক 'তম্ৰা কি তার কান্দেসেন'। দুকুনি সুকুনি দোনো বোহিনী নোখোলিয়াক ওমহার সব কিসা কোহিল। নোখোলিয়া স্যালা অথাই পথাই স্যাবা করিবার কোহিল। দুকুনি সুকুনি নোখোলিয়াক কহে ; ক্যানং ঠাকুর, ক্যানং করি স্যাবা করিবার নাগে। নোখোলিয়া কোহিল 'এ্যাকটা' বিম্মার গছ, এ্যাকটা বাশের ছাতি, এ্যাকখন নোখোলিয়ার নাঠি, আর খরচ করিবার নাগে, আঠিয়া ক্যাপা, কুচিলা, নোট্‌কো, ডাউহা, পিয়ারাভি, রাম, কঠোয়াল, চুরা, খই, দহু, মিঠাই, সেল্লুর আর ধূপ। বিম্মার গছ ছাতিটার ছাটত আধিবেন, ইটাত্‌ কনেক সেল্লুর দিবেন, এ্যাকনা ভোগাত্‌ ধূপ জালিবেন, আর আর জিনিষ ঐঠে আধিবেন। তম্ৰার কুনো মন্তর কোহিবার না নাগে। নোখোলিয়াক দিয়া স্যাবা দিবা নাগে, নোখোলিয়াক ডাকেয়া খিলিবার নাগে। আর এইলা কিসা কোহিবা নাগে।'

Dukuni ar Sukuni dui bohini, haṭ ḍzache. Bḍro-bohini Dukuni kḥḥche 'ha ge bai, tui kar bḍle haṭ ḍzachis, ḍther bḍle na pḍther suke'. Choṭo bohini Sukuni kohil 'didi, pḍther suke ḍzachu, tui kar suke ḍzachis'. Ei katha kohiba sat sat Sukunir haṭ pḍo ḍbḍs ḥḍḍa gail. Sḍla dui bohini bosia kandese. Ḑk ḍzhḍn nokholia oiṭhe asia don bohiniḍ dekhia puchilek 'tḍmra ki taḍ kandesen'. Dukuni Sukuni dono bohini nokholiak omhar sḍb kissa kohil. Nokholia sḍla ḍthai pḍthai sḍba koribar kohil. Dukuni Sukuni nokholiak kḍhe 'kḍnong ṭhakur, kḍnong kori sḍba koribar nage'. Nokholia kohil 'ḍkṭa binnar gḍch, ḍkṭa baser chati, ḍkkhan nokholiar naṭhi, ar khḍrḍts koribar nage aṭhia kḍla, kutsila, noṭko, ḍauha, piadzi, (r)am, kḍṭhoal, ṭsura, khoi, dohu, miṭhai, sendur, ar dhup. Binnar gḍch chatiṭar ḥḍṭḍt akhiben, iṭat konek sendur diben, ḍkna bhogat dhup ḍzaliben, ar ar ḍzinis oiṭhe akhiben. Tḍmhar kuno montor kohibar na nage.

'Nokholiak dia sḍba diba nage, nokholiak ḍakea khilibar nage ar eila kissa kohiba nage'.

Dukuni and Sukuni were two sisters. They were going to the market. The elder Dukuni asked the younger Sukuni 'by whose strength are you going towards the market, is it by your own strength or for mere pleasure of walking on the road'. The younger Sukuni said 'I am going for the mere pleasure of walking'. She then asked Dukuni 'what makes you go'. No sooner had she spoken this her hands and feet lost all strength. Then both of them sat down and began to weep. A cow-boy was

1(i) N. R. Ray—op. cit. p. 585. Itu puja in Bengal is held in the month of Kartik. Ibid. p. 739. Jitua is Jimutabahan—writer of Daybhag law.

(ii) Sunders—op. cit. p. 58. (Jitu puja).

4. N. R. Ray—op. cit. p. 585. Dharma Thakur was the deity of pre-Aryan tribal people. He is also worshipped in Charak puja. Usually a Dom or a Handi (hari) acts as a priest. In some places Dharma Thakur is worshipped as Siva or Bishnu.

passing by. He stopped and enquired of them why they were weeping. They narrated the story. Then the cow-boy advised them to offer puja to Òthai-Pòthai. They then said to the cow-boy 'we do not know what this god looks like nor do we know how to worship'. The cow-boy then told them of the requirements of the puja.

One binna shrub (a kind of grass, andropogon nardus) one umbrella made of bamboo, one stick from a cow-boy and buy from the market bananas (aṭhia kēla), kutsila (strychnos nux-vomica), noṭko (baccaurea saphida Murek), dauha, (artocarpus lakoocha), onion, mango, jack-fruit, flattened or chapped rice, perched paddy, curd, treacle, vermilion and incense.

You put the binna under the open umbrella, sprinkle some vermilion on it, burn the 'dhup' in a 'bhoga' and offer all other articles without any *montro*. You must call a cow-boy to officiate as priest, feed him and then tell this story to those present.

Note :—Òther—by your own bodily strength :

pòther suke—pleasure of walking ; sēla—then, Nokholia—cowboy, Kissa—story, Khòròts—to buy, Miṭhai—treacle, sweets.

Gorakhnath puja, (Goraknather gan)

This puja is performed in the month of Bhadra (Aug-Sept) or Phalgun (Feb-March). Gorakhnath¹ though born in Uttar Pradesh came to Bengal and Assam in about 1200 A.D. during the Pal period. He was the disciple of Matsyendra Nath, a Bengali Kaibarta of Siddha sect connected with Yogini Kula of Kamrup. Although the word Kula in Brahmanical Tantras is synonymus with Sakti it is undoubtedly related to five Kulas of Buddhist Tantra representing the five Dhyani Bhuddhas. Matsyendra went to Nepal to preach the Saiva religion. Gorakhnath was a teacher of the Naths. Nathism is supposed to be Buddhist mysticism. In Nepal he was considered as a renegade. Jalandhar Nath alias Haripa and the famous Maynamati of Bengal were the disciples of Gorakhnath.

In the worship of Gorakhnath only the men take part. The puja is performed with sundried rice, molasses and ripe plantains. An Odhikary or a Kamrupi Brahman performs the puja in the field. There is no image. The puja is done to save the paddy from the ravages of beasts and thieves. This is the puja of Siva. The party taking part in the puja moves from house to house singing songs and collecting subscriptions in the shape of rice, fruits and money. There is no instrumental music. Each young man carries a bamboo stick and keeps time in honour of Gorakhnath with the bamboo sticks striking vertically on the earth or by striking against the stick of the other.

Devi puja

This is Durga puja of Bengal with some modification. The puja is usually performed in the month of Aswin (Sept-Oct). Assamese Brahmans officiate in the puja. Bisahari (Snake-goddes) and Chandi puja are also performed along with the Devi puja. The fortnight of the Devi puja is called *Koina got* by the villagers and *Pitri Paksha* by the more advanced. During this period they perform Sraddha in memory of the deceased parents with sun-dried rice, plantains, sweets etc.

From the beginning of bright fortnight in the month of Bhadra, no one will eat ripe plantain. On the fourteenth day (*chaturdasi*) they will procure the reeds (*kasia* and *khirol*) for Sraddha ceremony. On the ninth day of the following dark fortnight, *Koina got* will begin and on that day Sraddha for the three ascending generations on the father's side (*tin siri*) will have to be performed. The sundried rice for the *pindo* (offerings) be made by the girl who has been married in that year, the *pindo* is to be consigned in the water. From that day all will eat ripe plantain.

The images of the Devi in the Baikunthapur Zamindari house and the Devi of Boro Durga Barea of Cooch-Bihar are red in colour and a single image without Lakshmi, Saraswati, Kartik and Ganesh. The Devi stands on a lion who bites the elbow of the demon Mahisasura. The writer was informed by the head priest that about half a century ago the other images were added to the image of Durga at the instance of a South Bengali manager of the Estate.

It is said that human sacrifice was performed at dead of night on the Navami day (3rd day) of the puja both in Baikunthapur and Cooch-Bihar. In Baikunthapur, it is said, that the custom continued upto the reign of Raja Chandra Sekhar Dev in 1852-56 A.D. It was stopped by his successor Jayanta Dev. He replaced human sacrifice by buffalo sacrifice which continued till lately, the writer being one of the witnesses of this sacrifice. But the writer was informed by one of the important priests that the old custom of human sacrifice in a much modified form continued upto 1954 A.D. when this was also stopped. A small human figure was prepared with paste of powdered rice. At dead of night on the Navami day of the puja a pigeon was cut and its blood was sprinkled on the human figure, then this was beheaded and at once removed. The truth of this

1. N. R. Ray—Ibid. p. 1721. Goroknath was the disciple of a Tibetan sage Luipa or Matsendra Nath. He is a Buddhist Tantrik. He is the guru of the Nath Panthis of Bengal. He was a contemporary of Raja Gopichandra of Rangpur. His deciples are Biru-pa, Hari-pa, Tilo-pa and others. Hari-pa was the guru of Maynamati.

Goroknath—ref. History of Bengal (1943) vol. I, pp. 344 & 423 Edited by R. C. Mazumder.

custom was verified from two eye witnesses. One was one of the priests and the other was one of the guards to prevent any one else coming to the puja site during this performance.

It is said that such a custom existed in Boro Durga Baree in Cooch-Bihar where a particular family was maintained by the Maharaja for offering finger blood on the paste of a human figure before beheading it. Sataru Das of village Takagbch, Cooch-Bihar, is a living descendant of that family.

This puja is a national festival of Bengal where not only the Rajbansis but all Hindus take part and in the villages many non-Hindus also enjoy the songs and dances performed during the puja days. Songs in honour of Bisahari Thakurani are also sung during this Devi puja.

Bhandani puja

This is called *Dang dhorī mao puja*. The puja starts from the day following the immersion of Durga Devi that is from the eleventh of the bright half of the moon and continues for two days. This puja is restricted within the limits of the Tista to the west and the Raidak on the east in the district of Jalpaiguri and Cooch-Bihar.

The image is a single female figure seated on a tiger. She has two hands. One hand holds a small pot and the other hand is empty and placed in the position of bestowing blessings. In the image at Bhandani village in the Jalpaiguri Duars, both the hands are empty. There is no Sivan or Mahadevn or any other deities with the image of Bhandani. There is no animal sacrifice in the puja. Formerly an Odhikary and now a Kamrupi Brahman is engaged to perform the puja.

The writer was informed by the priest that about ten years ago Lakshmi, Saraswati, Kartik and Ganesh were added to the image. The appearance of the tiger is being transformed into a lion. The influence of the Southern Bengalis is being felt in this respect.

Legends attached to this puja are different. It is said that the mother who fought the demons with weapons (Dang) had become a simple daughter (mao) again after the fight was over and returning back to her home in Kailash and the Duars was the way to Kailash. So she rode on a tiger and went away bestowing blessing on the people. The other story says that it is the puja of the Mother Earth for giving good crop in the field.

Lokhi dak : Gochor Pana : (লখী ডাক) (গোছোর পানা)

This puja is held in the evening on the last day of Aswin (Sept.-Oct.) When the paddy is flowering and ears are out, this puja is held in the paddy field (dhan bari - ধান বারি). A small hut about three feet high is erected with jute sticks. Two small earthen balls are placed on the roof. The balls are then worshipped with milk and ripe plantains but without incantations. There is no priest. The headman of the field (the owner) takes a powder containing mustard cake (Khoil - খইল) and dried leaves of pumelo (dzomura or dzhadi) in a small basket, lights a torch made of dried jute sticks (sinja) and then moves about in the paddy field holding up the burning torch and shouting the following (dak dèõ - ডাক দ্যেঁ). ‘সোর-হা ; সোগারে ধান আউল কাউল, মোর ধান মোল্ঠা চাউল’—‘Sor-ha ; sogare dhan aul dzhaul, mor dhan molṭha tsaul’. Even if the paddy of others does not fruit properly, let me have a bumper crop.

In some places the following is the shout :—

‘সোর-হা ; সোগারে ধান টোনা মোনা, মোর ধান পাকা সনা, সোর-হা’—‘Sor-ha ; sogare dhan ṭona mona, mor dhan paka sṇa, Sor-ha’.

If others’ paddy does not grow let mine grow like pure gold.

‘Sor-Ha’, is the main cry.

Most of the cultivators do this puja.

In Devigunj, South of Jalpaiguri (now in Dinaipur, E. Pakistan) the cry is :—

1) ‘আক-শোর-হা, পোকা মাকড় বেল্লুর ভেল্লুর দুই হ’

‘Ak-Sor-Ha, Poka makḍr nendur bhendur dur hḍ’.

Insects and rats be off.

2) ‘ছোটো লাঙ্গলের বড় ঝৈশ, হামার ধানের হল হল শিশ’

‘Choṭo langoler bḍro ish, hamar dhaner hḍl hḍl sish’.

Small plough has long share, let the ears of my paddy grow very big.

In Rongpur, the cry is :—

‘এক-শোর-হা, সোগারে ধান হিতি হুতি, মোর ধান গোলার ভিতি’

‘Ek-Sor-Ha, Sḍgare dhan hiti, huti, mor dhan golar bhiti’.

Let other’s paddy go any where, mine one be stored in my barn.

Monosa puja : Manasa pudza

This is the puja of the Snake Goddess. It is one of the most important pujas of this area. The image has two hands sitting on snakes. The puja is usually performed in the month of Kartick (Oct-Nov) in this area.¹ Formerly an Odhikary but now a Kamrupi Brahman is engaged for the puja. Milk and ripe plantains are the main items of the offering as it is believed, that the snakes are very fond of those articles of food. Songs and dances in honour of the goddess are held and enjoyed. A special type of bamboo flute is played. This flute is called 'mokha or mukha bāsi (মুখা, মোখা বাঁশী).' It has a separate wider mouth piece of bamboo called kupa (কুপা). It produces a moaning monotonous sound which it is said, is most liked by the snakes. This is the puja to save men from the attack of snakes. Monosa and Bisahari are synonymous.

Utthan ekadasi

In the month of Kartic (Oct.-Nov.) on the day before *Rash Purnima*, the Rajbansis celebrate a puja attended with songs. On the previous day they do not eat meat, fish or eggs and fast on the puja day. They do not sleep on that puja night, bathe four times (tsar-pohor) and offer pujas four times. This is usually the puja of Mahadev.

Dhan Kata puja :

This is the first paddy-cutting ceremony generally on the first day of Agrahayana (Nov.-Dec.). When the paddy is ripe in the field, the Gitthani or the seniormost wife of the owner of the field, takes an earthenware lamp, a scythe, a little vermilion on a plantain leaf and goes to the field. She cuts a few ears of the paddy, sprinkles some vermilion on them, moves the lamp in front of the cut ears several times and comes back with the paddy branches and fixes them over the doorway of the sleeping hut. After this ceremony regular harvesting of paddy begins. The sheaves are kept in the field for two days and then brought home and stacked in the *Kholan*, the thrashing floor in the outer yard of the house. After reaping the winter paddy there is khêt uthani puja (খ্যাত উঠানি পূজা) where a cow or buffalo horn is mounted on a stick. The pointed end of the stick is driven into the earth. The other end holding the horn remains above. The horn is covered with paddy straw tied to the horn. The structure is allowed to remain in the field.

Naya khawa :

On an auspicious day in the month of Agrahayana (Nov.-Dec.), some new paddy is husked and the new rice eaten with ceremony. Some rice is boiled with milk and offered to the sacred basil, and then all the members of the house eat the new rice. An Odhikary is called to act as a priest for the offering. He is also invited to dine.

Baruni sinan :

In the month of Magh (Jan.-Feb.), a few days before the Siva Ratri, the Rajbansis take a ceremonial bath in the rivers Karatowa, Jaldhakka, Torsa, Gadadhar and Dharla and sometimes in the Tista, specially at the place where the river flows towards the north (Utor bak - উত্তোর বাক). Puja is offered to Mahadev and Bisahari. This ceremony is also called *Maghli sinan* (মগলী সিনান). There is a great rush of pilgrims at the bathing places and also at the Bodeswari temple on the Karatowa, now in East Pakistan.

Siva Ratri :

The puja of Mahakal or Mahadev is performed throughout the month of Magh (Jan.-Feb.) The women bathe before the sun rises and abstain from meat, fish and eggs for the whole month. On the Siva Ratri day Mahadev or Mahakal is worshipped throughout the whole night. Both men and women bathe four times at night and make offerings after each bath. There is a huge rush of pilgrims at Jalpeswar (Jalpaiguri, P. S. Mainaguri), at the caves of Mahakal at Jayanti and Phaskhawa, (Jalpaiguri, Sub-division Alipurduar), at the caves of Chamurchi at the border of India and Bhutan, and in Banerwar and Gossanimari in Cooch-Bihar. Mahakal is symbolized by a stone Lingam.

Dham :

In the months of Pous, Magh and Phalgun (Dec.-March) when the cultivators have practically no work after the paddy season, songs are arranged where groups of singing and dancing parties assemble and there is a regular competition amongst the groups. Songs in honour of Siva, Kali and Vaisnava deities (Radha Krishna) are sung, and invariably social and political subjects drawn in the songs.

The songs and dances continue without break for nearly a week, one party starts as soon as the other party finishes. This is enjoyed by both men and women. The orchestra consists of *Khol* (drum), flute made of bamboo, *Kāsi* (cymbel) and now-a-days harmonium has been added. The subjects of the open air theatre are locally composed and played. There are some persons who are not highly educated but have the special knack of composing and tuning the poems. They are called *Gidal* or *Gital*.

1. N. R. Ray—op. cit. p, 736—Manasha was introduced in Brahminical pujas between 9-12 century.

The tune of the songs is like the Kirtan of East Bengal but long drawn (Thay—ঠায়া) adding 'Ha' or 'he' after each word for lengthening the time. The tune also resembles in some respect the *Bhatiali* of East Bengal.

Bisua, Bisuba :

On the last day of the month of Choitra (March-April) a spring hunt is arranged by the Rajbansis. It is called Bisua or Bisuba. During the whole month of Choitra the Rajbansis eat or drink decoction of some bitters e.g. Brihati (ব্রিহতি), Basak (Adhatoda Vasica) etc. On the last day of Choitra none will eat rice. They eat fries (Bhadza bhudza), this contains fried chura, curds and fried dal (lentils). While eating fries it is a custom to spit out the first morsel without swallowing it. This means that an enemy is to be killed. On the Bisuba day all able-bodied Rajbansi males go out for a hunt with any weapon he can get hold of e.g. bamboo pole, spear, sword, katari (dao), gun etc. They must kill an edible animal and eat its meat either roasted or cooked in the forest. If they fail to kill an animal the Rajbansis believe that the coming year would be bad for them. This spring hunt is gradually being abandoned due to restrictions imposed by the Forest Department of the Government and also due to the impact of the new civilisation.

In the same night of the hunt a *Garam puja* is held. The Mahadev, the presiding deity of the village residing in the nearby bamboo grove in a hut, is worshipped in order to drive away any evil spirit that may cause disease in the village and bless the villagers with good crop in the field. No woman is allowed to attend this ceremony.

Chorok puja :

In the month of Choitra (March-April) the puja of Mahadev is performed in an open field. Gomira songs are sung and subscriptions are raised from every house. Men dressed as Hara and Parvati and Yoginis sing and dance with music of 'dhol' and 'kansi'. The old custom of hooking the skin of the back and moving suspended round a bamboo pole is not to be found now-a-days.

Hudum deo puja : Hudma⁷

It is a special puja. When there is protracted draught, the women of the village each with a sharp knife in hand, as a protection against 'bhuts', go in dark night, into a distant paddy field. They make a small image of the rain-god with plantain leaf stalk and instal him on the field. In some places, a plantain tree is planted. Then the women stip off their clothes, untie the hair of the head allowing the hair to hang freely on the back. Thus completely nude they dance and sing (mostly obscene songs) abusing the rain-god. Two women kneel on the ground like cows and draw a plough to scratch a few feet of the land. Into the furrow thus formed they spread some paddy seeds or plant a few paddy seedlings. They then put on their clothes, tie the hair and come back. It is the general belief that rain invariably falls shortly after this puja is done. No men are allowed to go near the dancing place. If some body ventures no one will abuse the women if they attack the man with the 'daos' they possess or even kill him.

Tista Buri Puja.

The river Tista is a sacred river of North Bengal. About two centuries ago this river used to flow through the Karotowa and meet the Ganga in the district of Rajshahi. This river flowed through three channels e. g. Karatowa, Punarbhaba and Atraye and hence the name was Trisrota or river of three streams. Most of the ancient shrines of North Bengal are to be found on the banks of this sacred river. The Tista and the Karatowa are mentioned in the old Hindu scriptures as sacred rivers. The Tista finally left the bed of Karatowa in the first part of the nineteenth century and took quite a different course and entered into the Brahmaputra in the district of Rangpur at its junction with the district of Mymensingh. Still the river Tista is held in high esteem by the Rajbansis and the puja of Mother Tista is performed in every village. The Rajbansis are agricultural people. The three streams of the Tista formed the main irrigation system of North Bengal and it is probably on this account that the river Tista is sacred to the cultivating class.

Meceni Khela puja :

As stated earlier the puja of Tista Buri held in the month of Baisakh is named *Meceni Khela*.

A symbol of Tista Buri in the form of a pitcher is installed on the first of Baisakh (April-May), *Ghot* is commonly known as *Dala*. If there be any mishap in the village or in the house where this puja is to be performed the 'Dala' may be installed on

7. Hudum deo puja is mentioned in the History of Cooch-Bihar—Choudhury, p. 141.

Upadhaya K. D. Indian Folk Lore (Calcutta) 1936, vol-I, p. 6 :—

'Bhojpuri folk lore and ballads' (about nudity and its relation with rain making in India).

'Women of the village went out with a plough at night stripping themselves naked and dragging it across the field as an invocation to the rain-god. One woman was yoked to the plough and was dragging it like an ox. The men kept carefully away while it was being done'. 'All the women present there were stark naked.'

any other day within this month. The Dala is made of fine bamboo net work and has the shape of a flower basket with a semi-circular handle. On the day of installation the whole house is swept clean, the earthen floor and plinth of each room and also the inner yard of the house are thinly plastered with cowdung emulsion. When it is dry the house looks clean and tidy. An elderly woman of the house remains without food. She takes her bath, puts on a clean and washed cloth and thus purified she washes the Dala and puts in it some sun-dried rice, flowers and a mixture of vermilion and mustard oil in a small earthen cup. The whole thing is wrapped in a red coloured cloth and kept in one corner of the *Bastu ghor* so that no unclean person including the members of the family touch this symbol of Tista Buri. It is kept in the hut for one day.

From the next day the women of the house together with other women of the nearby houses of the village form into a procession and carry the Dala to every house. It is an affair of the women. While carrying the Dala songs are sung. Thus singing when the procession comes to a house the women place a washed and clean wooden seat (pira) at a place in the inner yard which has previously been smeared with cowdung and water. An umbrella is opened and placed by the side of the wooden seat and then the Dala is placed on the seat under the shade cast by the open umbrella. Then all the women begin singing and dancing. They never dance when a man is present. The writer tried to take a photograph of their dancing but it was refused. The women of the procession are given areca nuts and betel leaves and the married women are given, now-a-days, a dab of the emulsion of the vermilion and mustard oil on the forehead. The processionists are given uncooked rice, vegetables and sometimes money for the puja of Tista Buri, and they are requested to pray to the goddess for the well-being of the members of the house. Then one of the bearers of the Dala brings out some rice and flower from inside the Dala and hands it over to the senior woman of the house. She then throws some of the rice and flower on the roof of each hut of the house. It is believed that the house is thus freed from the possibility of an attack of ghosts, and the inmates are not likely to suffer from any disease which is believed to be due to of the influence of evil spirits. This is a firm and deep-rooted belief of the Rajbansi villagers. The procession moves round from house to house of the locality. In the evening the Dala is brought back to the house whence it started. An earthen lamp fed by clarified butter is kept burning in front of the Dala. Oil is not used. This procession is continued for one month if nothing untoward happens either in the family or in the village. (See illustration)

In the last week of Baisakh (May) on any Tuesday or Saturday, all the women go to a river or to a tank, whichever is nearer, with the Dala in a procession. A raft with the trunks of plantain tree is made by tying several pieces with a rope or in most cases by passing three or four bamboo sticks through them so that the pieces remain together and may be floated on water.

The Dala is placed on the raft and it is decorated with flowers and lamps. The members present then worship the Dala by sprinkling some sun-dried rice and flowers on the Dala without uttering any incantation. This last puja is called —Dzat (ଦ୍ଵାତ). When it is done the red cloth is taken out and washed. It is called *Dzat Sinani* (ଦ୍ଵାତ ସିନାନୀ). The contents of the Dala are kept on the raft and the Dala is washed clean in the water. A pigeon is offered to the goddess and then let off. The raft with the contents of the Dala and the lamp are then pushed into deep water. In a river it is carried by the stream but in a pond it goes as far as the push can drive. All the women then pray to the goddess for the welfare of the members of each family and promise to worship her again next year if all goes well. The Dala and the red cloth are preserved and no new Dala is made and used until this one completely breaks down, when it is also immersed.

Tista Buri puja (Meceni Khela) :

In some places of the Western Duars in Jalpaiguri, the women, instead of a bamboo made basket Dala carry sun-dried rice, flowers and wood apple leaves in a sack made of cotton cloth. They proceed to some river side on the last day of Baisakh and perform the puja. A Dèodha (priest) is engaged for the ceremony. Pigeons and goats are offered. Sometimes they are let off after offering to the goddess and sometimes they are sacrificed by cutting off the head. The consecrated food is brought home, cooked and eaten.

The priest starts the dance after the puja and falls into a trance. Questions are then asked and he replies. In most cases the replies are correct, at least those present believe it to be so.

Tista Buri puja (general form) :-

A brief account of this puja has already been given. This is now taken up in more detail.

Such puja may take the form of Garam puja where the majority of people of a village takes part. Such puja may also be held in private houses by individuals. This puja is done to ward off any evil spirit that causes disease. So it may be held in any month of the year.

The puja may be performed in any day of the week but the most auspicious days are Tuesdays and Saturdays. No animal sacrifice there should be if the puja is done on Thursdays and Sundays.

The following are the requirements of the puja :—

(1) Hāser phòl (duck's eggs—ହାସର ଫଳ), (2) Cloth, five cubits long, (3) Murki naru (ball of sweetened puffed rice), (4) Gua (areca) five pairs, (5) Pan (betel leaves) five pairs, (6) some hemp in an earthen cup (kalki) with fire burning over it and kept

near the puja place, (7) some red vermillion on a piece of plantain leaf, (8) some incense powder is kept burning in the smouldering fire in an earthen cup, (9) some wood apple leaves (Aegle marmelos), flowers and sandal powder, (10) 3, 5, or 7 bunches of ripe plantains, sun-dried rice, curd, chapped rice, ghee (clarified butter), honey, sugar kept on a plantain leaf near the puja site, (11) a pair of pigeons or a goat for sacrifice, (12) a few receptacles (dhona) made from plantain sheath for holding water and other articles, (13) a piddim, lamp made of an earthen saucer, kept burning near the puja place.

The image of Tista Buri :

It is a white old woman with a stick in hand for support, or a human like structure made with the stalk of plantain leaves or cork (sola) or only an earthen pitcher serves the purpose of the image.

The Tista Buri is seated on a raised earthen platform smeared with cowdung emulsion in a newly built small hut having opening either towards the north or the east. A dhona containing water and some flowers is placed between the image and the priest.

The priest who may be a Rajbansi Odhikary or a Mali of Hari Caste purifies the seat of the goddess by uttering the flowing incantations :-

Dhorti asdn, dhorti bdsdn—ধরতি আসন, ধরতি বসন
 Ei dhorti hose dzabo —এই ধরতি বসে যাবো
 Tissalguri deba gdn —তিস্ শালগুড়ি দেব গন।

Take this seat, take this cloth, let all the gods of the three lokas take their seat.

Note :—dhorti—earth, it is a broken word of ‘dhoritri’; tis-sal-guri—three lokas e. g. heaven, earth and inferno. It is difficult to believe the presence of gods in the hell.

After uttering this incantation some flowers are dipped in water and sprinkled on the seat of the image.

Then life is added to the image by the following incantations :

Sdygdb hate namil Tista Buri—সদ্যগ হাতে নামিল তিস্তা বুড়ি
 Mdtse dia pao —মন্টে দিয়া পাও
 Mdtseb hate namil Tista Buri—মন্ড হাতে নামিল তিস্তা বুড়ি
 Ctdn koril gao —চ্যাতন করিল গাও
 Katsa dudh aloa kela —কাচা দুধ আলোয়া ক্যেলা
 Bhoikkhbn kdro —ভইক্ষণ করে।

The goddess Tista Buri comes down to the earth from the heaven. She is endowed with life on the earth. Let her eat the unboiled milk, rice and plantains.

Then articles of food are also offered to the deity.

The other incantations of the puja are not understandable. The puja continues for some time with bits of wood apple (bael) leaves placed on the foods and water is sprinkled on them with flowers dipped in water of the dhona.

Then the person suffering from the disease is brought to the spot, and given *Santi* (bliss for the cessation of the troubles) with the following incantations, the consecrated Santi-water from the dhona is sprinkled on the diseased person and in the rooms and yards to drive out the evil spirit causing the disease.

The following is the Santi incantation :-

Agune bhaguni dkdrmer bhagini—আগুণে ভাগুনি ধরমের ভাগিনী
 Kurmer mao —কুরমের মাও
 Ei sdnker dzbl khda —এই শংকের জল ব্যাধা
 Tissalguri dbtar —তিস্ শালগুড়ি দ্যবতার
 Santi hda dzao —শান্তি হ্যা যাও।

You the devil neice of Dharma, the mother of a turtle, I drive you out with this fire. Do drink some water of this conch shell and go away with the blessings of the gods.

Then a pair of pigeons or a goat is offered with the following incantation. After reciting this montro water from the dhona is sprinkled on the head of the animal or the birds. Then they are beheaded.

Montros (incantations) :—

Hðre K(r)istnð nam, paroar nam	—হরে কিষ্ণ নাম পারোয়ার নাম
Andhar ghðr, phirache tok	—অন্ধার ঘর ফিরাছে তোক
Dzðr dzari charia, paroar nam	—জর জারি ছারিয়া পারোয়ার নাম
Sðggð hate namo kali, mðntse dia pão	—সগ্গ হাতে নামো কালী, মন্টে দিয়া পাঁও
Ugir ðstang deha charia	—উগির অষ্টাং দেহা ছারিয়া
Paroar siggir kð nam	—পারোয়ার শীগ্গির ক নাম।

Oh, the pigeons hear the name of Hari and Kristna. You are groping in the darkness. Kali has come down from the heaven to the earth. Please at once take away the disease from the sick person and fly off.

Note :—paro—pigeon, ugi-patient—the afflicted person. S.C.B. Rugi, ostang deha—whole body.

After the puja the priest dabs some vermilion on his own forehead, takes the earthen pot containing the burning incense and starts dancing. The tamburon and cymbel keep the time with music. After some time the spirit of the deity takes possession of the priest (dèhor hðç—দ্যাহর হর) and he passes into a trance. He is then a *Bauria*. He begins to reply to questions put to him. He names the evil spirit that has taken possession of a particular diseased person and the mode of driving it away. He can tell almost correctly some of the past and divine the future events of the enquirer. After some time the trance goes away and he becomes normal again and forgets what he said during the trance.

Both men and women take part in this puja. There is no Dala nor house to house procession as in Meceni Khela puja.

The writer witnessed the Tista Buri puja in his own house. An image of Tista Buri was made of cork. The goddess looked like an old white woman with a stick in hand for support. Sometimes the image is made with stalks of plantain leaves. In that case, an imaginary shape of a human figure is produced. A priest named Curkutu of the Hari caste came to perform the worship. He had long hair on his head. After the worship, and after several pigeons had been beheaded by a sharp jerk, he smeared some blood of the pigeon on his forehead.

He then began to dance while the drum and the cymbal were being played. After some time the goddess seemed to have taken possession of him. Every one present asked him questions about family affairs, about illness in the house, about the past and future events of their life and so on. The man in trance replied to all the questions and many of the replies seemed to be true. After about half an hour the goddess left him and he came back to normalcy and could not remember what he had said in the trance.

The worship was performed to please the goddess Tista Buri on account of a case of protracted illness in the writer's house which was declared hopeless by the doctors. The worship is more commonly held in case of nervous disorders e.g. hysteria etc. which are said to be due to the influence of evil spirits. Such diseases are commonly called '*Deodhora* or *poridhora*.' During the last fifteen years the author did not hear that a Tista Buri Puja was being performed anywhere in the town of Jalpaiguri or in its neighbourhood, it only remained in far-off villages. The belief of the common people in the powers of Tista Buri is so much that they attributed the recent floods of the river Tista to the anger of the goddess.

But in the month of May 1964 Tista Buri puja was performed in a house quite close to the author's in the town of Jalpaiguri.

Saleswari puja (Puja of the forest god).

This worship is performed in the forest of Baikunthapur in the district of Jalpaiguri. It is held in the month of Ashar (June-July). Until this puja is done nobody should enter the forest. It is said that Saleswari saves men from the attack of the denizens of the forest. Although the name is Saleswari, it is not a female deity. Sometimes this puja is called Dham Seva. Only men take part in this puja. The ceremony must be completed before the sun sets.

Men of a village enter the forest with flowers, milk etc. There is no image. They assemble at the foot of an old big tree. One Ranbir Roy or Ran Ray, as he is called, a Rajbansi inhabitant of the village Menghora within Baikunthapur forest, acted as a priest in the puja held last year (1957 A. D.) He is a Deosi.

At first the Deosi, takes some flowers, usually red Dzðba (China Rose) and offers to the Duari Thakur (a big tree), that is, the gate-keeper of the forest. This god is said to belong to the Mech tribe. The Deosi then offers flowers to Kðnthopal, a celebrated Mech who lived long ago and is said to have saved men living in the forest, represented by another tree. Duari god and Kðnthopal being Meches are offered a pair of cocks and instead of killing them they are set free in the forest and it is said, to tell the wild animals to refrain from killing the men who are about to enter the forest to work. Kðnthopal is also offered hemp, as he is regarded as Mahakal or Sannyasi Thakur.

Saleswari is now welcomed with the following incantation :—

Saleswari maharaja, adzðldoi, phulmoti, gðneswari, nðsati, khðpati, sðhadoi, mahadoi, rokti, sokti, bhukti, sðnaray, uparay, bipðdas, jðgðbondhu, jðgðnnath.

শালেশ্বরী মাহারাজা, আজলদৈ, ফুলমতী, গণেশ্বরী, নশাতী, খপাতী, সহাদৈ, মহাদৈ, রক্তি, শক্তি, ভুক্তি, সনারার, উপরার, বিপদাস, জগবন্ধু, জগন্নাথ।

Another incantation of like nature was received from Mantadari a village just at the border of Baikunthapur forest of Jalpaiguri. It is this :—

‘Saleswori mdhamoi, gaē garam sonnasi thakur, tissalguri devgōn sōai dhen baba’

শালেশ্বরী মহামই, গার গারাম সন্নাসী ঠাকুর তিস্শালগুড়ি দেবগণ সহাই অহেন বাবা

It was impossible to make out any meaning nor could the Deosi give any light. But this incantation should be uttered and some flowers, milk and a few ripe plantains are placed at the foot of the tree and then some clean water is sprinkled on them.

Then begins the real ceremony. Pigeons and goats are brought before the tree-god and offered with the following montro :-

Bhōgaē bhog seba tustī Sib sostir apnar gun, ভগায়ে ভোগ সেবা তুষ্টি শিব সস্তির আপনার গুণ

Montore tisal koṭi devota hōṣa ndven santi. মন্তরে তিশাল কোটি দেবতা হুয়া নভেন শান্তি।

‘O god Siva ! Take this offering for your appeasement as much as you please. Let this incantation please the three crores of gods.’

The birds and animals are generally let loose. In the last year’s worship, two pigeons and one goat were beheaded, each with one stroke of the sword or chopper.

Khola Ray an old Rajbansi of 70 years, living at Mandadari within Baikunthapur forest area, told the writer that for the last ten years an earthen image of a male god was being made seated on a tiger. The image was left in the forest after the ceremony, to look after the men working in the forest. He also said that in his young days he saw a large number of Mech people living in the forest. In all probability the Mechs who eventually moved away towards Assam initiated this puja which was being continued by the later comers, the Rajbansis. Khola Ray said that his father migrated to this place from Berubari about 30 miles to the south of Mantadari.*

Bhodro Kali Puja :

There is a small temple one mile to the south of Jalpaiguri town in which is installed an image which is worshipped as Kali. The image is made of earth and is renewed every year on the day of Kalipuja in the month of Kartik (Oct.-Nov.) The image does not stand on Mahadev like the conventional image of Kali in Bengal. Kali stands on two serpents with raised hoods on two sides, she has two hands holding two other serpents, her tongue is not protruded and in fact the tongue is not visible. The ornaments are all made of serpents but the long necklace is made of human heads. The Dakini and Yogini on both sides hold serpents and are in the act of eating them. The image appears to be a serpent goddess bearing the name of Mahakali or Bhōdrō-kali. It is said that the Kali was installed here by Darpa Dev who ruled Baikunthapur from 1758-1793 A.D. According to some, this form of Kali is being worshipped from the time of Raja Rupnarayan of Cooch-Bihar who ruled from 1693-1714 A. D. (See illustration)

Previously the Rajbansi Odhikaries acted as priests, but now a south Bengali brahman performs the ceremony in the usual Brahmanical way. No one living could give an idea of the old rituals of the puja.

Dhap Chandi : (Dhap Condi)

About five miles south of Jalpaiguri town on the north-east bank of the river Panga, there is a mound of earth by the side of the highway from Jalpaiguri to Haldibatee. This is in the village of Bamanpara near Dhapgunj Hat. The writer was informed when he visited the place, that there was a temple of Dhap-Condi at that place worshipped as Kali. It is said that the temple was destroyed by the Mohammedans at the time of Hossain Shah when he invaded Baikunthapur. Since then the area was covered with jungles and there was no habitation nearby. After a long time a family of Muslims came to settle in Bamanpara. The story goes that the eldest man of the Mohammedan family once had a dream that a Kali was there. The old man discovered the place according to the directions of his dream, cleared the jungle and himself lighted an earthen lamp on the spot every evening. This was continued for three generations. After the partition of the district in 1947 A.D. the family left the village and the Devi was left unattended for a long time. In the year 1955 A.D. the highway was being re-constructed. Sri S. Saraf the contractor, told the writer that while the work was in progress his father living at home in Jalpaiguri town had a dream that a Kali temple was under the mound at Dhapgunj (Bamanpara) and that the mound should not be disturbed. At this Sri Saraf, built a small temple on the mound and arranged to light a few lamps in front of the temple every evening which is being continued even to-day. The road was bent a little to save the mound. The site awaits excavation. The writer visited the place several times and found old bricks under the earth.

The name of the village Brahmanpara, as could be gathered, was due to a Brahman who was given, at an unknown time,

* Details of the puja were verified by Sri D. Ghatak, pleader, of Jalpaiguri, who was sent again to meet the Deosi.

the plot of land comprising the entire village probably to defray the expenses of maintaining the temple and worshipping the deity.

Mahadev puja at Jalpesh temple : ⁹

This temple is situated in Western Duars to the east of the river Tista about three miles east of Maynaguri (Jalpaiguri). Siva is worshipped by all the Rajbansis and also by all Hindus of North Bengal. The biggest ceremony is Siva Ratri when pilgrims from far and near come to offer worship. The priest was formerly of Odhikary family, but for the last forty years Kamrupi Brahmans act as priest and the ceremony is performed in the Brahminical way. Jalpeswar is mentioned in the *Skanda Purana* (canto 66) as being installed by one Raja Jalpa. The deity is also mentioned in the *Kalika Purana* and *Yogini Tantra*. The *Lingam* is enshrined in a big temple which is said to have been built at first by a raja named Jalpeswar in the 19th year of Saka (about 100 A.D.). Probably one of his descendants, Prithu Raja, rebuilt the temple in the Second Century. Then Prannarayan and Modhnarayan the fourth and fifth rajas of Cooch-Bihar rebuilt the temple about 150 years ago. They had the temple built by Muslim architects from Delhi. During the great earthquake of 1897 A.D. the Central Spire and the turrets of this temple toppled down. The present has edifice been built by the Jalpesh Temple Committee. This is a modern building. The details were obtained from the report of the Jalpesh Temple Committee. In Darjeeling, Jalpaiguri and Cooch-Bihar, Mahadev usually called Mahakal, both names are synonymous. (See illustration)

Mahadev puja at Purva Dohor : ¹⁰

Siva Lingam is worshipped in an old ruined temple at Huchludanga (Mallikarhat) situated about three miles east of Jalpesh temple. The place has been reserved under the Ancient Monument Preservation Act. The temple, it is said, was built by the Raja who built the Jalpesh temple.

But no one could say which Raja he was. The structure is almost a miniature Jalpesh temple. About ten years ago a Brahmachari named S. K. Banerjee repaired some portion of the temple. The old gate is built of massive stone blocks placed one above the other without any cementing material. The stone portion is 10' and the brick portion 25' high. Some stones of the gate were measured. Some were found to be 16" x 16" x 8" and some 18" x 24" x 12". The worship is performed daily. The old priest was Gaduluram Das, then Sarvananda Ray and now Jogendra Odhikary who profess to belong to the disciples of Adwaita Nityananda. He is a Rajbansi and an Odhikary of Chhokrdhari class. (See illustration)

There is a small temple within the compound but without any image. This temple is said to belong to goddess Jotileswar and worshipped as Siddheswari. The puja is like Kali puja but without any animal sacrifice. The Sevait said that it was one of the Sakta Pithas. (Important place of worship of the people of Hindu Sakta Sect).

Mohakal at Boteswar :

This is a completely ruined temple with stone pillars situated about three miles south east of Maynaguri. The construction is almost like that of the temple of Purva Dohor.

Mahakal at Domohoni :

A black stone image was worshipped as Mahakal in a village near Domohoni about four miles to the west of Maynaguri.

The helmet of the image is made of serpents. On the helmet there is a skull of a child being bitten by a demon or Daitya. The image has three eyes and a sacred thread on his body. A big necklace is made of human heads. A serpent on the right arm has raised its hood. The left hand holds a trident by the arm and a cup on the palm. The right hand holds a wand of a peculiar shape. He is standing on a lotus with Dakini and Yogini on two sides. The image has recently been sent to the Indian Museum in Calcutta. (See illustration)

Petkati Mao puja :

A female deity is worshipped as Condi. She is enshrined in a small temple called Ghontamara Barea in the village Bengkandi about one and a half miles to the north of Maynaguri. She was originally worshipped as Bhaddreswari Devi. She has been identified as Chamunda Devi. The idol has ten hands of which two of the right and one of the left are found broken. The tip of the nose is also found broken. With two hands she holds an elephant over her head and a bird, probably an owl, sits on the back of the elephant. The details of the image are as follows :—

9. Jalpesh :—

Martin—Eastern India, Vol. III, p. 406.

The sketch of the temple built by Prannarayan and Modhnarayan is given in the said book.

Govt. of India—'Objects of antiquarian interest in the lower provinces of Bengal', p. 75.

10. Purva Dohor—'Objects of antiquarian interest etc., ibid, p. 77.

On the left side :- One hand holds an elephant.
 One hand holds a human figure pierced in the trident.
 One hand holds a bell.
 One hand holds a cut head of a man.
 One hand is partly broken.

On the right side :- One hand holds an elephant.
 One hand holds a skeleton of a dead man.
 One hand holds a small drum.
 Two hands partly broken.

Her helmet is made of snakes, she has three eyes, earrings are made of snakes, there is a garland of human heads, the ornaments of arms, hands and feet are all of snakes. There is a scorpion in the empty abdomen. She is sitting on a lotus. Under her feet there is a kneeling female figure. On the left of the seat below is a jackel and to the right is a peacock. Below the seat there are a large number of dead bodies and jackals are eating them. Above the head on two sides of the elephant are two females figures with snakes in their hands. (See illustration).

She is now worshipped by a Rajbansi Odhikary priest named Surendra Nath Ray Odhikary of Cokrodhari class. He has 300 disciples.

Mahakal in Cooch-Bihar : ¹¹

There is a temple at Banerwar about six miles to the north of the present town of Cooch-Bihar. It was built by Maharaja Prannarayan of Cooch-Bihar and a Siva *Lingam* is worshipped there.

Siddheswari in Cooch-Bihar :

There is a temple of goddess Siddheswari about six miles north east of Cooch-Bihar town. It was built by Maharaja Prannarayan. She is worshipped as Bhogoboti.

There are many old and dilapidated or abandoned shrines at the borders of old Bhutan and Cooch-Bihar and Baikunthapur dedicated mainly to Mahakal, Gouri, Kali and Chandi (Condi). A fuller study of them is awaited.

Puja Songs

Tista Buri or Bhedei Kheli gan.

After the party has entered into a house the women keep the bamboo tray or the basket of offerings on a wooden seat and then sing and dance.

Song.

Muṭhi muṭhi mor bothua sak
 dono hate mor tetlir pat
 (chorus :—he na mor kesh)
 hi barir cengra-la chèbela
 khetsia dhorle mor gaer pachera
 (chorus :—he na mor kesh)
 Cheria de mor gaer pachera
 ninder choa mor bhoke nalache
 (chorus :—he na mor kesh)

মুঠি মুঠি মোর বথুয়া শাক
 দোনো হাতে মোর তেতলির পাত
 (হে না মোর কেশ)
 হি বাড়ির চ্যংরালা ছ্যাবেলা
 খেচিয়া ধরলে মোর গায়ের পাছেরা
 (হে না মোর কেশ)
 ছেরিয়া দে মোর গায়ের পাছেরা
 নিন্দেব ছোয়া মোর ভোকে নালছে
 (হে না মোর কেশ)।

Both my hands are full of green vegetables (Bathna Sag) and tamarind leaves. Taking advantage of this you naughty boys of nearby houses are pulling hard my scarf covering the chest. You just leave off. My sleeping child is crying of hunger (at home.)

'he na mor kesh'—has no meaning. Simply a chorus.

Note :—Bothua Sak—a kind of vegetable ; Titli-tamarind.

Chèbela—naughty ; khetsia dhorle—held firmly ; pachera—cloth to cover the body, scarf ; kesh-hair.

11. Choudhury H. - op. cit. p. 96.

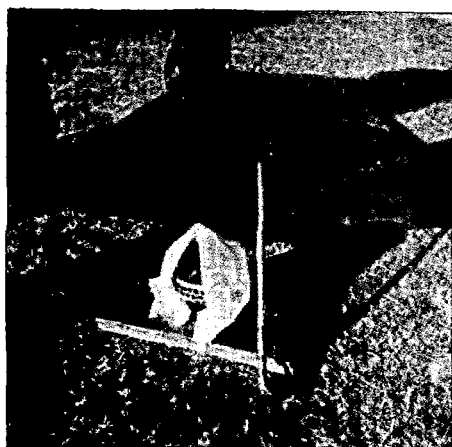
Plate XVI DANCES



DANCING AND SINGING WITH PLAY OF MOKHA BANSI IN BISAHARA PUJA



MECENI KHELA DANCE

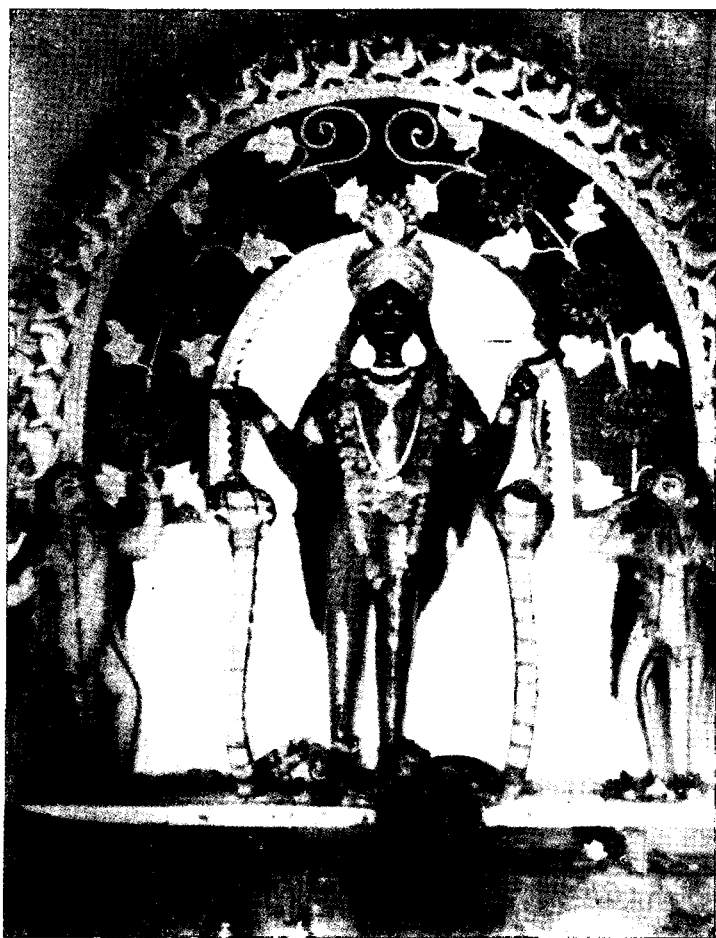


AN EMBLEM OF TISTA BURI



DHAM DANCE

Plate XVII TEMPLES



BHADRA KALI (Pandapara, Jalpaiguri)



BHUT KALI (Drawn from a cork image)

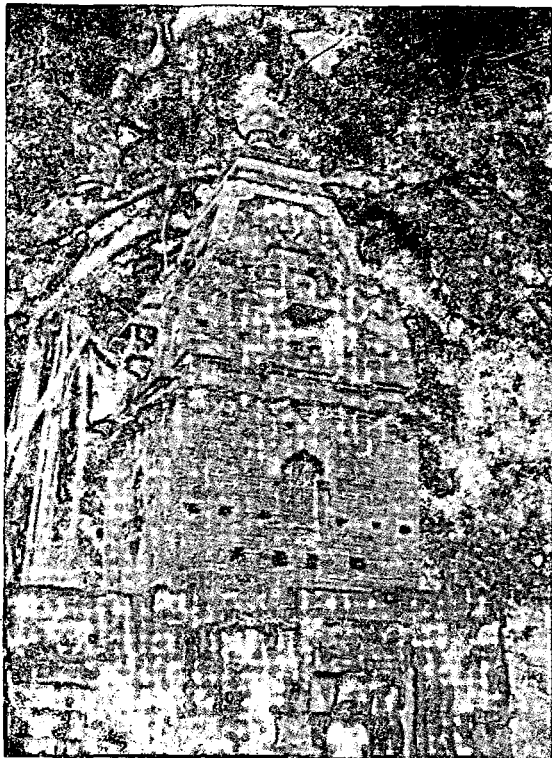


A 'Moura' suspended in a made of jute-sticks temple



BHANDANI

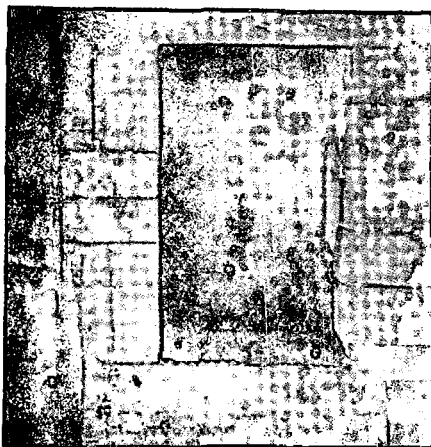
Plate XVIII DEITIES



Temple of Mahakal (Purva Dahar, Jalpaiguri)



STONE GATEMAN (Mutilated)



STONE GATE



Temple of Mahakal, Jalpeswar (Jalpaiguri)
By courtesy Jalpes Temple Committee.

Plate XIX DEITIES



MAHAKAL (Domohini — Jalpaiguri)



PETKATI (Maynaguri—Jalpaiguri)

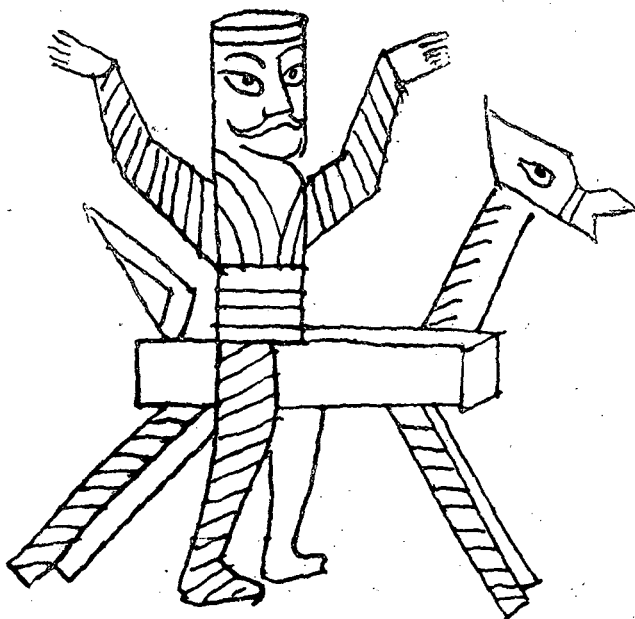
Plate XX DEITIES



BISAHARI (Baikunthpur Estate)



KANI BISAHARI (in village)
Drawn from a cork image



MASAN (an evil spirit)
Drawn from a cork image

Plate XXI DEITIES



GITALI BISOHORI

a—Goda ; b—Godani ; c—Beulani ;
d—Bala ; e—Mermaid

Drawn from a cork image

After going out of the house they sing :—

Nðēa kula khan
bèter ÷an ge, bèter ban
koṭki dile dhan ge
koṭki dile dhan.

নয়া কুলা খান
ব্যাতের বান গে, ব্যাতের বান
কোট্‌কি দিলে ধান গে
কোট্‌কি দিলে ধান।

We have come with a new cane dish but the miserly woman gave some paddy only.

The party gave paddy instead of rice. They are angry.

Note :—Koṭki—Miser.

Singing on the road on the way to another house :—

bðro bðro bari re mor
makla baser thop
hamar ti na dzais kala re
hamar ti gele kuta hulia dim
hamar ti na dzais kala re.

বড়ো বড়ো বাড়িরে মোর
মাকলা বাশের থোপ
হামার তি না যাইস কালা রে
হামার তি গেলে কুতা হলিয়া দিম
হামার তি না যাইস কালা রে।

There are big bamboo groves between the big houses. Please do not emerge from behind the grove and advance towards me. If you dare so my dogs would be upon you.

Scaring any undesirable intruders away.

Note :—Kuta—dog (S. C. B. — Kukur)

Meceni Khela

In the year 1958 a few women of Jhakuapara (Mandalghat, District-Jalpaiguri) very kindly sang the following songs of Meceni Khela within the hearing of the writer, as they did not like to sing in front of him nor did they allow to have their dance photographed. They however, agreed to stand near the Dala (under the umbrella) with the Mareani (the leading woman in white cloth) and made one little girl to dance. In this position a photograph could be taken. (See illustration)

Entering a house with the deity.

Song.

asia Lokhmi mao mor
duare dibe pao
agobari sud kðreche
bidhur bap mao
kènere puta ghðnð pao
Lokhmi Saraswati eiṭhe
nèo bas ghðr
saindza hole saindza bati
bihane chan chðr

আসিয়া লখমী মাও মোর
দুয়ারে দিবে পাও
আগোবাড়ি শূদ করেছে
বিধুর বাপ মাও
ক্যানেরে পুতা ঘন পাও
লখমী সরস্বতী এইথে
ন্যাও বাস ঘর
সাইন্জা হলে সাইন্জা বাতি
বিহানে ছান ছর।

Mother Lakshmi will come and put her feet at your door. The house in which we are about to enter is being sanctified by the presence of the goddess under our care. Then addressing the members of the house they say why are you moving so slowly and not hurrying to receive the goddess. We request Lakshmi and Saraswati to make their abode in this house. In the evening you should light a lamp in the house and spray cowdung emulsion in the morning.

It is the common belief that a lamp must be lit in every house before it is dark and the courtyard must be sprayed with cowdung emulsion in every morning. If they are not done the goddess Lakshmi is sure to depart from the house and the inmates suffer from poverty.

Note :—Lakshmi—goddess of wealth ; Bidhur bap mao—We are now acting as the parent guardian of the goddess.

ghðnð pao—moving with short steps.

After singing and dancing the party leaves the house.

Song.

Nôya ku!a khan
beter ban ge
beter ban
koṭki dile dhan ge
koṭki dile dhan
ei guṭik dhan dia
natsalo ge sikoi ḍhuli
bhatar sunile ḍanghabe tok.

নয়া কুলা খান
বেতের বান গে
বেতের বান
কোটকী দিলে ধান গে
কোটকী দিলে ধান
এই গুটিক ধান দিয়া
নাচালো গে সিকোই ঢুলি
ভাতার সুনিলে ডাঙ্গাবে তোক।

We came with a new *Kula* (winnowing fan) nicely tied with cane strips. But the miserly landlady gave us a little paddy (that will require extra efforts to make rice out of it). They were annoyed and said you gave us this little paddy and made us dance swinging the ornament over the buttocks (a slang expression). Usually the women of good class never use a chain ornament (sikoi) over the buttocks. The women actually said that they were made to dance like a low-class woman. They also threatened the miserly house-wife that her husband would give her a sound beating when he comes to know of this. The husband would not like to give so little a subscription to this great religious affair. Beating the wife is not an uncommon practice amongst the villagers. This song is practically a joke. It is sung in every house. Probably long ago such a song was composed and is handed down for generations.

Other Songs of Meceni Khela :-

Asia nachumi mao mor duare dile pāo
ago barir sido kḍreche bido bap māo
kēne put-re ghōṇḍ pāo
jodi tomar ṭsaul nai
dhan bhukia hamak ṭsaul dēo
ṭsaul dhorī berai hamra
ḍñḍna sundari ge.

আসিয়া নছুমী মাত মোর দুরারে দিলে পাঁও
আগো বাড়ির সিদা করেছে বিদো বাপ মাত
ক্যানে পুত্রে ঘন পাঁও
যদি তোমার চাউল নাই
ধান ভুকিয়া তামাক চাউল দ্যাও
চাউল ধরি বেড়াই হামরা
অঙ্কনা সুন্দরী গে

‘Mother Lakshmi has come and placed her feet at the door of your house. The members of the last house where we had been have given the subscription. Why are you moving slowly? If you have no rice in stock please husk some paddy and give it to us. We all women move about with the gift of rice for the puja’.

Notes :—nochumi—goddess Lakshmi (Tista Buri); duar—door, yard; pāo—foot (S. C. B.—pa, pḍḍ) ago-bari—the last house we came across; sido—gift, subscription; bido—of all; kēne putre ghōṇḍ pāo—why you people move slowly; dhan bhukia—husking paddy, hamak—to us; ḍñḍna-sundari—women with collyrium in the eyes.

Asia nochumi māo mor
duare dil pāo
ago barir sudhōṇ kḍreche
girhi bapo māo
kēne putḍ dighḍl pāo
ḍzodi tomar ṭsaul nai
dhan bhukia hamak ṭsaul dēo
ṭsaul dhorī berai hamera
udḍna sundori ge
tomare ḍze ṭsaul kori
tomare bilamo
tomare ṭsaul kori
Tista buri sebibo
tomar ghḍrer hamra
bighini khōṇḍaibo.

আসিয়া নছুমী মাত মোর
দুরারে দিল পাঁও
আগো বাড়ির সুধন করেছে
গিরহী বাপো মাত
ক্যানে পুত দীঘল পাঁও
যদি তোমার চাউল নাই
ধান ভুকিয়া হামাক চাউল দেও
চাউল ধরিয়া বেড়াই হামেরা
উদনা সুন্দরী গে
তোমারে যে চাউল কোরি
তোমারে বিলামো
তোমারে চাউল কোরি
তিস্তা বুড়ি সেবিব
তোমার ঘরের হামরা
বিঘিনি খণ্ডাইব।

Sudhōṇ—pure; udḍna—woman with husband alive.

This song is from Patkata about eight miles from the Jalpaiguri town and hence contains many standard Bengali words.

In the field between two villages away from habitation. Songs are called 'Udasi gan'. (উদাসী গান)

(1) adz kun haṭer ge ačna
nal nal chabòn gila
paisa paisa
chabòn kinia nai dilo
baudhia
ki dia ghosim matha.

আজ কুন হাটের গে আন্ন
নাল নাল ছাবন গিলা
পাইসা পাইসা
ছাবন কিনিয়া নাই দিলো
বাউধিয়া
কি দিয়া ঘসিম মাথা।

A demand on the lover of a mirror and a soap.

Note :- paisa paisa—Sold at one pice each.

chabòn—Soap ; baudhia—Lady's man (referring to the husband).

—o—

(2) dza ke dekhu take puchu
(one will shout—u, hu)
gitaler chòkratak koi dekhu
(u, hu)
oi ṭa cèngrar bade bhat charichu mui
kali hate
(u, hu)

ষাকে দেখু তাকে পুছ
(উ, হু)
গিতালের ছকরাটাক কৈ দেখু
(উ, হু)
ঐটা চ্যাংরার বাদে ভাত ছারিছ মুই
কালি হাতে
(উ, হু)।

I am blindly in love with the young son of the song-composer.

—o—

Song during 'Dzat Sinani'—When the Tista buri is immersed in water.

Tista buri bhokti ne
gaëo garam bhokti ne.

তিস্তা বুড়ি ভক্তি নে
গায়ে গারাম ভক্তি নে।

Tista buri we salute you and please take the salute of all villagers.

Bas Khela gan.

(1)

Bas bari khan
par koria de
abo ge he
hutti gele mor
dosore ache
o ge, sogač ache
dzore dzore
mui nari
èkelač ge he
abo.

বাস বাড়ি খান
পার করিয়া দে
আবো গে হে
হুতি গেলে মোর
দোসরে আছে
ও গে, সোগাচ আছে
জোরে জোরে
মুই নারি
এ্যাকেলার গে হে
আবো।

(2)

Chi ge ai
na parais gali
ghuguri tsaleche
mor mon
nai dzurim mui
hokor kam
khòpar dzòtòn.

ছি গে আই
না পারাইস গালি
ঘুগুরি চালেছে
মোর মন
নাই জুরিম মুই
হোকোর কাম
খপার যতন।

Note :- Ghuguri tsaleche mor mon—My mind is upset ; na dzurim—Won't do. Hokor kam—Usual work.
These are amorous songs of young women.

Puja songs.

Madan Kam Khela (Bans Khela) :—

Abo ge mor biao
hauser din mor dzache ge bdeä
chagbl tsdraite holek deri
bhaber bondu dzachek chari
kar songe alapdn kori.
ek dzhbn na hde dui dzhbn na hde
tin dzhbn asia hdbare pare
moner asa kãhde na puraẽ.

আবো গে মোর বিয়াও
হাউসের দিন মোর যাচ্ছে গে ব'র
ছাগল চরাইতে হলেক্ দেবী
ভাবের বন্ধু যাচ্ছেক্ ছারি
কার সঙ্গে আলাপন করি।
এক বন না হয় দুই বনা না হয়
তিন বন আসিয়া হবারে পারে
মনের আশ কাঁহয় না পুরায়।

Oh my Grandmother, get me married. My youth is passing away. I have wasted my days tending goats. My lovers are all going away. I have none to talk to. Either one or two or three of my friends may come but none fulfils my desire.

Song of Kali Puja :-

Ore dangbr Kali maãa
ndrðm bhatar paãa
na budzhe mon-ke khaãa
khðpa dia hedelaã
changðle mðrðder gua khaã.
tirik bhai bishaswa nair
potir bukðt dia pão
e kalo bðrðne
tara tumi ge
o-ho ge mor
e dzogoter mao ge mao.

ওরে ডান্ধর কালী মায়'
নরম ভাতার পায়া
না বুঝে মনকে খায়া
খপা দিয়া হেদেলায়
ছান্দলে মরদের গুয়া খায়া
তিরিক্ ভাই বিশ্বস্ব নাইর
পতির বুকত্ দিয়া পাঁও
এ কালো বরণে
তারা তুমি গে
ও হে গে মোর
এ জোগোতের মাও গে মাও।

Oh my young lady Kali, getting a meek husband you do not understand your mind, you wrap him with the fillet of your hair and allow a goat to eat the areca of your man (you allow a she goat to ride on your man). You cannot be trusted. You black maid, you put your feet on the chest of your husband. Still you are my mother, you are the mother of the world.

Dangbr - young, aged. ; ndrðm bhatar - meek husband ; khðpa - fillet of hair ; hedelaã (hedlay) - wrap, bind ; changðl - she goat (S.C.B. chagbl). maãa - maiya (woman) ; paãa - paya (having got) ; khaãa - khaya (having eaten).

Dui goru ãk sis, kðreche bðndðnar dis
bondu Kalir pðd
chofo bðro dðs munik sophil dðndðbðt
bondu Kali digabori, poti buke diche bhoi
Kali ðbðtar
tahar mðrmð ke ba budzhe, sadhyð ache kar
bhatare upðre dzare pão
tãho hoil dzogoter mao, sei bhðgðhðti
sðnkðrer bame bðse nam dhðre soti.
oinðng hoile dzodi man hde
hamar noklar kiser bhde
utsit katha boli
maia tðlðt bhatar upðrðt hamerao
oinðng tsoli.
bondu kali mudo mali kali name dzde
kalike bondile dziber bhðbð mukti hde.

দুই গোরু ঃক সিস করেচে বðndðnar দিশ্
বোন্ধু কালীর পদ
ছোটো বড়ো দশ মুনিক্ সফিল দগুৎ
বোন্ধু কালী দিগাবরী পতি বুক দিছে ভরি
কালী অবতার
তাহার মর্ম কে বা বুঝে সাধ্য আছে কার
ভাতারে উপরে যারে পাঁও
তাহে হোইল জোগোতের মাও, সেই ভগবতী
শংকরের বামে বসে নাম ধরে সতী
ঐনং হোইলে যদি মান হয়
হামার নোকলার কিসের ভয়
উচিত কথা বলি
মাইয়া তলত্ ভাতার উপরত্ হামেরাও
ঐনং চলি
বোন্ধু কালী মুণ্ড মালী কালী নামে জয়
কালীকে বোন্ধিলে জীবের ভব মুক্তি হয়।

Notes : sis - yoke ; saphil - dandabat - saluted with success ; bondu - worship ; bhoi - leg ; digabori - nude (S. C. B. digðmbðri) ; hamar noklar - we people ; maia (maiya) - wife ; oi-nong - like that.
hoẽ r hoy (becomes) ; bhoẽ - bhoy (fear) ; dzde - dzoy (success) ;

Meceni Khela song :—

Duarer age saru amer gòch
tahare tðle kèto bhukam dhan
kali d̥zam Kaliagand̥zer haṭ
oiṭhe hate anim sonāmukhi har
har na anie kèto galaē dim
ṭsokher ṭipe hater ṭhare kètoi
ḍak sunim.

দুয়ারের আগে সরু আমের গছ
তাহারে তলে ক্যাতো ভুকাম্ ধান
কালি যাম্ কালিগাণ্ডের হাট
ওইথে হাতে আনিম্ সোনা মুখী হার
হার না আনিরে ক্যাতো গালায় দিম্
চোখের টিপে হাতের ঠারে ক্যাতোই
ডাক সুনিম্ ।

A lean mango tree stands at the door of the yard, we husk the paddy underneath ; tomorrow we go to Kaliagunj market, buy a golden top neckles and put it on round the neck. Then will come the amorous call of the eyes and stealthy signs of hands.

Notes :- duar - door, yard ; age - in front ; bhukam - husk the paddy to remove the chaff from the grain ; d̥zam - shall go ; oiṭhe - from there ; kèto - much, used to denote constant action ; ṭsokher ṭipe - amorous look ; hater ṭhare - signs of hands, hints.

Goroknather gan (Gomira song) :-

Sib natsore sib sad̥ze
kana koriṭa d̥zhumur bad̥ze
bad̥zeko d̥zhumur bad̥zeko tal
ei giriṭa d̥zogot bhal
d̥zogoter-o runi d̥zhuni
sonare bandhinu ṭuni
sonare kherua bās
èk duare nèkho hās
hās nèkho d̥zore d̥zor
paroa nèkho pōṭsis d̥zor
paroarē ḍak sua
girisir bouṭa na khaē gua
khaē gua te na khaē ṭsun
pōntha bhatat ḍhale nun
pōntha bhat chōḍbōlaē
girisir bouṭa khèlkhèlaē
khèl khèlaite khèl khèlaite
nagil bhok
kunṭhe negise pud̥zar bhog
sodor khaibe Mōddōnpur
kèmon kori d̥zabe mōddōnpur
mōddōnpurer paik para
chōḍē (choy) buri aṭharo ghora
ghoraē ghoraē d̥zu-d̥zagri
pāch bamon ṭa bu-d̥zagri
pāch baman ṭa ne-beri
girisir bouṭa che-beri
bhal kaṭakhan na paē (pay)
bilaik marlek ṭhōpkea
hipar hupar mōntia
bilai asil boria.

শিব নাচোরে শিব সাজে
কানা করিটা ঝুমুর বাজে
বাজেকো ঝুমুর বাজেকো তাল
এই গিরিটা জগত ভাল্
জগতেরও রুনি ঝুনি
সোনারে বান্ধিছু টুনি
সোনারে খেরুয়া বাঁশ
অ্যাক দুয়ারে ন্যাখো হাঁস
হাঁস ন্যাখো জোরে জোর
পারোয়া ন্যাখো পঁচিশ জোর
পারোয়ারে ডাক শূয়া
গিরির বউটা না খায় গুয়া
খায় গুয়া তে না খায় চুণ
পন্থা ভাতত্ ঢালে নুণ
পন্থা ভাত ছল্বলার
গিরির বউটা খ্যাল খ্যলার
খ্যাল খ্যলাইতে খ্যাল খ্যলাইতে
নাগিল্ ভোক্
কুন্ঠে নাগিছে পুজার ভোগ
সোদোর খাইবে মদনপুর
কামন করি যাবে মদনপুর
মদনপুরের পাইক পাড়া
ছর বুড়ি আঠারো ঘোড়া
ঘোড়ায় ঘোড়ায় জু-জাগ্‌রি
পাঁচ বামনটা বু-জাগ্‌রি
পাঁচ বামনটা নে-বেরি
গিরির বউটা ছে-বেরি
ভাল্কাটা খান না পায়
বিলাইক মারলেক্ খপ্‌কারা
হিপার হুপার মন্তিয়া
বিলাই আসিল্ বড়িয়া ।

Notes :- Giri - landlords ; pōntha bhat - stale rice, rice cooked in the previous night. Chōḍbōlaē - becomes slimy. khèl khèlaē - (khel khela).

laughs loudly. bhok - hunger ; dzu-dzagri—fight ; bu-dzagri-combine ; ne-beri - greedy ; che-beri - dirty ; kakashan - knife ; thdpkea - throwing down violently ; hiper hupar - this side or that side ; mðntia - reciting montros ; boria - alive, after getting back new life. Sodor khaoa - dine with relatives and friends.

Although the song is composed in honour of Goroknath it contains a variety of subjects on the village life. It is usually sung in the village Paharpur a few miles to the north of Jalpaiguri town.

In this song 'ch' is usually pronounced as 's' as in 'ass'.

Còròk pujar gan.

Bao nai batasð nai (re) mor khirki kène nðre,
chofo deora sondhail ghðre mola tankur bade,
uþho uþho pan soami ceton kðro gao,
ghðre ache dðbler ghoti muk akholao,
soggete ulli mðntse dðb-dðbkar.

বাও নাই বাতাসো নাই (রে) মোর খিরকি কানে নড়ে
ছোট দেওরা সন্ধ্যাইল ঘরে মোলা তান্কুর বাদে
উঠো উঠো পান সোমামি চাতন কর গাও
ঘরে আছে জলের ঘটি মুখ আখোলাও
সোগগেতে উল্লি মন্টে জ-জকার।

There is no wind but the window leaves are trembling. Your younger brother has entered my room for some prepared tobacco for a smoke. Oh my dear husband, get up from bed, wash your face with water kept in the pot. you then hear the songs from the heavens that is trickling down to the earth.

Note :- Pan—loving (S.C.B.—Pran) : Akholao—wash.

Song of Tista Buri.

Nahi dððl nahi thðl nahi tari akas
ei chiri mðndðb na hðð chiriko bilas
bão hate tsampa kela dahine sðnkð dððl
tahar upðr asðn kailo dhðrmo nirðndððn
pube na bondibo pir pakambðr
dohkine bondibo ma kalir tsðrðn
poccime bondibo somudra sagor
uttðre bondibo pantso bahini buri
akase ponnam kori akaser kamini
patale ponnam kori patal basuki
sunner moddhe ponnam kori bura buri
paðer moddhe ponnrm kori mohamoyee tista buri.

নাহি জল নাহি থল নাহি তারি আকাশ
এই ছিরি মণ্ডব না হয় ছিরিকে বিলাস
বাঁও হাতে চাম্পা কেল ডাহিনে শংক জল
তাহার উপর আসন কৈল ধর্ম নিরঞ্জন
পূবে না বন্দিব পীর পাকাম্বর
দক্ষিণে বন্দিব মা কালীর চরণ
পশ্চিমে বন্দিব সমুদ্র সাগর
উত্তরে বন্দিব পান্চ বাহিনী বুড়ি
আকাশে পন্নাম করি আকাশের কামিনী
পাতালে পন্নাম করি পাতাল বাসুকী
শূন্যের মধ্যে পন্নাম করি বুড়া বুড়ি
পাটের মধ্যে পন্নাম করি মহাময়ী তিস্তা বুড়ি।

There is no water, no land and no skies. This is the weird region where she plays. Her left hand holds a plantain, the right hand holds a conch full of water. The Lord makes her seat over the airy nothing. To the east I pray to the yellow robed Pir (Krishna), to the south I pray to the feet of mother Kali, to the west I pray to the ocean and to the north I pray to mother Buri with her associates. To the skies I pray to the goddess of the skies, to the under world I pray to Basuki the mother of the snakes. In the void of the sky I pay my respects to the departed soul of my forefathers and on the Great Seat (Pað) I offer my greatest respects to the Great Tista Buri.

Bisohora Song.

Danþa ðakhali taman dia ðhali,
moner tike bura geil dur titthe tsoli,
budzhað dbudzhað nagail dzerpeþa dzerpeti,
kãho dhuti tshiri sadail kopini,
kãho mathat bandhil maiar paþani,
kãho ghðr charil garosti charil
tsðr-tðdrea phuþanit baigon bhadzil,
karo ghðrer maia charil hari,
karo bhatar holek nðða bèþari,

ডাক্টা ডাখালী তামান দিয়া ঢালি
মোনের তিকে বুড়া গেইল দূর তীর্থে চলি
বুঝায় অঝুঝায় নাগাইল জেরপেটা জেরপেটি
কাঁহ ধুতি ছিরি সাদাইল কোপিনি
কাঁহ মাথাত্ বান্ধিল মাইয়ার পাটানী
কাঁহ ঘর ছারিল গারস্তি ছারিল
চড় চড়েয়া ফুটানিত্ বাইগন ভাজিল
কারো ঘরের মাইয়া ছারিল হাড়ি
কারো ভাতার হলেক নয়া ব্যাপারী

karo katha kãho na sune tsoite uñhil ban,
 utsa nitsa heþha utsol sòb korilek saman,
 ghòrer sòlea hðëa gail bedzar,
 paëa monot dzaë bedzaë dhikkar,
 ag pach na budzhi natsi bhanghe ghòr bindaboni,
 tino tsokhu nal kori dèkhe ðhakur sulopani.

কারো কথা কাঁহ না শুনে, চৈতে উঠেল বান
 উচা নীচা হেঠা উচল সব কোরিলেক্ সামান
 ঘরের সলৈয়া হয়া গেইল বেজার
 প্যাসা মনত্ যায় বেজার ধিক্কার
 আগপাছ না বুঝি নাচি ভাঙ্গে ঘর বিন্দাবনী
 তিনো চোখু নাল কোরি দ্যাখে ঠাকুর সুলপানি।

Bags and baggage all giving away,
 Angry old man went far in pilgrimage,
 Wise and idiot sons started quarreling,
 Some tore away their cloth and put on a loin cloth,
 Some tied on head wife's cloth,
 Some left home, left lands,
 Suddenly in great pomp started brinjal frying,
 In some house women left cooking,
 In some house the husbands became new traders,
 No one would hear other's advice.
 In dry choitra month a flood came,
 Up down low high lands all got sunk under water,
 Household mouse became sorry
 Getting in mind went away with much contempt.
 Consequences not thinking dance and break house peace,
 With three eyes open looks on god Sulopani.

The old man of the village in the disgust went away to distant lands in pilgrimage leaving all his property behind. No sooner had he gone than his sons, be they wise and be they fools, started quarreling amongst themselves. The wise ones put on the dress of a Vaisnava and left home. The idiots allowed themselves to be led by the advice of the women folk. Some sold away their houses and lands and squandered away the money in useless pomp. The wife of some left all household work. Some left agriculture and became new traders thinking this occupation to be more honourable. None would listen to other's advice. Then came in the summer season an unexpected deluge submarging all high and low lands. The mouse that had sumptuous food in the grannaries of the house left it in contempt as nothing was left there to eat. You jump at anything regardless of consequence and destroy the peace of your house. The God Mahadev stares at all these with his three red eyes.

This is one of the songs sung through the mouth of the fisherman Goda in the Bisahara festival where the great lady Behula is the heroine.

This is a warning to the new generation running blindly after the new civilisation of this country. The old time-honoured joint family that brought peace and prosperity is gone. The poor who got their subsistence from the stores of the well-to-do leave in despondency. The new civilisation tears up the family and each has his own way. False prestige attached to many professions brought about ruin to many. The peace and happiness of the old family life have been destroyed.

Danþa dakhali - bags and baggage ; Tike - in disgust. Dzerpeþa dzerpeþi - Quarrel ; Sadail - made and put on ; Kopini - loin cloth worn by the Vaisnava mendicants. Maia - wife (maiya) ; Paþani - Coloured cloth made of jute or cotton yarn. tsòr-tsòrea - suddenly ; Phuþani - false pomp.

Baigon bhadzil - Brinjal is not a nutritious food but a large quantity of oil is necessary to fry it. It means - wastage.

Bhatar - husband ; tsoit - March-April ; Ban - flood. Heþha utsol - low and high land ; Sòlea - mouse. Dhikkar - despondancy, anger ; Bindabon - play garden of Lord Kristna ; generally means - a happy home (S. C. Bengali - Brindabon). Snlopani - The god with a trident in hand - Mahadev.

Hudma Songs (rain inducing).

These songs are the exclusive property of the womenfolk. After several years of search an old woman of Cooch-Bihar could be induced to give the writer two songs in a presentable form. These songs are reproduced below :-

Song (1)

Deoa tui bõrsek re
gao dhuia mui
bari nagi dũão.
haría konote
dzemon deoa dur duraẽ
oi moton tsengri gila
pherketãẽ.
asar mas san mas
deoat na hõẽ pani
tin din kar sðrar
gayðt poiche chani.
deoa tui bõrsek re
gao dhuia mui
bari nagi dũão.

দেওয়া তুই বরষেক রে
গাও ধুইয়া মুই
বাড়ি নাগি ঝাঁও।
হারিয়া কোণোতে
যেমন দেওয়া দূর দূরায়
ওই মোতন চেংরি গিলা
ফেরকেটায়।
আষাঢ় মাস শান মাস
দেওয়াত্ না হয় পানি
তিন দিন কার সরার
গায়ত পইছে ছানি।
দেওয়া তুই বরষেক রে
গাও ধুইয়া মুই
বাড়ি নাগি ঝাঁও।

Free translation :—

Oh sky, do please send some rain. I shall wash my body and go home. As clouds roar and rumble in the north-western sky, so the mind of the young girls run and roam about. There is no rain in the whole of Asar and Sravan, my utensils are lying unwashed for three days and moss has appeared on them. Do please, oh god of the heavens, pour some rain. I wash my body and go home.

Note :—Haría kon - North West ; Dur duræ - roar and rumble ; Pherketãẽ - speedily move about in all directions ; San mas - July-Aug.

Song (2)

Asar Saon mase
deoa hoil khðra
tin dinkar angsal
gondaẽ sðra sðra.

আষাঢ় শাওন মাসে
দেওয়া হইল ধরা
তিন দিনকার আংসাল
গোন্দায় সরা সরা।

There is no rain in the months of Asar and Sravan. I cannot cleanse my cooking place for three days. A bad stink is coming out.

Note :- Asar, Saon—June, July, August. Angsal - the place in the cook shed where cooking is done.
Sðra - decomposed.

Birua Song.

This song is said to be an incantation (montro) sung by the exorcist (Odzhas) to ward off evil spirits causing disease. It is also sung by the elephant trainers when a wild elephant after it is caught is made to walk between two tamed elephants for training. The experts sing this song in a slow but long drawn tune. It is their belief that the evil spirit (dèo) in possession of the wild elephant cannot stay long if this song is sung.

Song.

Bahomoti phir mor mðylani
bahamoti char mor mðylani ge.
ðghðno masète nðya pake dhan
kãho kaẽ kãho mande kãhðto nðban.
pusuna masðte pusuna pðrðp
dũei narir purus nai micha tar gourðb.

বাহমতি ফির মোর ময়লানী
বাহমতি ছার মোর ময়লানী গে।
অঘণো মাসেতে নয়্য পাকে ধান
কাঁহো কাটে কাঁহো মাঙে কাঁহতো নবান।
পুষুনা মাসতে পুষুনা পরপ
যেই নারীর পুরুষ নাই মিছা তার গৌরব।

maghona masðte kðrua pðre sit
 tula gandu bichaẽ nari oti biporit.
 phagun masðte tegun bðhe bao
 sohite na pare nari kunkhilar ao.
 coite catoki pokhi bðle pia pia
 pirit koria charia palaẽ
 ðbhagonir sãia.
 boisak masðte boner dððto poki
 sokoli ney bhasa
 boner bharea pokhi
 tãho dðzure bhasa.
 dðzethðna masðte dðzethua ramer kôli
 hulasil ðbhagir mon
 sunia piar buli.
 asar masðte kalua mẽgh jhðre
 soru sutar kapor cire
 dui dðzoubðner bhare.
 saun masðte nodit scoal bhase
 bhati dikar sadu mahadððn
 udzan dese dðzache.
 bhadðr masðte bhadðr khðrali
 ðhibar dðzaga nai, bhasil sðrali.
 asin masðte banar ðbðses
 udzatikar sadu mahadððn
 dðzache apðn des.
 katik masðte tulðsir gorot bati
 asilo ðbhagir sãia
 kanghe nia chati.

* * "

kaði mandî bahomotir hoil biha ge.
 (this is repeated)

মাঘনা মাসতে কড়ুয়া পরে শীত
 তুলা গাণ্ডু বিছায় নারী অতি বিপরীত।
 ফাগুন মাসতে তেগুন বহে বাও
 সহিতে না পারে নারী কুংখিলার আও।
 চৈতে চাতকী পখি বলে পিয়া পিয়া
 পিরীত করিয়া ছাড়িয়া পালায়
 অভাগবীর সাঁইয়া।
 বৈশাক মাসতে বনের যত পখি
 সকলি বের ভাসা
 বনের ভায়েয়া পখি
 তাঁহ জুরে ভাসা।
 জ্যৈষ্ঠনা মাসতে জ্যেষ্ঠনা রামের কলি
 হুলাসিল অভাগীর মন
 শুনিয়া পিয়ার বুলি।
 আষাঢ় মাসতে কালুয়া ম্যাঘ ঝরে
 সরু সূতার কাপড় চিরে
 দুই ঘোবনের ডারে।
 শাউন মাসতে নদীতে শেওলা ভাসে
 ভাটি দিকার শাদু মহাজন
 উজান দেশে যাছে।
 ভাদর মাসতে ভাদর খরালি
 অহিবার জাগা নাই, ভাসিল সরালি
 আশিন মাসতে বানার অবশেষ
 উজাতিকার শাদু মহাজন
 যাছে আপন দেশ।
 কাতিক মাসতে তুলসীর গোরোত বাতি
 আসিলো অভাগীর সাঁইয়া
 কাংঘে নিয়া ছাতি।

কাটি মাণ্ডি বাহোমোতির হইল বিহা গে।

Note :—Bahomoti - goddess ; Mðylani - evil spirit ; Mandẽ - thresh ; Pðrðp - festival ; Gðre - fall ; Gandu - pillow (Old word : present use - sitan) ; Oti biporit - put a large quantity of cotton in the pillow ; tegun - at treble speed ; sãia - friend (a Hindi intrusion), bhasa - nest ; hulasil - cheerful ; dðzoubðn - breast. Most of the songs of the cultivating class relates mainly to the seasons and crops—a sort of nature worship.

Chapter VIII

Ritual and Belief

(*Beliefs concerning supernatural Beings and Agencies*)

As stated earlier, Rajbansis believe in the existence of the evil spirits and they are capable of doing harm and annoy human beings.

The simple village folk resort to rituals to appease or to drive away evil spirits. These rituals may be treated as magico-religious practices. The articles of worship taken together are called *Pudza* and the actual worship is called *Pak-kdra* or *Omali pudza* or simply *Pak* (পাক-করা, অমালি পূজা, পাক).

The following are some of the evil spirits recognised by the Rajbansis as capable of doing harm to human beings.

Bhut :- (Dèo-দ্যাও)

It is a male spirit. When a man dies an unnatural death his soul becomes a *bhut*. When a man dies of natural death but his post funeral rites (*Sraddh*) could not be performed, or a pindo could not be given he becomes and remains a *spirit* until it is performed.

This spirit lives in bamboo or areca groves, in Shewra trees (*streblus asper*) and may enter into every house through the doors, windows or a big hole in the wall.

It attacks adults both men and women and at any hour of the day or night. Before the attack, the spirit frightens the subject of attack by taking the form of a cat swiftly passing in front of or by throwing a clod of earth close to the person.

The attacked person is seized with a sense of fear. He tries to avoid the presence of other men. He takes a body cover and completely covers himself. He begins to shiver. He does not talk to any one but sometimes bursts into violent laughter. The woman attacked also exhibit such symptoms.

An exorcist is called. After coming to the house of the ailing person he takes some pure water in a metal cup and a few basil leaves. He utters some incantations over the basil leaves and throws them into the water of the cup. It is said that he can see on the leaves the image of the spirit that has attacked the person. This performance is called *Mdth*. Then he asks the afflicted person who the devil is. The person does not reply, sometimes he tries to spit on the exorcist. The exorcist then tightly holds the person, covers his head and face with a fishing net and ties it with a rope. Then he utters some incantations over a pot of water and sprinkles it on the affected man. The man jumps up, shouts, abuses the exorcist and then speaks out who the evil spirit is in possession. The diagnosis is then made. In some cases tying of a fishing net alone is enough to scare away the spirit.

If there is no response after the sprinkling of water, (*dzbl pdra*) as above, the exorcist takes some hairs from the tail of a cow (*comoli*-চামোলি), a piece of leather from an worn out shoe, wraps them in a torn cloth (*dzholla*-বজা) and makes a torch with dry jute stems (*sinza*-সিন্জা) by tying the bundle with the stems. The torch is set fire to and the irritating smoke is held near the nose of the affected person. Along with this a piece of the root of *man-kotsu* (মনকটু - a kind of aurum) is held near the ear without touching him. The man shouts violently, tries to run away from the house and then gives out the identity of the spirit. It is believed that the spirit himself says through the man in possession of him. The same performance is done in case of a woman also.

The exorcist then asks the spirit, why and how he got hold of the person. The spirit, narrates the story of the attack through the mouth of the afflicted man.

Then the exorcist orders the ghost or the spirit to leave off. This he complies with but usually he asks for some food of curd and flattened rice and a smoke before he goes away. These when given are eaten and after a good smoke, the affected man suddenly falls down on the ground and becomes unconscious and stiff. Thus the spirit goes away. The exorcist and other men give him a massage and after half to one hour the man becomes normal and cannot remember what happened when the spirit was in possession.

It is interesting to see a spirit driving (*Bhut charani*) performance, even a sceptic is led to believe in the presence of spirit.

Pettani, Poiri- (প্যাভানী ; পোইরী)

These are female spirits also called 'Dèo' (দ্যাও).

They live in bamboo or plantain groves or on *Shewra* trees (*Strabulus asper*).

If a woman dies unmarried, she becomes a 'poiri'. If a pregnant woman dies her spirit becomes a 'pettani'

(1) Children of 3 - 6 months old, (2) Unmarried girl (*akoari*-আকোয়ারী), (3) Unmarried boys (*dhena*-ঢেনা).

When a child is attacked he passes stools of various colours, stops sucking the breast and gradually becomes weak and ultimately dies. This disease is called *bahena* (বাহেনা). When an unmarried girl is attacked she dreams of (1) eating, (2) co-habiting with males, (3) talks and laughs in a dream etc.

When an unmarried boy is attacked he dreams of (1) eating, (2) co-habiting with a woman, (3) discharge of semen while sleeping etc.

Gradually they suffer from regular fits simulating hysteria. This disease is called *Chôlôna* (ছলনা).

If the symptoms as stated above appear it is presumed that a *pèttani* or a *poiri* has attacked. An exorcist is called. He comes and tries 'Môth', *dzôl-pôra*, 'têl-pôra' or 'ghee-pôra'. That is he utters incantations over a pot of water or oil or clarified butter and sprinkles it over the body of the possessed. The affected person does not shout nor tries to run away. If the spirit does not go away he resorts to actual performance of exorcism (*pak*).

He takes one fresh plantain leaf, spreads it on a place previously smeared with cowdung emulsion. He puts 5, 7 or 9 marks on the leaf with vermilion and lamp-black.

He takes another plantain leaf and places on it some puffed rice, sugar or treacle, a few ripe plantains and some milk in a cup, a piece of white cloth about three feet square, a piece of cotton string of the same length as the patient, and a few flowers. An imaginary figure of the spirit (a female figure) is drawn on a fresh plantain leaf with vermilion and lamp black (*calan*-চালান). He makes a *dhona* with a plantain stem and puts in it some pure water and a spoon made of plantain (*dhona*) leaf (*ôpa-ôpa*). A torch (*bhoga*-ভোগা) is prepared. It is a small bundle of rag soaked in oil or ghee and placed in an earthen cup.

The exorcist takes his seat on a wooden seat and arranges the articles as follows :-

Calan	
The plantain leaf with marks of vermilion and lamp black	Plantain leaf with
	puffed rice, sweets and milk
dhona	
bhoga	a pigeon in a cage
The affected person	
Seat of the Odzha (exorcist)	

After the exorcist has taken his seat, the pigeon in the cage is brought and placed on his right side and the patient on the left.

The exorcist starts uttering incantations and sprinkles water and places flowers on the foods and on the pigeon in the cage. After a while the pigeon is brought out of the cage, held in the left hand and water is dropped on the head until it shakes its head violently. Then a few feathers are plucked from the head of the pigeon and put on the plantain leaf containing the marks of vermilion. The torch is lighted. The exorcist takes the torch in his right hand and the pigeon in the left and passes them in front of the affected person from head to foot always touching the body with a wing of the pigeon. This is done thrice. The torch is placed in position and the pigeon in the cage. It is said that the *poiris* have five sisters. They are *bhul poiri* (ভুল পোইরী), *nur poiri* (নুর পোইরী), *bura poiri* (বুড়া পোইরী), *huri poiri* (বুড়ী পোইরী), *Sorgo poiri* (সরগো পোইরী). They all move together and attack together. The exorcist must propitiate all of them at a time.

The writer was told that the exorcist implored the '*poiris*' to leave the attacked person and enter the body of the pigeon. A little water from the *dhona* is sprinkled on the articles kept in front of the exorcist and the '*pak*' is done. Then the exorcist goes away.

The pigeon is kept confined in the cage for five days. If the affected person improves considerably during this period another *pak* is done to finally drive out the spirits. The pigeon is then given over to the exorcist. If the person does not improve a more powerful exorcist is called.

Gôrbo Thakurani : (গরবো ঠাকুরানী)

She is said to be a manifestation of the goddess Kali. The attack is called *Gôrbo Thakuranir Bahena* (গরবো ঠাকুরানীর বাহেনা).

She lives in the Kali sanctuary in the near-by bamboo grove.

Children 4-5 months old, sometimes adults, are attacked which is called *Barami* (বারামি—devi possession - S. C. B. 'bhôr'). It is said that if the Kali sanctuary is desecrated in any way she takes possession of some one and informs the head of the village. In case of a child, it is attacked with measles (*Khêsera* - খ্যেসেরা).

The disease itself establishes the diagnosis. The worship and the *pak* are the same as in case of attack with *poiri*. But the

work must be started in the morning and finished before noon. In this ceremony there is no image (*calan*). The same form of worship is done when an adult is possessed.

Bhut, Kali, Condi : (ভূত, কালী, চণ্ডী)

Sometimes all three together attack a person. The person may be a man or a woman. When attacked the eyes become red, the tongue protrudes, develop tendency to bite others, talks in an irrelevant way, gets high temperature with severe pain all over the body. It is said if the attacked person bites himself and draws blood there is hardly any hope of life.

A *Calan* of Kali, ripe plantains, incense, flattened rice, curd, a piece of white cloth, a pigeon, nine earthen lamps, a bamboo sieve, vermilion, basil leaves and flowers are the requisites of the propitiation.

After the preliminary *Mòth* the attackers are discovered and then magical sprinkling of water and oil are tried and then the *pak* is done. It is done in the same way as driving the spirits away.

Masan, Masna : (মাসান, মাসনা)

It is a male spirit. It is the most dangerous and most dreaded of all spirits.

Masna is said to be the offspring of the union of Kali (mother) and Dharma (father). There is a story about its birth. Once mother Kali went to bathe in a river. She was alone. Suddenly god Dharma appeared. They had union and *Masna* was born. He was named *Pitsla Masna* (পিচলা মাসনা) or simply *Masna*. He is said to be a great fighter. The leech is said to be a manifestation of *Masna* and hence if any one gets frightened at the sight of an approaching leech and in consequence gets fever, a *pak* is done to propitiate *Masna*. This spirit is said to ride on a horse.

Masna lives everywhere excepting human habitations. It is said that there are sixteen types of *Masna*. They are :-

1. Barika masna (বারিকা মাসনা) - lives in bamboo or areca grove.
2. Tisila masna (তিসিলা মাসনা) - lives in water and catches the bather.
3. Ghatar masna (ঘাটের মাসনা) - lives on land near the river ferry or bathing ghat.
4. Chutsia masna (ছুচিয়া মাসনা) - lives in places where people go to attend nature's call.
5. Colan (চলান ,,) - lives on roads.
6. Bohita (বোহিতা ,,) - lives on floating plantain tree.
7. Kal (কাল ,,) - lives in the cremation ground.
8. Kuhulia (কুহুলিয়া ,,) - lives on trees.
9. Nangha (নাংঘা ,,) - nude Masna.
10. Bisua (বিসুয়া ,,) - causes pain.
11. Obua (ওবুয়া ,,) - causes vomiting.
12. Sukna (শুকনা ,,) - causes drying up of the person.
13. Bhula (ভুলা ,,) - waylayer.
14. Dèmsa (ডাম্সা ,,) - causes dropsy.
15. Ungia (উংগিয়া ,,) - chameleon like masna (can take any shape and colour)
16. Narha (নারহা ,,) - bald headed Masna.

Both male and female adults are attacked.

They may attack at any time in the day or night. The attack is called *chutsia dhòra* (ছুচিয়া ধরা).

When *Masna* catches some one and takes possession of him the following symptoms develop :—

The person starts eating the burnt earth of the oven (অথার মাটি) burnt wood charcoal (কাঠ কয়লা) and all fries and roasts of cereals, (ভাজা পোড়া) fish or meat, and burnt sticky earth (*Mutsi mati* - মুচি মাটি) thrown away by the potters after pot making as refuse. He tries to avoid cooked food. He dreams of fishing in the night. Then he develops diarrhoea, dysentery, indigestion, weakness, passing of urine unconsciously in bed, discharge of semen in the sleep. He gradually becomes weak and rapidly loses flesh and ends ultimately in general oedema, dropsy and death.

If both *Masna* and *Poiri* catch a person he or she is sure to develop night-blindness (*andha-sula* — অন্ধ-শূল).

If the above symptoms develop an attack of *Masna* is strongly suspected.

An exorcist is called. The afflicted person is seated on a wooden stool in front of him. The exorcist takes some mustard seed in his right hand, utters some incantations and passes his hand along the right side of the diseased persons from head to foot. Then the mustard seeds are put into a bamboo cylinder. This is done thrice. The open mouth of the cylinder containing the

mustard seeds is tightly closed with a rag and thrown away at a distance in a jungle. This removes the effect of the attack. It is said that the spirit of the *Masna* is absorbed by the mustard seeds.

If it fails a *pudza* is arranged and *Pak* is performed. The articles for the worship are as follows :—

Burnt earth, charcoal, fries, roasts and an earthen lamp. They are kept on a plantain leaf. An image of *Masna* is made with cork resembling a man riding a horse. (See illustration).

One end of a bamboo stick is driven into a lump of sticky earth and the cork image is fixed to the other end. Flowers, basil and wood apple leaves are not required for this ceremony.

The image is worshipped with burnt earth, charcoal, fries and the roasts. The patient (affected person) is placed on the left side of the exorcist. A little water is taken in a metal cup, the exorcist utters incantations and sprinkles the water on person and the articles on the plantain leaf. The image and the articles on the plantain leaf are then packed up tightly and thrown away in a distant jungle. By this the *Masna* leaves the patient and the symptoms disappear immediately. The exorcist before coming for the worship protects himself (bòn kòre - বন্ করে) by uttering some incantations in his own house so that the *Masna* may not do him any harm on the way while going to his client's house. Before sitting for the *Pak* he utters other incantations again to further protect himself.

Mogor, Còn (মগর ; চন্) :

This is a male spirit and extremely dangerous. There are two types of Mògòr e. g. *Kaṭa Mògòr* (কাটা মগর) and *Dzati Mògòr* (জাতি মগর). The *Kaṭa Mògòr* has no head, its eyes are fixed on the chest. *Dzati Mògòr* is very tall. It is not headless.

It lives on banyan, *simul* (Bombax), *Chatim* (Dita) and *Pakri* (F. religiosa) trees. It prefers big trees situated near a river or a pond.

A man or a woman going alone or separated from his or her comrades, is attacked. It has a special fascination for a newly wedded man or woman. Hence a newly married man or woman is never allowed to go alone or cross a river alone at night as long as the smell of turmeric used at the time of marriage lingers on the skin. Mògòr is so powerful that it can pull and stop a bullock cart.

The attack is always at night.

Mògòr cannot attack unless one is frightened and his mind becomes weak for the time being. Such is the impression of the people. Mògòr frightens people in many ways. Sometimes he assumes a colossal figure and stands across a road with two legs on the top of two trees on two sides of the road. It never fails to frighten any unsuspecting passerby. Sometimes it takes the form of a dog, cat, jackal or bear and suddenly passes across the road in front of the pedestrian. When the Mògòr fails to frighten a man in this way it is said that the spirit speaks from a distance in a loud voice 'dza dza batsilo, tok sès koribar tsahichinu' (যা যা বাচিলো, তোক স্যাস করিবার চাহিছিল)—go away, you are luckily saved, I wanted to kill you.

When a Mògòr attacks, the person so attacked develops the following symptoms :— His eyes become red, he has pain in the chest, he does not like to hear any one speaking, sometimes he becomes violent and runs with a stick to beat any one he comes across, he tries to run away from his house.

Besides the trick of attack as described above there are other ways of attack. Sometimes the Mògòr assumes the form of one's friend and calls him at dead of night exactly imitating his voice. If the unsuspecting person goes out he is led into a river or pond and drowned to death. So no body goes out until three calls are given. It is said that the evil spirits never gives three calls at a time. It is the custom to offer country cigarettes (biḍi) to any night caller. If he is a man he will smoke, if he is a spirit he cannot smoke. In the latter case the person called will at once run back into his house provided he can keep his consciousness. The Mògòr cannot kill a man unless there is sufficient water to drown him. It is said Mògòr never throws anyone into a well, as the spirit himself cannot follow him into the well to press him down.

The elders of the village caution any new comer about the above tricks of Mògòr.

A story was told by Manu Ray, a Rajbansi friend of the writer, of his personal experience of the presence of Mògòr. In the year 1952 A. D. at about 10 o'clock at night he with some of his friends were coming back home from Rajgunj market. Rajgunj is a police station about 16 miles west of Jalpaiguri town. It has a weekly market. There was a big banyan tree on the east bank of the river Chaoi about three miles east of the market. The place was lonely at that hour. A highway passed by the tree. After crossing the bridge one member of the party named Amiya Ray went under the tree for passing urine. The other members did not take any notice of him and proceeded along the road. After going about a furlong from the tree Monu looked back but could not find Amiya following them. He suspected something wrong. They all turned back and went near the tree and found Amiya moving slowly through the nearby jungle to the river. Monu at once caught him and dragged him on the road. On being questioned Amiya said that he was following the party. But in fact he was moving towards the jungle. Monu knew some incantations. He at once took some dust from the road, uttered some incantations over it and sprinkled it on his own body and also on Amiya. As soon as this was done all the members of the party heard some one speaking from inside the

jungle 'tumi to bhari tsalak' (তুমি তো ভারী ঢালাক)—I see, you are a very cunning fellow. Monu at once replied 'tui ðlač kichu koribar na paris' (তুই এলায় কিছু করিবার না পারিস)—now you can do him no harm. The spirt said 'paro, kintuk ðlač na hoč' (পারো কিন্তুক এলায় না হয়). 'Yes I can, but not now. A once a fire burst out in the jungle and it disappeared immediately. This story may or may not be believed ; but it was told by Monu himself to the writer.

If a man finds someone clad in white cloth standing in the centre of the road at night he must stop and should not turn back. If he turns Mðgðr is sure to catch him. He should keep his eyes on the figure and retrace his steps until he is quite a long way from the white figure. He may then turn his back and run away. If the Mðgðr is a headless one it stands under a tree and the eyes set on the chest glow like the eyes of a tiger when light falls on them. The man seeing this should keep looking on the eyes and gradually step back to a distance. If the man cannot do this he should pass urine on his palm and sprinkle it on his own body and the spirit will not catch him.

If somebody is attacked by Mðgðr no one should speak in his presence to call an exorcist. If he does the attacked person is killed before the exorcist arrives. It is advised to go outside the house and whisper into the ear the order to call an exorcist.

The exorcist arrives. He at first does the Moth to ascertain the spirit that has taken possession. As soon as he sprinkles the magic water (dždl-pðra) on the person he starts abusing the exorcist in a most filthy language and threatens him. The exorcist does not mind. He goes on with his duty. But he takes care not to cross a river alone specially at night lest he confronts a Mðgðr unawares.

The exorcist sprinkles some mustard seeds on the attacked person with incantations. The person begins to talk (বাকা - baka). The exorcist asks why and how the person was attacked. The spirit says through the mouth of the man 'mui khela kðretsu pðthðt, mor khela gilar upor dia mansiṭa tsoli geil, tate dhortsu - (মুই খেলা করেচু পথত, মোর খেলা গিলার উপর দিয়া মাসিটি চোলি গেইল, তাতে ধোরচু - 'I was playing on the road, the man trampled over my play things, so I attacked him). When a cart is attacked the spirit says 'mui gari khanat tsoribar tsahatsu, mok tsðrač na, oi bade dhortsu' (মুই গাড়ি খানাত চোরিবার চাহচু, মোক্ চড়াই না, ওই বাদে ধোরচু - I wanted to ride on the cart, that was refused, so I attacked the cart and the persons on the cart).

In fact although the spirit spoke the people on the cart could not hear as he did not speak through the mouth of any man. So they could not comply. This is a folk-belief but to modern men these are all bunkum.

After sprinkling sanctified water, mustard seeds and the pak the exorcist orders the spirit to leave the body of the person. The spirit generally wants some food. Curd, flattened rice and treacle are given on a plantain leaf. The man eats greedily. Then the spirit goes away and man falls unconscious and remains so for six to ten hours. Mðgðr, though a dangerous spirit, is driven away easily.

Gònga sagðr, Dokhina dèò, Gohili (গঙ্গাসাগর, দখিনা দ্যাও, গৌহিলি)

Three names of one spirit. It is a male spirit. It is dangerous. It rides on duck. No one should therefore kick at a duck. Male, Female, children are attacked at any time of the day or night. The attack is called 'tsakula' (চাকুল).

It causes twisting of face, eyes and limbs. All or one of them may come upon the attacked. Sometimes the hands and the feet slowly lose their muscles and dry up. If a pregnant mother is attacked her child will be born with one of the limbs twisted or physically defective.

The treatment is by *pudza* and *pak*.

It is done on a river side. A raft is made of plantain stems. Five stems are tied together to make the seat of the place for worship. The following articles are required.

1. A bunch of ripe plantains 2. a duck tied to the raft with a string. 3. pigeon tied similarly to the raft. 4. a piece of white cloth with no borders. 5. vermilion, incense, lamp, five rupees made of cork, five silver rupees. 6. an image of goddess Kali painted on paper. All these things are arranged on the raft.

The afflicted person is brought near the river. The exorcist does the Kali puja and then holds the pigeon in his left hand and the duck in his right hand and passes them over the body of the attacked uttering incantations and specially imploring the spirit to leave the person and enter into the duck and the pigeon. The pigeon and the duck are then tied to the raft and the raft with the articles is drifted along the current with the duck and the pigeon resting on it.

If the attacked person begins to improve, it is presumed that the spirit has entered the body of the birds.

There are other smaller and unimportant spirits. They are *Sur*, *gin* etc. A miser after death becomes a *Sur* or *gin*. It is said that he watches over the money kept secretly during his life time. Some men claim to have got some hidden money by propitiating this spirit.

Protectives :

Various devices are used by the Rajbansis to prevent the attack of evil spirits. Some of them are listed below :-

Mortsā kharu (মরচা খারু) :-

It is an anklet worn round one leg of a child. It is made of an alloy of iron and a bit of silver taken out of the ashes of the pyre after a dead body is cremated. (While burning a dead body sometimes a bit of silver is put into its mouth).

Beads :

They are used in the form of 'hoiddar mala' (হাইড্ডার মালা). It is made of a tooth of a tiger, a tooth of a fish, one blue glass bead, a few seeds of a soap nut tree (hoidda) made into a necklet with a black string of cotton or silk passing through the holes made into them. It is worn round the neck of the child.

Iron :

This is the most common protective metal. A woman should always carry a bit of iron about her as she is most exposed to evil influences. She usually carries a knife (katari - কাতারি) while going out. The new-born child is also protected from evil eye by putting a bit of iron under its bed.

Broom Stick :

The sticks of a broom protect a new born. They are placed under the bed.

Fishing net :

This protects the pregnant mother and the child. It is kept in the room where they sleep at night or under the sleeping shelf (tsangra - চাংরা).

Amulet :

Amulet (dhop - ঢোপ) is used to ward off evil spirits. It is usually made of copper. The amulet contains within it the root of a sacred tree or a bit of paper on which some montros have been written or uttered * and the open end tightly closed with lac. It is worn round the arm or kept hanging from the neck with a black string.

Tying : (Bōn - বন্)

There are some incantations for protecting a person, a house and sometimes the whole village against the attack of evil eye. The latter is generally done when an epidemic of cholera or small pox breaks out. The body of a person is protected (gao-bon - গাও-বন্) by sprinkling some charmed water or sand on the body. Similarly other protective measures are called :-

'Pōthōt-bōn' (পথত্-বন্). It protects the road.

'Bari-bon' (বাড়ি-বন্). It protects a house.

'Goram-bon' (গরাম বন্). It protects a village.

Incantations (Montros) :-

The montros have great power. These are claimed to be very efficacious in driving off evil spirits. The meaning is very hard to understand. Some of them that could be collected are stated below. The charmers using them told the writer that some secret religions exercises must be gone through before they become effective and only the disciples were allowed to learn them, recital of the incantations had no effect.

Dzol-pora montro:-

Kal Kal nōrsing bekare dhaē

Sun sun nōrsing birer katha

Nōrsing hunkare chil matlir bir

Pats bhaier matha kun kun mathili

Chotsea chots mukha khēdea korim dur

Hula kape huli kape akase indro kape

Dev deva sur pōr hōste korim dōr

Ap hōste korima sap

Char bao batas dēv diṣtan

Phēnnar soril charia dza tui

Sōrgōk nagia.

কাল কাল নরসিং বেকারে ধায়

সুন্ সুন্ নরসিং বীরের কাথা

নরসিং হংকারে ছিল মাতলীর বীর

পাচ ভাই এর মাথা কুন কুন মাথিলী

ছচেয়া ছোচ মুখা খ্যাদেয়া করিম দূর

হুলা কাপে হুলি কাপে আকাশে ইল্ল কাপে

দেব দেবা সুর, পর হস্তে করিম জোর

আপ হস্তে করিমা সাপ

চার বাও বাতাস দ্যাব দিষ্টান

ফান্নার শরীল ছারিয়া যা তুই

সরগক্ নাগিয়া।

* Most of the Odzhas are illiterate. Those who cannot write the montros speak them into the talisman.

The black giant *Nòrsing* speeds up and you all hear of the valour of *Nòrsing*. The terrific roar of *Nòrsing* dislodges the heads of five brothers of the devil *Malti* and the wicked spirits *Chotsea* and *Chots-mukha* will be driven away by him. The roar of *Nòrsing* trembles the world and the lord of the heavens is in fear. I have the strength of the gods and the giants. You the bad spirits taking possession of my client must leave him at once and go to the heavens.

Note :- *Sòrgo* or *Sòggò* means not only the heavens but the skies i.e. the void overhead. This is what the Rajbansis mean by the word '*Sòggò*'.

Consecrants

Tèl-pora—Sanctification of oil

Montros

i dzu dzu bi dzu dzu phènnar (the affected person) asil dzu
mònte hang-kinu mònte pang-kinu
swòpòner tèlete phènnar dzu bòsanu.

ই জু জু বি জু জু ফ্যাম্মার আসিল্ জিউ
মন্তে হাংকিনু মন্তে পাংকিনু
স্বপনের ত্যেলেতে ফ্যাম্মার জিউ বসানু।

Come my friendly spirits, my client (name) has a disease due to a bad spirit. I recall you in my mind, I think of you in my mind. Do please come snatch off the bad spirit from the man and deposit it in this pot of oil.

Deha bòn, Gao-bòn—Protection of the body :

Montros

Tsari tsòndra gòlar har phènnar (own) dehar pòiri tor nai ahar
tòle nagra upòre bom phènnar bahir bhìtri kòru potsi dam
ei bòn helibo polibo tshòrhàbo ghao
dohai lage iswòr gosaier mathòt muchibo dui pão.

চারি চন্দ্র গলার হার ফ্যাম্মার দেহার পৈরী তোর নাই আহার
তলে নাগরা উপরে বোম ফ্যাম্মার বাহির ভিতরি করনু পচি দাম
এই বন হেলিবো পেলিবো চড়াবো ঘাও
দোহাই লাগে ইস্বর গোসাইএর মাথাত্ মুছিবো দুই পাও।

I have a necklace of the four moons. You the *pòiri* living in my client's (name) body will have no food. I tie the body of this man within two big pitchers. If any of you or any evil spirit try to break this tie Mohadev will be angry on you. (you will clean your feet with the hair of Mahadev).

After reciting the incantations he will snap his middle and thumb fingers so as to make a sound. This he will do thrice and his body is immune from the attack of evil spirits.

Pòthòt bòn—Protection of the road

Montros

òmdr pindu, dzhmur pindu, nephur pindu pão
ei asta sap, tsòoar, bagh, bhaluk, tsòn, mògòr, bhut, pitsas
pòth charia de, tor baper thakurani dzae.

অমর পিন্দু, কুমুর পিন্দু, নেফুর পিন্দু পাঁও
এই আস্তা সাপ, চাওরার, বাঘ, ভালুক, চন, মগর, ভূত, পিচাস
পথ ছারিরা দে, তোর বাপের ঠাকুরানী য়ায়ে।

I have worn the consecrated anklets. You serpent, scorpion, tiger, bear, tsòn, mògòr, bhut, pitsas clear off the road. Your grand-mother is going.

Note :- Tsòoar - Scorpion (also 'tsèhor - চাহর)

Bari bòn—Protection of the house.

montros

òddzr bòn, bòddr bòn, tsoudike phèlae dinu nohar bòrmo dzu,
tsoudike dzege dzomer dzomdut,
mor bari bòn kortsu, he ma kali nohaka put
mor bòn dze ba tsorabe ghao
iswar mohadever mathot muchibe dui pão.

অজর বন, বদর বন, চৌদিকে ফ্যালার দিনু বোহার বরমো জাল
চৌদিকে জাগে যমের যমদুত
মোর বাড়ি বন করচু, হে মা কালী বোহাক পুত
মোর বন যে বা চড়াবে ঘাও
ইস্বর মহাদেবের মাথাত্ মুছিবো দুই পাও।

I tie my house by casting an iron curtain on all sides. Oh my mother Kali please save my house from the emissaries of the Lord of Death. If any one tries to break through my iron curtain he will do so at the risk of the wrath of Mahadev. (will clean his feet with the hair of Mahadev).

Mògòr bòn

To protect against the evil spirit Mògòr.

Montro :

1. Siva bòle Sònkòr Bòrdmha kòre ao
èk sòtò tsollis pirer mathot
muchibo tui pão.

শিব বলে শঙ্কর বরমহা করে আও
এক শত চল্লিশ পীরের মাথত্
মুছবো তুই পাও ।

Siva calls, Sankar and Brahma cries aloud. If you fail to go away you will incur the wrath of one hundred and forty Saints.

Note :- Pir—Saints of the Mohammedans.

2. char madar dzinda pir, pheresta bet
tsurile hatot koria chdè dzai sonnasir bòn
bame tsòn, mògòr, bhut, pret pitaë.

চার মাদার জিন্দা পীর ফেরেস্তা বেত
চুরিলে হাতত্ করিয়া ছয় মাই সন্ন্যাসীর বন
বামে চন, মগর; ভূত প্রেত পিটায় ।

The saints are going with sticks uttering incantations to the abode of Mahadev (Sannyasi) and beat away the evil spirirs Còn, Mògòr, Bhut and Pret.

So saying in one breath on some sand it is sprinkled on the body. The above are the examples showing cultural fusion of Hindus and Mohamadens living side by side in the same village. (The writer has come across many such montros).

Montros to drive away the evil spirit - Masna or Masan.

The exorcist comes, takes his seat on a wooden seat in the middle of the inner yard with some mustard seed in his hand. He at first recites the story of how he got these powerful mustard seeds which he is about to use to drive away the devil.

The story of the musturd seeds.

Baro tsas dile gòsai, tero paṭ moi
Tsasea bhui khan koril dhòl dhòl
kèna durga bon phèlea betsia.
gòsai bòle Narod suno mor katha
èk kaṭha sorisa de dzomine phèlea.
gòsaier kathate Narod sorisa phèlalo
kaṭia maria sorisa guniar hatot dilo
hatot koria sorisa phènnar mathot dhoril
gunia sorisa tsalebar dhoril.
èk kèna sorisa dil pubok nagia
puber dos dusi bao batas anil dhoria
èk kèna sorisa dil utorok nagia
utorer dos dusi bao batas anil dhoria
èk kèna sorisa dil potsim nagia
potsimer dos dusi bao batas anil dhoria
èk kèna sorisa dil dokhin nagia
dokhiner dos dusi bao batas anil dhoria.

বারো চাষ দিলে গঁসাই তেরো পাট মই
চাষেরা ভুঁই খান করিল ধল ধল
ক্যানা দুগরা বন ফ্যালেয়া বেচিয়া ।
গঁসাই বলে নারদ শুন মোর কথা
এক কাঠা সরিষা দে জমিনে ফ্যালেয়া ।
গঁসাইএর কাথাতে নারদ সরিষা ফ্যালালো
কাটিয়া মারিয়া সরিষা গুণিয়ার হাতত্ দিলো
হাতত্ করিয়া সরিষা ক্যানার মাথত্ ধরিল
গুণিয়া সরিষা চালেবার ধরিল ।
এক ক্যানা সরিষা দিল পূবক নাগিয়া
পূবের দোষ দুষি বাও বাতাস আনিল ধরিয়া
এক ক্যানা সরিষা দিল উত্তরক্ নাগিয়া
উত্তরের দোষ দুষি বাও বাতাস আনিল ধরিয়া
এক ক্যানা সরিষা দিল পশ্চিম নাগিয়া
পশ্চিমের দোষ দুষি বাও বাতাস আনিল ধরিয়া
এক ক্যানা সরিষা দিল দক্ষিণ নাগিয়া
দক্ষিণের দোষ দুষি বাও বাতাস আনিল ধরিয়া ।

Twelve ploughings were given on the land. It was made smooth with thirteen harrowings. All the weeds were removed. Then the Gossai asked Narod to broad-cast the mustard seeds on that land. At this Narod did the same and after the mustard the seeds was ripe were threshed out and given over to the exorcist. He took the mustard in his hand and touched the head of the affected man. Then the exorcist (odzha) sent the mustard in all directions. A portion was sent to the east that caught all the bad spirits and brought them to the exorcist. A portion was sent to the north that caught all the bad spirits of the north ; a part was sent to the west to catch all the evil spirits of the west and a portion was sent to the south to catch all the evil spirits of the south and bring them all to the exorcist.

After they are brought the *odzha* tells the *masan* (spirit) about his birth and calls him a bastard. He orders him to leave the body of the afflicted person and go the abode of Siva (Kailas).

The following charm is recited with the mustard seeds in hand to drive out the *Masna* :—

Tsuts muts chutisia tior dzati	ছুট্ মুট্ ছুচিয়া তিওৰ জাতি
kunthe chutisia tor udhopoti	কুনথে ছুচিয়া তোৰ উধোপতি
bap tor Dhòròm mao tor kali	বাপ তোৰ ধৰম মাও তোৰ কালী
tar gòbhe hoilek Masna	তাৰ গভো হইলেক মাসনা
Sun tor dzòmmer siluk	সুন তোৰ জম্মৰ শিলুক
Sunek kan patia	সুনেক কান পাতিয়া
fènnar òstang deha charia	ফান্নৰ অষ্টাং দেহা ছাৰিয়া
dza tui koilas nagia	যা তুই কৈলাস নাগিয়া।

You cunning Masna, you are a bastard,
do you know how and where you were born
your father was Dharma and your mother was Kali
you Masna was born of them.
do you hear the story of your birth
do hear ye with all attention.
just leave off the body of the afflicted man
and go to Kailas (abode of Mahadev)

Note :—‘tior’-bastard ; ‘udhopoti’-birth ; ‘siluk’-story.

Magical beliefs and practices

Witch craft

(Charms)

Charmed arrow.

There are persons among the Rajbansis who are capable of throwing charmed arrow against any person to do him positive harm. It is called *Ban-mara* (বান মারা). The arrow is invisible.

At dead of night the man keeps a metal plate on the floor of his room and puts a metal pot full of water on it. A lamp with mustard oil (gēcha) is kept on one side. The man utters incantations over the water naming the person he wants to strike. After a while he covers the mouth of the water pot with the plate and places it upside down. The water is prevented from flowing out as the mouth is closed with the plate. The lamp is lighted and placed on the inverted water pot. The man keeps sitting awake until the day breaks. Then he puts off the light and removes the whole thing to a corner of his room. In the morning either he himself goes or sends some of his disciples to see if the charm has taken effect.

Types of ban :

Various types of ‘ban’ are recognised by the Rajbansis. Some are listed below :

(a) **Baro gopaler ban** (বারো গোলাপের বান) :

It causes severe head-ache with burning sensation in his body and the victim dies within twelve hours.

(b) **Ṭēpa ban** (টাপা বান) :

The abdomen of the victim swells up. His urine and bowels are locked up and he dies in a day.

(c) **Hawa-tēpa ban** : (হাওয়া টাপা বান) :

All on a sudden there is accumulation of wind in the abdomen and the victim dies.

(d) **Meheri-buri ban** (মেহেরি বুড়ি বান) :

The victim becomes mad.

(e) **Masna ban** (মাস্‌না বাণ) :

Ulcers appear on the whole body of the victim.

(f) **Dzuguni ban** (জুগুনি বাণ) :

The victim is eaten away by vultures while alive. It is claimed that after this 'ban' is thrown a real vulture appears in the sky and it descends near the victim. At once hundreds of weird vultures come out from jungles close-by, attack the man and eat him up.

(g) **Borom ban or Brohmo ban** (বরম বাণ ; ব্রহ্ম বাণ) :

Soon after this 'ban' is thrown a small cloud appears in the sky. Suddenly a lightening (tsòròk - চরক্) shoots down on the victim and kills him.

Limitations of the magic arrow and its prevention :

It is said excepting the 'Hawa-tèpa ban' no other 'ban' can cross a river and so it is ineffective on a person living on the other side of a river.

There are exorcists who can ward off the 'ban'. The process is called *Ban-phirani* (বাণ ফিরানী). The exorcist can with incantations extract the 'ban' (arrow) from the body of the victim and may send it back on the person who threw the arrow. When it is possible the thrower himself becomes the victim. Sometimes a regular tussle ensues between the two magicians.

Ban (montros)

Barogopaler ban :

Baro gopal tère kali khòsea kha phènnar buker dzali
kalua kamuni ban buke bosia han. Mui gele ghuris, mor guru
gele ghuris, ar òdzha gele bozor khèa dhoris.

বারো গোপাল তের কালী, খসেয়া খা ফ্যান্নার বুকের জালি,
কালুয়া কামুনি বাণ বুক বসিয়া হান। মুই গেলে ঘুরিস,
মোর গুর গলে ঘুরিস, আর অঝা গেলে বজর খ্যায়া ধরিস।

Oh, the thirteen Kalis of barogopal please go and eat the lungs in the chest of that man (victim). Let the kalua kamuni arrow pierce his chest. You may come out if I go, you may do so if my preceptor goes but if any other odzha (magician) goes you tightly stick to the chest.

Tepa ban :

Nigum brohmani, nigum nak, phènnar òròng duar, brohmo duar
dìbul naga, dòmè dòmè phènnar mukhot dībul dile dzòme.

নিগুম ব্রহ্মাণী, নিগুম নাক, ফ্যান্নার অরং দুয়ার, ব্রহ্ম দুয়ার,
ডিবুল নাগা, দমে দমে ফ্যান্নার মুখত্ ডিবুল দিলে যমে।

Just stop the brain, stop the nose of my victim, close all his passages with a plug and kill him by suffocation. Dībul—plug. 'Brohmo' is pronounced as 'Bòròmhò' (Bòròmhani).

Meheru buri ban :

Meheru meheru buri tirphòla sundori, Sòrgo hate buri tui
mòntse de p'áo, dzaha mone hanku mui taha mone dza,
phènnak dhorìa hâte bazare bera.

মেহেরু মেহেরু বুড়ি তিরফলা সুন্দরী, সরগো হাতে বুড়ি তুই
মন্টে দে পাঁও যাহা মনে হাংকু মুই তাহা মনে যা,
ফ্যান্নাক ধরিয়া হাতে বাজারে বেড়া।

Oh beautiful old meheru come to this earth from the heavens, please do what I am thinking, you catch my victim and move with him wherever he goes.

Brohmo ban :

Kalua kamuni ban meghe kòre san ban, ban ched nia hate, dèb
dhòmmo tòmha òhen sakshi, phènnak merechu ban,
baro pohor baki.

কালুয়া কামুনি বাণ মেঘে করে শাণ বাণ, বাণ ছেদ নিয়া হাতে, দ্যাব ধম্ম
তমহা অহেন সাক্ষী, ফ্যান্নাক মারেছ বাণ, বারো পোহর বাকি।

Oh Kali and Mahadev make a black cloud and come with a sharp arrow in hand, you all gods remain my witness, I am shooting this arrow to the man and he will be killed in twelve hours.

Ban phirani (recalling the arrow)

Tèz bòl phòtinger thuni, phòting hoil tsar tsir,
utor, dokhin, pub, potsim
dzàè phènnak mariche ban phiria dzèa tar bukot han.

ত্যাঁজ বল ফটিংএর থুনি, ফটিং হোইল চার চীর
উতোর, দখিন, পূব, পচিম
বাঁর ফ্যান্নাক মারিছে বাণ, ফিরিয়া য্যায়া তার বুকোৎ হান।

The arrow may be as hard as a stone but my incantation will split it into four and the particles will go to the north, south, east and west. Let it go back and strike deep into the chest of the man who has shot this arrow.

This incantation must be recited thrice in one breath.

The writer enquired of a sorcerer whom he met, whether any one reciting the above incantations could make the charms effective. He smiled and said that a secret exercise must be gone into for some months before one acquired sufficient power to give life to the incantations and make them effective.

Rituals of Medical exorcism

Rajbansis of North Bengal believe that diseases are due to evil spirits and hence exorcism is the method adopted to drive out the spirits for the cure of the diseases. It is called *Mahanti kora*. Treatment with herbs is also resorted to. Now-a-days they are getting interested in modern scientific medicines. The other day, in 1955, in village Dhupguri in the Western Duars of Jalpaiguri District a preceptor (gurudev) came to the house of one of his clients. He was attacked with cholera. A *puja* was being performed to drive out the evil spirit that had taken possession of the said gentleman causing the disease. One of the social workers from the town happened to be there. The condition of the patient was going from bad to worse with starting of cramps in the limbs. He tried to call a modern doctor but the preceptor who was even then conscious, would not touch allopathic medicine. The worker gave a little bit of homeopathic medicine for the patient. But as soon as he came to know of it he refused to have any medicine. At last the preceptor succumbed to the disease. Instances of like nature may be multiplied. When the local District Board health officers went to the villages for vaccination against small pox and cholera the people resented and many fled to the neighbouring jungles to avoid vaccination lest the spirits become angry. Lately the epidemics have been largely controlled by mass vaccination under the threat of law. Now the people are realising the benefits of vaccination and the younger section is pressing the Government for introducing and continuing preventive and curative measures according to modern scientific methods but still recalcitrants are not inconsiderable.

Fevers :

A few years ago the writer was called to see a fever case in a village a few miles away from the Jalpaiguri town. He was allowed to examine the patient but was forbidden to give allopathic medicines to the ailing person. He saw a *'pudza'* was being arranged on the inner yard of the house. A village exorcist Khagendra Malakar of Hari caste belonging to Taluk Kharia, District Jalpaiguri, was engaged to propitiate the evil spirit that caused the fever. The exorcist happened to be the grandson of Churkutu who used to perform Tista Buri Puja in the writer's house. He performed the puja in the usual way of *Seva* and kept a pigeon in a cage to transfer the evil spirit into its body from the patient. Luckily the patient recovered after a few days. It was a case of malaria fever. Khagen having come to know of the relation of his grandfather with the writer's family kindly agreed to allow the writer to take down the *montros*. They are reproduced as under.

When the fever is high he recites the following incantation over a pot of clean water and gives it to the patient to drink. Also he blows some air from his mouth on the body of the patient several times after reciting a part of the *montro*.

The montro.

Dhumtore akas, dhumtore patal	ধুমতরে আকাশ ধুমতরে পাতাল
nai tor pudzar pdkas	নাই তোর পুজার পরকাশ
has khalo paro khalo	হাস খালো পারো খালো
muha mongsso bhoikhon kdro	মুহা মংস ভইক্ষণ করে
sogger bura buri, soggo na gia	সগ্গের বুড়া বুড়ি, সগ্গো না গিয়া
soggo na gia cblo.	সগ্গো না গিয়া চলো।

Khagen could not say what the purport of the *montro* was. It appears to mean that, 'you devil you have a smoky appearance every where, you never show yourself clearly even if a puja is given. Let you eat ducks, pigeons and all meats. You the 'Bura, Buri' of the heavens do not go back straight to the heavens but carry away the disease.

If this fails, a second *montro* is recited in the same way as above on the next day. It is this :

Hari ghdr tsanni bati	হাড়ি ঘর চান্নি বাতি
Kumar ghdr dehari	কুমার ঘর ডেহারী
tahate dzuria dinu	তাহাতে জুড়িয়া দিনু
sò sò bati	শ শ বাতি
tor bhoga nðre gang-o	তোর ভোগা নড়ে গাংও

tor bhoga tsòr-e
tor bap dak pare
sònar tsailon bati
ne hate koria
tsòlo dzai siber Koilas nagia.

তোৰ ভোগা চড়ে
তোৰ বাপ ডাক পাৰে
সনার চাইলন বাতি
নে হাতে কৰিয়া
চলো যাই শিৱেৰ কৈলাস নাগিয়া।

'This has also no meaning. It may mean that I have lighted hundreds of lamps on a sieve at the house of the diseased to show you the way. Your father is calling you. You take the golden sieve in hand and go to Kailas the abode of Siva your father.'

The exorcist waits for three days. If this fails, another puja is performed. This is the puja of Mahadev imploring the God to drive away the evil spirit and to absorb the disease within himself. Puja is done usually at day time. It is the duty of the exorcist to perform the puja. He learns it from his father or from his preceptor. The exorcists are generally a class by themselves. The montros and the method of puja are learnt from the elders of the family. So Khagendra told the author that he learnt the montros partly from his father and partly from his grandfather who outlived his son.

The requirements of this 'pudza' are the following :—

Ripe plantain—two bunches (about 32 plantains)
Malbhog plantain—five
Sweetened puffed paddy (Murki)—about half a seer
Curd, Milk—each one pot (about half pound each)
Sugar—half pound
Incense (Dhup), wood-apple (beal) leaves, flowers (white)
Pigeons—one pair
There is no image (no calan)

The montro of the 'pudza' (worship) is the following :

tulsi asòn tulsi bòsòn	তুলসী আসন তুলসী বসন
tulsi singhasòn	তুলসী সিংহাসন
tulsi-te mðhapovu koriben asòn	তুলসীতে মহাপ্ৰভু কৰিবেন আসন
aisò mðhapovu puja na-o	আইস মহাপ্ৰভু পূজা না-ও
bhòkter hate bhòkte deč	ভক্ৰে হাতে ভক্ৰে দেয়
kis-ne khač, mo-a mo-a posad hoč	কিঞ্চে খায় মো-আ মো-আ পসাদ হয়
aisò mðhapobhu boiso pač	আইস মহাপ্ৰভু বইস পাচে
pòsad nè-o bhòkter hate	পসাদ ন্যে-ও ভক্ৰে হাতে
bhòkter dzòr dzari niben řani-a	ভক্ৰে জৰ জাৰি নিবেন চানিয়া
adzi hate mðhapobhu ugir dehar	আজি হাতে মহাপ্ৰভু উগীৰ দেহাৰ
dzòr dzari bis dòròd diben chari-a	জৰ জাৰি বিশ্ দৰদ দিবেন ছাৰিয়া।

The Great Lord, I have laid the basil leaf as your royal seat. Please come to the earth and receive the worship. Please accept my offerings and absorb the disease of the ailing person within yourself. From to-day let the fever and pain of the diseased disappear.

After this worship (pudza) by the exorcist (*mahan*) himself at the house of the afflicted person, some curd or some milk is given to the suffering person to take. Sometimes a little sweetened puffed paddy, curd and a plantain are mixed and a little is given to him to eat. The pigeons offered to the gods are either killed or let off alive.

The pigeons are offered by sprinkling some water on their heads with the recital of the following incantation :

Hòre kisno nam, paroar nam	হৰে কিষণো নাম পাৰোৱাৰ নাম
andhar ghòr, phirache tok,	আন্ধাৰ ঘৰ ফিৰাছে তোক ;
dzòr dzari charia paro-ar nam	জৰ জাৰি ছাৰিয়া পাৰোৱাৰ নাম
sòggo hate namo Kali, mðn-ce dia pã-o	সগ্গো হাতে নামো কালী, মন্চে দিয়া পাঁও
ugir òstang deha charia, paro-ar siggir kò nam.	উগীৰ অষ্টাং দেহা ছাৰিয়া, পাৰোৱাৰ শিগ্গিৰ ক নাম।

You pigeons I speak in the name of the Lord Mahadev and Krishna that you are groping in the dark. The goddess Kali comes down from the heavens to the earth, takes away the disease from the afflicted person, gives it to you and then you make haste elsewhere.

Note :—Paroa—pigeon ; mðnche—to this earth ; ugi—(Rugi)—the afflicted person.

At last the exorcist takes some water in a pot and recites the following incantation imploring Mahadev (Sannyasi) to use his great powers to finally drive away the evil spirit causing the disease and take it to his kingdom at Kailas. After the recital some water from the pot is given to the diseased person to drink.

èk tsòndro dui sonnyasi namilo mòntsete
hunkare sonnyasi dòròsòn de
gòda nil hate khondzori nil bogole
pats pohori bhundzia sonnyasir rònge
hoil mon na hok na sok
pats pohori bhundzia sonnyasi
loiya geil apnar ghòr
tsòndro bhorì pudza dinu ògrobhori kha,
Ugir soril charia Koilas nagia dza.

এক চন্দ্ৰ দুই সন্ন্যাসী নামিল মন্ডেতে
হুংকারে সন্ন্যাসী দরশন দে
গদা নিল হাতে খন্ডরী নিল বোগোলে
পাচ পোহরী ভুঞ্জিয়া সন্ন্যাসীর রঙ্গে
হাইল মন না হোক না শোক
পাচ পোহরী ভুঞ্জিয়া সন্ন্যাসী
লোইয়া গেইল আপনার ঘর
চন্দ্ৰ ডোরি পূজা দিন অগ্রভোরি খা
উগির শরীল ছারিয়া কৈলাস নাগিয়া ঘা।

He finally implores Mahadev to take away the disease to his own home at Kailash.

Kailash—It is a snow-capped hill in the Himalayas.

Pocchut kaṭa : (পোচ্ছুতকাটা - rickets) :-

Children are attacked with this diseases upto ten years of age. The child-gradually becomes weak and always suffers from some diseases or other.

Some water from a river where it flows to the north (utdrasok-উত্তর সাক) is kept in an earthen pot with a bit of gold and silver dipped in it and a little unboiled milk is added to it. An exorcist is called. He utters some incantations over this water and floats a few *dub* grass on this water. The pot containing this water is set aside for the night. Next afternoon just before sun set the child is taken to a junction of three roads, a plantain leaf and a knife are carried. The child is made to stand on the plantain leaf placed on the tri-junction with face to the south. A string is loosely tied round the waist of the child. The child is bathed with the water and then the string is cut. The child with the mother will then come back without looking at the bathing spot.

The child will gradually improve ; at least this is their belief.

Andha sula (আন্ধা শূলা - night blindness.)

The treatment of this disease is the following :—

Three live glow-worms are pushed into three pieces of ripe plantain. Each piece of the plantain should be swallowed every day and the person will regain the sight.

A piece of dry intestine (gorin-গোরিন) of a cow is taken. A small bit is fished out, a little saliva of the mouth is mixed with it and then it is placed in the inner canthus of the affected eye. Immediately the person is asked to see the stars at night. (Every exorcist keeps some dry intestines in his own stock).

Then the story of Andha-sula is told to the affected person. It runs thus :

Andha sular montro (incantation to cure night-blindness).

Èkṭa azar tinta gāo. Tinta gāo dzèmon tèmon, èkṭa gāote bòsòte nai. Dzeiṭa gāo te bòsòte nai, oiṭa gāo te bosil tinta kumar. Tinta kumar dzèmon tèmon, èkṭa kumarer hate nai. Dzeiṭa kumarer hate nai, oiṭa kumar benale tinta tai. Tinta tai¹ phaṭa phuṭa, èkṭa tai tai-i na hòṭ. Oiṭa taite andhia khale tinta babhòn. Èkṭa babhòn pale nai. Dzeiṭa babhòn pale nai, oiṭa babhòn pale tinta bòl.² Duiṭa bòl bòhe³ piṭe khaṭ, èkṭa bòl bòhe na. Oiṭa bòl bètse koril tin ṭaka, duiṭa ṭaka phaṭa phuṭa, èkṭa ṭaka ṭaka-è na hòṭ. Sei ṭaka te nil tin khan kodal. Tin khan kodal dzèmon tèmon èkkhan kodaler ghòre⁴ nai. Oi khan kodal de bosale tinta tsouka.⁵ Tinta tsouka dzèmon tèmon, èkṭa tsoukat pani-e nai. Dzeiṭa tsoukat pani nai, oiṭa tsoukat bosale tin khan dzhaṭi.⁶ Tin khan dzhaṭi dzèmon tèmon, èkṭa khan dzhaṭi pòt-e⁷ nai, oikhan dzhaṭi-t maril tinta uhi mach. Pur-e korle chai. Lapha tor sundora haṭot bhangile bel. Andha-sula, dzom-sula, sat somuddur Lònka, adzi hate par hòṭa gel.

একটা আজর তিনটা গাঁও। তিনটা গাঁও যেমন তেমন, একটা গাঁওতে বসতে নাই। যেইটা গাঁওতে বসতে নাই, ওইটা গাঁওতে বসিল তিনটা কুমার। তিনটা কুমার যেমন তেমন, একটা কুমারের হাতে নাই। যেইটা কুমারের হাতে নাই, এটা কুমার বেনালে তিনটা তাই। তিনটা তাই ফাটা ফুটা, একটা তাই তাই-ই না হয়। এটা তাইতে আন্ধিয়া খালে তিনটা বাভণ। একটা বাভণ পালে নাই। যেইটা বাভণ পালে নাই, এটা বাভণ পালে তিনটা বল। দুইটা বল বহে পিটে খাষ, একটা বল বহে না। ওইটা বল ব্যাচে করিল তিন টাকা। দুইটা টাকা ফাটা ফুটা, একটা টাকা টাকার না হয়। সেই টাকাতে নিলে তিন খান কোদাল। তিন খান কোদাল যেমন তেমন, একখান কোদালের ঘরে নাই। ঐখান কোদাল দে বসালে তিনটা চৌকা। তিনটা চৌকা যেমন তেমন, একটা চৌকাত পারি-এ নাই। যেইটা চৌকাত পারি নাই, এটা চৌকাত বসালে তিনখান ঝাটি। তিনখান ঝাটি যেমন তেমন, একখান ঝাটির পটে নাই। যেখান ঝাটির পটে নাই, ঐখান ঝাটিত মারিল তিনটা উহি মাছ। পুড়ে করলে ছাই। লফা তোর সুন্দরা হাটত ভাঙ্গিলে বল আন্ধা শূলা, ঘম শূলা, সাত সমুদ্র লক্ষা আজি হাতে পার হয় গেল।

A king had three villages. One of them had no inhabitants. In the empty village settled three potters. One of them had no hands. The handless potter made three pans. The pans had cracks and holes, one had no form of a pan. Three brahmins cooked some food in the formless pan and ate. One got no food. The one who had no food got three bullocks. Two of them could draw the plough, one did not. The one that did not, was sold for rupees three. Two rupees were broken, one was no rupee at all. With this rupee he bought three spades. One of them had no hole to fix the handle. With this spade he dug three ponds. One of them had no water. Three fishing nets were cast in the waterless one. One net had no strings. With this net three carp (*Rohu*) fishes were caught. They were burnt to ashes. The brahmins went to Sundora market to buy Napha sag to eat the roast but there they broke one wood apple (aegle marmelos). After this affair night-blindness, total blindness, disappeared beyond seven seas and Ceylon (Lanka) from that day.

Village Medicines

It is the common belief amongst the simple Rajbansi villagers that illness and diseases are often the work of unfriendly spirits. Cholera, small-pox, measles are particularly the work of unseen spirits and can be controlled only by propitiating them. In spite of this belief some herbal remedies are used by the villagers to control or cure some diseases. A few of them as could be collected in the villages of this area are listed below.

For burns : Crushed unboiled potato is applied on the burnt limb. Hèmkatsa (Bryophyllum-S. C. B.-Pathorkuchi) leaves are crushed and applied.

Cold and Cough :- Turmeric (curcuma longa) is tied in a piece of cloth and allowed to hang round the neck with a string. The child's mother should not eat rice at night.

Fever :- Dzòl pòra.—Sanctified water.

Fractures :- Tèl pora—Charmed oil. It is claimed that the fracture heals up in 48 hours.

Head-ache :- A green plantain is cut into small pieces, crushed with lime, honey and salt and pasted on the forehead.

Pain in the abdomen :- The tuber of a particular grass (kèna ghas-Scirpus kysoor) is crushed and some juice is extracted. It is mixed with ginger and salt and taken by mouth slightly warmed.

Cholera :- (dhum beram, bhèdgormi) :- Bhèdrò Kali is worshipped.

Small or chicken Pox :- (guṭi, puskòra) - Tèlpòra and dzòlpòra. (charmed oil or water).

Diarrhoea :- Parched rice (muri) is mixed with water, a little white dhup (incense) and salt are added. It is taken by mouth.

A kind of small plantation containing many needs (Kangur-pir kèla) is roasted, crushed in water and taken by mouth with a little salt.

Ulcers and wounds :- Roots of 'Kèsrà ghas' and 'Bhomra-cita' are boiled in mustard oil. This oil when applied stops bleeding and dries up the wound. If the ulcer is big, a little green areca is crushed under the teeth and mixed with the boiling oil. Sometimes the entire herbal plants are boiled in mustard oil and applied.

Snake bite :- (1) Put at once a band of the earth raised by earth-worm over and around the bitten area and then call an exorcist (Odzha). This band prevents spreading of the snake poison.

(2) The juice of leaves of Dulphi (Leucas Linifolia S. C. B.-Dandakalas) is poured into the nostrils.

Rabid dog and Jackle bite :- A suitable exorcist is called.

Witches

The Rajbansis believe in witchery. There are both male and woman witches living in the society. Male witch is called Dahena (*ଦାହେନା*) and woman is Daheni (*ଦାହେନୀ*). It is said that some men and women are born with black tongue. They are witches. They can never do good to any one. They learn various incantations in dreams and can direct evil spirits or charmed arrow on any person or house. Nobody disturbs them or picks up any quarrel with them. They live in the society as usual. But no one marries a woman with a black tongue nor does anybody give her daughter in marriage to any man with a black tongue.

The writer has not met any witch but some of his Rajbansi friends living in villages asserted that they saw and talked with some witches. The writer never heard that a witch had been persecuted or killed by the Rajbansi villagers on some pretext or other, nor has he heard anything of this sort from his Rajbansi friends.

Note : 1. Tai - pà (S.C.B. - taoi). 2. Bòl - bullock. 3. Bohe pìrè-draw the plough. 4. Ghòr - Socket (the hole on one side of the blade of a spade to fix the handle). 5. tsouka - tank. 6. Dzhatì - fishing net. 7. Pot - strings forming a net. (Literal meaning - holes in a fishing net) ; body of the net.

Chapter IX

Riddles - Phakili (ফাকিলি) - Chilka (চিলকা)

1. (1) Addim ponkhi ðphula sak, kon ðziber atharota nak.
(2) অাড়িম পংখি অফুলা শাক, কোন জোবের অঠারোটা নাক।
(3) What is the bird that lays no eggs, what is the plant that bears no flowers, what is the animal that has eighteen noses.
(4) Answer :- addim ponkhi - a bat (a bird that lays no eggs).
ðphulak sak - a fern (vegetable that bears no flowers).
Kon ðziber atharota nak - a fish (Taki or Sati fish or a lobster with many antennae).
2. (1) ikri bikri nai tsotsa nai bitsi.
(2) ইকরি বিকরি নাই চোচা নাই বিচি।
(3) What is the fruit that has no skin, no seed.
(4) Answer :- Sait.
3. (1) ðek na bapoi sara gaçe atoi.
(2) এ্যাক না বাপোই সার গায়ে আটোই।
(3) What is the only son that has thorns all over.
(4) Answer :- Jack-fruit (contains sticky thorns all over the body).
4. (1) ðek na buri khoi bhadze mansi dekhile ðhap ðhake.
(2) এ্যাক না বুড়ি খই ভাজে মন্সি দেখিলে ঝাপ ঢাকে।
(3) What is the woman that frics paddy and covers the door when a man comes.
(4) Answer :- Snail (closes when a man approaches).
5. (1) hat nai pão nai gòrgòrea ðzač, pittir tsamra nai sobbo noke khač.
(2) হাত নাই পাও নাই গড়গড়েরা যায়, পিটির চামড়া নাই সব্ব নোকে খায়ে।
(3) What is the object that has no hand, no leg but rolls about, no skin on the body but eaten by all.
(4) Answer :- Water (no hand, no feet but can roll, no skin but taken by all).

Note :- 'pao' is pronounced as 'pão' in the area between the Tista and the Mahananda rivers in Jalpaiguri and Darjeeling Terai.

6. (1) hitti genu, hutti genu, genu Moraghat
ðkna gòch dekhi asinu phòler upor pat.
(2) হিতি গেনু, হুতি গেনু, গেনু মরাঘাট।
এ্যাক না গছ দেখি আসিনু ফলের উপর পাত।
(3) I went here, I went there, I went to Moraghat
I saw a tree where leaves grow on a fruit.
(4) Answer :- Pine-apple.

Note :- Moraghat—a village in Jalpaiguri Western Duars.

7. (1) hitti ganu, hutti ganu, genu Mandalghat
ðk na birikh dekhi asinu ðkhekòna pat.
(2) হিতি গেনু, হুতি গেনু, গেনু মণ্ডল ঘাট।
এ্যাক না বিরিখ দেখি আসিনু এ্যথেকনা পাত।
(3) I went here. I went there. I went to Mandalghat
I saw a tree with only one leaf.
(4) Answer :- a flag on a staff.

Note :- Mandalghat—A village about eight miles to the South of Jalpaiguri town.

8. (1) ðek na buri sedza muturi, sakale uþhia ðk guri.
(2) এ্যাক না বুড়ি সেজা মুতুরি, সাকালে উঠিয়া এ্যাক গুরি।
(3) What is the old hag that wets bed at night but gets a kick every morning.
(4) Answer :- a bamboo peg for tying cattle (khut).

A small bamboo peg about one foot long having one pointed end and the other blunt and thick. This is driven into the soft earth with a kick on the blunt end.

This stick for tying the cow is generally kept under the bed. It is usually wet and the bed soaks some water. So it is 'Sedza muturi' that is bed wetter. (Sedza - bed).

9. (1) Gòchòt ache tin gòṭa nariol parao dekhi khai
tomra dui bepote, hamra dui bepote
gòṭaṇ gòṭaṇ ḍzani pai.
(2) গছত আছে তিন গটা নারিওল পারাও দেখি খাই
তোমরা দুই বাপোতে হামরা দুই বাপোতে
গটায় গটায় যানি পাই।
(3) There are three coconuts on the tree. Bring them down. Give one each to your father and to yourself and to me and to my son.
(4) Answer ;—A grand-father speaks to his grand-son to distribute three coconuts amongst four persons so that each gets one full coconut. The riddle is that the son of the grand-father and the father of the grandson is the same person.
10. (1) Riu, riu, riu, akas mukhe hage kon ḍziu.
(2) রিউ, রিউ, রিউ, আকাশ মুখে হাগে কোন জিউ
(3) What is the animal that passes stool towards the sky.
(4) Answer :—Earth-worm.
11. (1) utsol ṭikiri pithi ṭan, kun ḍziber ṭarta kan.
(2) উচোল টিকিরি পিঠি টান, কুন জীবের চারটা কান
(3) What is the object that stands high on legs, has straight back and four ears.
(4) Answer : A four roofed hut.
12. (1) adzar beti dhundòl peti, bin kodale khure maṭi.
(2) আজার বেটি ধুনদল পেটি, বিন কোদালে খুরে মাটি
(3) What is the naughty girl of a king with pendulous abdomen that digs earth without a spade.
(4) Answer :—A boar (S. C. B.—Suor ; Sukòr)-
13. (1) hat ache pāo ache nai tar matha
kaṭile ḍkto na biraṇ ila kemon katha.
(2) হাত আছে পাও আছে নাই তার মাথা
কাটিলে অক্ট না বিরান ইলা ক্যামন কাথা
(3) There is hand, there is leg but no head
if the limbs are cut there is no blood.
(4) Answer : Coat and pant.
- Note :- Ḍkto is S. C. B. Ròkto (blood) ; ila or ela-this.
14. (1) moddo nodit ganòn khuṭa ḍziaṇ putaṇ kòre asa.
(2) মোদো নদীত্ গানন খুটা জোয়ার পুতার করে আশা
(3) a burning wood in the mid stream, all hope to get a share.
(4) Answer : a pot of rice boiling over the oven with wood logs burning in the hole of the earthen oven.
- Note : khuṭa - wood from tree, ganon - burning.
15. (1) Kèlenkarer ser ṭsoddo ana, dinot na dekhe kun kana.
(2) ক্যালেকারের সের চোদো আনা, দিনোত্ না দেখে কুন কানা
(3) What is the devil that is blind in the day.
(4) Answer : a bat ; an owl.
- Note :- dinot - in the day.
16. (1) ai, ai, ai, ghòr ache tar duar nai.
(2) আই, আই, আই, ঘর আছে তার দুরার নাই
(3) Which is my grandma that has a room but no door.
(4) Answer :-Egg.
17. (1) akasete nulopoto patale duar
asi ḍzai kòreche nòndò dulal.
(2) আকাশেতে বুলোপোতো পাতালে দুরার
আসি যাই করেছে বন্দ দুলাল
(3) Swinging in the sky, door below,
pretty child comes and goes.

- (4) Answer :- A nest of a sparrow hanging from the branch of a tree. This nest is triangular in shape. The apex is attached to a branch and the entrance is at the base. The nest swings in the air.
(S. C. B. Corui pakhir basa ; Rajbansi - Tsòts pokir bhasa-চচ্ পখির ভাসা)

Note : Nulo-poto - Swings ;
Kdreche ; Kdrese - does ; doing ;
(St. Beng. - Koriteche : S.C.B. - Korche).

18. (1) Nai tsamera, nai mdsòm, bannu buri hara
kojit dzibha, pètòt dat
sei munitar nai hat.
(2) নাই চামেড়া, নাই মসম, বাবু বুড়ি হারা
কটিত জিভা, প্যাটত দাত
সেই মুনিটার নাই হাত
(3) Who is the sage that has no skin, no muscle, looks like an old woman of fifty two, tongue on the buttock, teeth on the belly but no hand there is of that sage.
(4) Answer :- A fish trap placed in the gap of a low embankment 'ail'. The name of the trap is 'Diroi'.

Note : Mdsòm - muscle, flesh.

19. (1) tin koniar madzot khal, tak dia maribar bhal
sòk sòkaite pani ki na poil, katha ki na-o hoil.
(2) তিন কোনিয়ার মাঝত খাল, তাক্ দিয়া মারিবার ভাল
সক্ সকাইতে পানি কি না পইল, কাথা কি না ও হোইল
(3) What is the triangle having a space in the middle and is a good killer. Shake it, the water will flow out (and the kill remains). Thus my story ends.
(4) Answer :- Dzakhoi (a triangular fishing trap).

Note :—Sòk sòkaite - by jerking.

Pani ki na hoil - all-water flows out.

Katha ki na hoil - my story ends. (the fish is caught. S.C.B. - note gach ti murolo).

20. (1) akasete chilo koina nari nam dhòre
pòrpuruse dhoria dosra chenda kòre
sei chenda dia tanil-e kòre garat gorot
ar khàts kàta-ka bhorače dil-e bidhotar phorok.
(2) আকাশেতে ছিল কৈনা নারী নাম ধরে
পরপুরুষে ধরিয়া দোসরা ছেদা করে
সেই ছেদা দিয়া টানিলে বরে গারাত গোরোৎ
আর খাঁচ কাটাটা ভরায়ে দিলে বিধতার ফোরোক
(3) The maidan was in the sky whose name is nari (nariol). Outsider catches her, makes another hole in her. Sucking through this hole makes rolling sounds. The hole made by God (on the top) if closed (with a pipe) the body becomes complete.
(4) Answer :—Hooka or hookah—a water tobacco-pipe.

Note :- Koina - maiden ; wife ; nari - narial (coconut)

dosra—another ; chenda - hole ; bidhota - god ; phorok - hole.

The maiden cocoanut is on the tree, it is brought down, a hole at the side of a cocoanut shell is made by man for sucking. The natural hole at the top covered with soft tissue is cleaned and a pipe pushed through it vertically covering the hole completely. This makes the hooka.

21. (1) (R) 'ongpure nagil ogun, Dinajpure dhua
mahadzòner mal pura dzač tsòtsea more tsua.
(2) ওংপুরে নাগিল ওগুন দিনাজপুরে ধুয়া
মাহাজনের মাল পুড়া যায়, চ্যাচেয়া মরে চুয়া
(3) Fire in the district of Rangpur, smoke rising from Dinajpur, the trader's goods are burnt, cries hoarse the well.
Fire is in one place, smoke rises from other place. The tobacco sold by a trader is burning (in the chillims)
at the top but sound and smoke are coming from (the water-full hold at) the bottom.
Fire at the top in chillim, smoke coming out of the sucking hole and the water inside the coconut shell gurgles.
(4) Answer : A hooka with a burning chillim at the top containing water in the shell.

22. (1) Mathata hoil ang sang, moddota hoil accha,
muk dia chaoa hōē, koṭi dia batṣa.
(2) মাথাটা হাইল অং সাং, মোদোটা হইল আচ্ছা
মুক দিয়া ছাওয়া হয় কোটি দিয়া বাচ্চা।
(3) The head is spreading, the body is plain,
the child comes out of the mouth
the offspring from the buttock.
(4) Answer : Plantain tree.
Note : ang sang - spreading (with leaves)
accha - plain
chaoa - child (the inflorescence and the plantain)
batṣa - offspring (young plantain-trees grow from the root).
23. (1) bōk bōk bagila, ṭhōk ṭhōk ṭhōkila
ṭsar maṭha baro ṭhēng kunṭhe dekhila.
(2) বক্ বক্ বাগিলা, ঠক ঠক্ ঠকিলা
চার মাথা বারো ঠাং কুনঠে দেখিলা।
(3) There is bubbling, there is noise, where are four heads with twelve legs.
(4) Answer : a cow, a calf, a milk-man and his wife.
24. (1) bhui dhōwna bitsōn kala, muk nai te bule bhala
pāo nai te dṛaṭ dur, pindia aise ṭsāmpar phul.
(2) ভুই ধওনা বিচন কালা, মুক নাই তে বুলে ভাল
পাঁও নাই তে যার দূর, পিন্দিয়া আইসে চাম্পার ফুল।
(3) There is no holding earth but black seedling is there, no mouth but speaks well, no legs but goes far, always comes clothed in yellow flower. A letter has black postal seal (seeds not imbeded in eaath), it carries news, travels far and wide without legs but always carried by the yellow flower. (Michelia Champa).
(4) Answer : Letter carried by a post-man.
Note :- bhui dhōwna bitsan kala - Black postal seal on paper.
dhōwna - not holding ; Muk-mouth (S.C.B-mukh)
ṭsāmpar phul - refers to the yellow khaki dress of the post man.
25. (1) Ouder ṭsikimiki piplir pat
mor tane kini anis hatir dui dat.
(2) ওউদের চিকিমিকি পিপলীর পাত
মোর তানে কিনি আনিস হাতির দুই দাত।
(3) Buy for me pipal leaves growing in broken sun light and two big tusks of elephant.
(4) Answer :- The husband while going to the market asks his wife what he should buy. She says that he should buy betel leaves grown under the shed where dispersed sun's rays play on the leaves for a while (boroṭ pan) and two big white radishes.
Note : piplir pat - big leaves of the size of a pipal tree ;
hatir dui dat - two tusks of elephant i.e. white radish.
dat - teeth, tasks. (S. C. B.—dṛṭ).
26. (1) ṭsar ṭsoddot dia ṭsar nēkhe dṛokhe kōro sair
ei nam mor soamir nam
mok par kori deo
mui naiyar dṛyam.
(2) চার চোদ্দোত্ দিয়া চার ন্যেখে জোখে কেরো সাইর
এই নাম মোর সোয়ামীর নাম
মোক পার করি দেও
মুই নাইয়ার দ্যাম।
(3) Put fourteens, side by side four times add up and then add four. This makes the name of my husband. Do please ferry me to the other side. Me going to my father's house.
A woman had a quarrel with her husband. She in a rage took her children and started for her father's house on the other side of the river and in a hurry forgot to bring some money. On reaching the ferry she wanted that the

fare be taken from her husband who was known to them. She could not directly utter the name of her husband as it was forbidden by the society. (However, she was ferried to the other side of the river).

Note :—Naiyar—woman's father's house (S. C. B. baper bari), (also to any relative's house)

The boat men could not solve the riddle and they started talking about it. Just then the husband of the woman came to the ferry and asked the boatmen :

- (1) are bhai ki koren kana kuna
dui pãṛē na ki ṭṣoli geil, mansi tin dzhōna.
- (2) আরে ভাই কি করেন কাণাকুণ
দুই পায়ে নাকি চলি গেইল মানসি তিন ঝণ ।
- (3) Well brothers what are you whispering. Can you say if three persons walking on two legs passed by the way.
- (4) Answer :- The first riddle :

$14 + 14 + 14 + 14 = 56 + 4 = 60$. It is expressed as 3×20 or tin kuri.

The name of the husband was 'Tin-Kori'.

The Second riddle :—

A woman with a child in the lap and another child tied on the back. (Three people with two legs on the earth).

1. Asil bau bōsek, ṭṣam ṭṣilkaṭa ṭṣusek.
আসিল বাউ বসেক, চাম চিলকাটা চুসেক ।
Come my child, sit and suck the bat.
Answer - Hooka.
3. Džangal hate niklil ṭiha
Sōnar ṭupi mathot dia
জাঙ্গাল হাতে নিকলিল টিহা
সনার টুপি মাথত্ দিয়া ।
There comes a parrot from the jungle with a gold cap on head.
Answer - (1) Red flower (inflorescence) of banana tree.
(2) Leech.
1. Agdia bagh dzač, nēdz dia dzol khač.
আগদিয়া বাঘ যায়, ন্যাজ্ দিয়া জল যায় ।
A tiger fire is in the mouth, but drinks water by the tail.
Answer - Lamp ; piddim.
- Pathorer moton ḍube, sōlar moton bhase
manasir moton hat pão, kuttar nagan bōse.
পাথরের মোতোন ডুবে, সলার মোতোন ভাসে
মানসির মোতোন হাত পাও, কুতার নাগান বসে ।
What is the object that sinks like stone,
floats like cork, hands and feet like man, sits like a dog.
Answer - a frog.
- Akas hate poil dhum
dhum kōḥ mōr koṭi khan sūk.
আকাশ হাতে পৈল ধুম
ধুম কর মোর কোটিখান শুঁক ।
A thing falls from the skies,
it says just smell my buttock
Answer - A ripe mango falling from the tree.
koti—tapering end opposite the stalk.

বন হতে বাড়ালো টিগা সোনার মুকুট মাথায় দিয়া
bon hote baralo ṭia sonar mukut mathae dia.

Answer - Plantain flower (Moca—মোচা inflorescence)
(South Bengali)

Common Sayings - (Siluk ; Conok)

Proverbs.

- (1) Proverbs in modified phonetic transcription in English.
 - (2) The proverbs in Bengali characters.
 - (3) Free translation in English
 - (4) Explanations.
1. (1) Uche puche d̥ʒa, mon t̥ɔ̃le to kha.
 (2) উছে পুছে যা, মন চলে তো খা।
 (3) At first enquire of the places where you go, eat when you are hungry.
 (4) Uche puche - enquire.
 2. (1) Dzodi thake m̥ɔ̃nɔ̃t, thake na k̥ɛne d̥ɛser konot.
 (2) যদি থাকে মনত, থাকে না ক্যানে দ্যাসের কোণোত।
 (3) If you have will, never mind you stay in any part of the country. (Where there is will there is way).
 (4) In some areas the word 'h̥ɔ̃na' (stay) is used in place of 'thakena'.
 3. (1) Dzar d̥ʒɛta d̥ʒater kh̥ɔ̃ɛ, agune na chobe d̥ʒole na d̥hoɛ.
 (2) যার যেটা জাতের খর, আগুনে না ছোবে, জলে না ধোয়।
 (3) Fire will not burn, water will not wash the family habit.
 (4) Kh̥ɔ̃ɛ - habit, instinct, tradition.
 4. (1) Kauar bhasat kokiler chao, d̥ʒat sobhabe k̥ɔ̃re ao.
 (2) কাউয়ার ভাসাত কোকিলের ছাও, জাত সোভাবে করে আও।
 (3) A cuckoo reared in a crows nest sings like a cuckoo.
 (4) Bhasat - in the nest (S.C.B. : Basa-te)
 Sobhab - nature (S.C.B. : Swobhab)
 Ao - cry, sing (S.C.B. Rao)
 5. (1) Suk̥ti na chare g̥ɔ̃n, holdi na chare ɔ̃ng.
 (2) সুক্টি না ছারে গন্ হলদী না ছারে অং।
 (3) Bad smell never leaves a dry fish, colour never leaves the turmeric.
 (4) Suk̥ti - sun-dried fish. Holdi - turmeric.
 ɔ̃ng - colour ; hue (S.C.B. - R̥ɔ̃ng).
 6. (1) Dzat kotsur boi, n̥ɔ̃b̥ɔ̃n, t̥ɛl, ch̥ɛka, khali k̥ɔ̃re khoi.
 (2) জাত কচুর বোই, নবণ, ত্যাল, ছ্যাকা, খালি করে খোই।
 (3) A bad arum does not become palatable even if cooked carefully with salt, oil and soda. (Nature never changes)
 (4) Boi - Bulbous root, tuber.
 Ch̥ɛka - A kind of alkaline solution prepared from ashes of the dried trunk of plantain tree.
 Khoi - Lost (S.C.B. - kh̥ɔ̃ɛ)
 7. (1) Dzate na chare d̥ʒater pani, holdi na chare ɔ̃ng,
 tin d̥hoa dileo, tao na d̥ʒaɛ suk̥tar g̥ɔ̃n.
 (2) জাতে না ছারে জাতের পানি, হলদী না ছারে অং
 তিন ধোয়া দিলেও তাও না যার সুকটার গন্।
 (3) A species will not leave its own characteristics. The turmeric will not leave its colour, the stinck of a dried fish will not go even if washed several times. (Nature remains)
 (4) Pani - Water : Suk̥ta - dried fish : G̥ɔ̃n - Smell (S.C.B. - G̥ɔ̃ndh̥ɔ̃).
 8. (1) Bagher gh̥ɔ̃r̥ɔ̃t k̥ɔ̃kkh̥ɔ̃n ki chagol d̥ʒaɛ s̥ɔ̃ndhaɛ
 cikaṛ g̥ɔ̃t̥ɔ̃r k̥ɔ̃kkh̥ɔ̃n ki at̥ɔ̃r at̥ɔ̃r g̥ɔ̃ndhaɛ.
 (2) বাঘের ঘরত্ কখ্ খন কি ছাগল যারা সন্ধার
 চিকার গতর কখ্ খন কি আতর আতর গন্ধার।

Corresponding S. C. B. proverbs :—

1. D̥. S. K. - Bengali proverb. P. 85, No. 25. Ist. Edition.
2. Ibid...P. 662, No. 7043.
3. Ibid...P. 774, No. 8512.
4. Ibid...P. 216, No. 1505.
5. Ibid...P. 730, No. 7946.

- (3) Does any goat enter into a tiger's den
Does the body of a male rat emit a perfume.
- (4) Cika - Male rat (a kind of rat emitting a bad smell) ; Gbòdr - body.
9. (1) Bilai ḍzeman ṭḍpsi hoil, indur dhorio khaē
sidol, suktar g̣òn pale curi korio khaē.
(2) বিলাই যেমন তপসী হাইল, ইন্দুর ধরিয়া খায়
সিদোল, শুকটার গণ পালে চুরি করিয়া খায়।
(3) Even if a cat becomes a mendicant she will catch and eat a rat and if she gets the scent of dry fish she will steal and eat it.
(4) Sidol - Dried fish pounded with arum.
Sukta - Dried fish.
Gòn - Smell.
10. (1) Khaē daē ponkhi, boner bhiti ankhi.
(2) খায় দায় পংখি, বনের ভিতি অংখি।
(3) A bird in a cage eats, but its eyes are towards the jungle. (A captive always wants to be free).
(4) Ponkhi - bird ; Bhiti - towards ; Ankhi - eyes (S.C.B. - ঝংখি)
11. (1) Khai dai bhuli-na, ṭṭto katha chari na.
(2) খাই দাই ভুলি না, তত্ত্ব কাথা ছারি না।
(3) Comfort does not win me, I never give out my mind (money cannot buy all).
(4) Ṭṭṭḍ katha—the secret of the mind.
12. (1) Rangia bècaē ong ṭsong, kudzaē bècaē dhan
kudzaē chari rangiar ṭhe ḍzai
bhoke mor ḍziu kore ai ḍhai.
(2) রঙ্গিয়া ব্যাচার অং চং, কুজার ব্যাচার ধান
কুজাক্ ছারি রঙ্গিয়ার তে যাই
ভোকে মোর জিউ করে আই চাই।
(3) The dye merchant sells colours, the hunch-back sells paddy. I left the hunch-back and went over to the dye merchant,
now hunger pinches my heart. (Never be led away by external grandeur).
(4) Rangia - dye seller ; Kudza :- hunch-back ; Bhok :- hunger.
13. (1) Sutiar dekhi bhatar dhonnu,
din ṭḥḅḳ ṭḥoḳ ati ṭḥḅḳ ṭḥoḳ, ṭḥoḳ ṭḥoḳte ponu.
(2) সুতিয়ার দেখি ভাতার ধনু,
দিন ঠক্ ঠক্ আতি ঠক্ ঠক্, ঠক্ ঠক্তে পনু।
(3) I chose a carpenter as my husband (for comfortable living), but I got instead annoying sound of wood carving
throughout the day and the night. (External appearance is always misleading).
(4) Sutiar - carpenter ; Bhatar - husband. (One who gives food)
14. (1) Òng ṭsong dekhia bhat khanu tor,
matha korlo hokoser ḍeli dukh korlo mor.
(2) অং চং দেখিয়া ভাত খানু তোর
মাথা কোরলো হোকোসের ডেলি, দুঃখ কোরলো মোর।
(3) I agreed to live with you attracted by your external grandeur. But poverty brought so much suffering that my hairs
look like the nest of a vulture for want of proper oiling and combing.
(Never be led astray by external look)
(4) Òng - colour (S.C.B. - Rong).
Òng ṭsong - external grandeur.
Bhat khanu tor - agreed to live with you ; married you.
Hokoser - vulture ; Ḍeli - nest - (S.C.B. - Ḍali, basket)
15. (1) Kukua k̄dre kuk, re mor kukua kore kuk,
d̄zei na p̄ter dukhe bhatar dhonnu,
sei na p̄ter dukh.
(2) কুকুয়া করে কুক্, রে মোর কুকুয়া করে কুক্,
যেই না প্যাটের দুখে ভাতরি ধনু,
সেই না প্যাটের দুখ।

10. De. S. K.—Op. Cit—P. 274, No. 2214.

11. De. S. K.—Op. Cit—P. 270, No. 2151.

12. Ibid—P. 376, No. 3409.

- (3) I was attracted by your sweet words. I could not procure food for myself so I agreed to marry you in the hope of getting food. But alas I am disappointed. (Hungry people are easily duped).
- (4) Kukua - cuckoo ; Bhatar - husband (one who gives food) ; Pèt - stomach (S.C.B. - Pet).
16. (1) Jāē khaē sol boali, ag ṭṣaēa bandhe ali.
- (2) য়াঁয় খায় শোল বোয়ালী, আগ চায়া বান্ধে আলি।
- (3) He who wants to eat fish raise s embankment before the water is out. (Make hay while the sun shines).
- (4) Ag ṭṣaēa - Well in advance. In some areas the word 'ag dhaēa' (আগ ধায়া) is used.
- Empty vessel sounds much** - expressed as :- (17-24)
17. (1) Mach nai bilot, khali bōger sosani.
- (2) মাছ নাই বিলত, খালি বগের সোসানী।
- (3) No fish in the water, only the sound of herons are heard. (Much ado about nothing).
- (4) Bil or Beal - swamp (a low land having some water).
18. (1) Bhang bhadzibar khola nai, akha chōē buri.
- (2) ভাং ভাজিবার খোলা নাই, আখা ছয় বুড়ি।
- (3) No pan to fry hemp but ovens are many.
- (4) Bhang - The leaves of hemp shrub. They are dried in the sun and kept in stock. They are either fried and mixed with syrup or they are steeped in water to soften, made into a paste in a pan and mixed with syrup. This syrup is a light intoxicant generally drunk in ceremonial occasions.
- Khola - pan (generally made of the bottom piece of a broken earthen pitcher).
- Akha - ovan ; Buri - A measure equivalent to twenty cowries.
19. (1) Ghōre nai bhidza bhang, kara badzaē ṭhang ṭhang.
- (2) ঘরে নাই ভিজা ভাং, কাড়া বাজায় ঠাং ঠাং।
- (3) No prepared hemp in the house, but sound of the pan is much.
- (4) Kara (kada) - metal pan.
20. (1) Kilkānit na aṭe dhan, tar tane cham gain an.
- (2) Kilkānit na aṭe dhan, tar tane cham gain an.
- (3) There is no paddy enough to hold in the hollow of an elbow but a big mortar and pestle are ordered for husking the paddy. (Much ado about nothing).
- (4) Kilkani - hollow of the elbow.
- Cham gain - wooden mortar and pestle.
21. (1) Bapoi tor damphai katha,
maiya ṭikaē nai tor nal phota
kapale nai tor sinduk choraniṛ dzhop.
- (2) বাপোই তোর ডাম্ফাই কাথা
মাইয়ার টিকায় নাই নাল ফোতা
কাপালে নাই তোর সিন্দুক ছোরানীর কোপ।
- (3) My child, you only talk big. Your wife has no good cloth to put on to cover her buttocks. You have no luck to possess a bunch of keys for an iron safe in your possession.
- (4) Damphai katha - tall talks ; Maiya - wife.
- Phota - a coloured sari (cloth) worn by Rajbansi women.
- Chorani - keys ; dzhop - bunch.
22. (1) Gunda nai tar phakka boro,
maroner thaki thorkon boro,
dhan nai tar don boro,
maiya nai tar dōpdōpani boro.
- (2) গুণ্ডা নাই তার ফাক্কা বড়,
মারনের থাকি থরকন বড়,
ধান নাই তার দোন বড়
মাইয়া নাই তার দপদপানি বড়।

16. De. S. K.—Op. Cit—P. 438, No. 417.

17. De. S. K.—Op. Cit—P. 318, No. 2744.

21. De. S. K.—Op. Cit—P. 162, No. 822.

22. Ibid—P. 58.

- (3) There is no ball of powdered rice but the hollow of the palm is big.
there is no beating but the thumping is big,
there is no paddy but the basket is big.
there is no housewife but the orders are big. (Much ado about nothing).
- (4) Gunda - powdered rice (S.C. Bengali : gura)
Phakka - hollow of the palm ;
Thòrkòn - thumping, noise.
Don - a big basket made of bamboo mat for keeping paddy. It holds generally 10-15 seears of paddy.
Maiya : wife, housewife ; Dòpdòpani - orders ; Bòro - big.
23. (1) Kam nai kamalir, khali natson kudon,
dhan nai girir, bou dzure tusòt bakhòn.
(2) কাম নাই কামালীর খালি নাচোন কুদে।
ধান নাই গিরির, বউ জুরে তুষত্ বাখন।
(3) The worker does not work but idles about and makes a show of work just like a landlord who has no paddy in stock
but the housewife starts husking the old chaff.
(Do not make a show). It is said when there is work of cultivation but many are not working. (The old people speak
to the youngsters).
(4) Kamali - workman, labourer.
Natson kudon - making a show of work but idling about.
Giri - landlord ; Dzure - begin ;
Tus - chaff ; Bakhòn - husking.
24. (1) Kam nai kuttar nòdhòre sar, tsaul nai ghòròt dèkhò duarer bahar.
(2) কাম নাই কুতার নহেরে সার, চাউল নাই ঘরত্, দাঁখে দুষারের বাহার।
(3) The dog has no work, it only runs about. The man has nothing to eat, but he makes the gate of his house very showy.
(No substance only show).
(4) Nòdhòre :- running.
25. (1) Porer kanghe bhòr dekhite tsomotkar
nidzer kanghe bhòr aièa baba sar.
(2) পরের কাংঘে ভর দেখিতে চোমোৎকার
নিজের কাংঘে ভর আইয়া বাবা সার।
(3) Load on others shoulders looks nice
load on own shoulder feels heavy.
It is easy to criticize others but difficult to shoulder the responsibility.
This epithet is usually cited during elections when one party abuses the other.
(4) Kanghe - shoulder ; Bhòr - load ; Aièa baba - an expression of fear.
26. (1) Chaoaë tsine bap, mone tsine pap.
(2) ছাওয়াস চিনে বাপ, মনে চিনে পাপ।
(3) Son knows his father, mind knows its vices.
(4) Chaoaë - child.
27. (1) Bapoi tor dzemon gun, anda sagòt dis tui nun.
(2) বাপোই তোর যেমোন গুণ, আন্দা শাগত্ দিস তুই নুন।
(3) Others work, you spoil it.
(4) Anda - cooked (S.C.B. : rādhā) ;
Sag - vegetable curry.
28. (1) Chaoar mao na kande, bapo na kande, kande gāer naua.
(2) ছাওয়ার মাও না কান্দে, বাপো না কান্দে, কান্দে গাঁয়ের নাউরা।
(3) The child's mother does not weep, father does not weep but weeps the village barber.
This is cited when an outsider shows much interest in others' affairs.
(4) Naua - barber (S. C. B. - napit).
29. (1) Hal nai, hatiar nai, langtia sipai.
(2) হাল নাই, হাতিয়ার নাই, লাংটিয়া সিপাই।
(3) No plough, no weapon, a naked soldier.
(No substance, only show)
(4) Langtia—naked (S.C.B. - Lèngta or Nèngta).

30. (1) Rðs khaë rosia ar siñi khaë gaoar.
 (2) বস খায় বসিয়া আর সিটি খায় গাওয়ার।
 (3) Clever drinks the juice and the fool sucks the dregs.
 (4) Rosia - clever ; Siñi - dregs ; Gaoar-fool.
31. (1) Bhokot khoksa miñha.
 (2) ভোকোত্ খোকসা মিঠা।
 (3) When hungry, a green fig tastes sweet.
 (Hunger is the best sauce)
 (4) Khoksa - fig ; Bhokot - during hunger.
32. (1) Dudh nai murgar mehere sar.
 (2) দুধ নাই মুরগার মেহেরে সার।
 (3) The cock gives no milk, it is useless to take care of it. (No need running after a fruitless job).
 (4) Murga - cock ; Mehere - take care of.
33. (1) Chaoa ache peñtot hoidda kineche hañtot.
 (2) ছাওয়া আছে প্যাটত্ হাইড্ডা কিনেছে হাটোত্।
 (3) The child is in the womb but its amulet is being bought in the market. (Building castles in the air).
 (4) Hoidda - It is an amulet worn by the children usually round the neck to ward off attacks of evil spirit. The amulet consists of :—

- (a) a soap nut (riñha) seed,
 (b) a copper pice,
 (c) a bit of iron,
 (d) a cowrie,
 (e) a bit of tiger's nail,
 (f) a tooth of fish,
 (g) a fruit of Beca tree (hoidda),

A cotton string is passed through all of them forming a sort of a necklet. Formerly such things were sold in the market but now it is becoming rare.

34. (1) Osune osune ðeñta, piadzi mui pherkeñta.
 (2) ওসুনে ওসুনে এ্যাকেটা, পিয়ার্জি মুই ফেরকেটা।
 (3) Garlics combine but the onion is thrown aside,
 (birds of the same feather flock together).
 (4) Osun - garlic (S. C. Bengali - rosun) ;
 Pherkeñta - cast aside.

This is cited as an example : Some share croppers went with their landlord to another landlord's house. After their arrival the host landlord came out, took the land lord guest into his inner apartments. No body took any notice of the share croppers and they were left outside unattended.

35. (1) Dhoni dhoni mela, andha bhatot dilo ðhela,
 dail sag khauk besi, tño mari phelail khñsi,
 peñ bhatti khail, gñlñpe sñlñpe din kñtail,
 ni-dhoni gail dhonir pach, pucha gongsa durot ðhak,
 dhñr ðauki mar ghas.
 (2) ধনো ধনো মেলা, আন্ধা ভাতত্ দিলো ঠেলা,
 ডাইল শাক খাউক বেশী, তাঁও মারি ফেলাইল খাঁসি,
 প্যাট ভত্তি খাইল, গল্‌পে সল্‌পে দিন কাটাইল,
 নিধনো গেল ধনীর পাছ, পুছা গোংসা দুরত্ থাক্,
 ধর ডাউকি মার ঘাস।
 (3) A rich man goes to another rich man. He is sumptuously fed with soft rice, pulses, curry and on the top of them goat's meat also. They enjoy talking the whole day. If a poor man goes to a rich no body cares to enquire of him nor invites him to a meal. Rather he is asked to take a spud and clean the grass of the yard.
 (The sorrow of a poor man)
 (4) Mela - meet ; Andha - cooked ; Khñsi - goat ; Pucha gongsa - enquire ; ðauki - spud, spade ; Mar ghas - weed the grass.

31. De. S. K.—Op. Cit—P. 264, No. 2092.

34. De. S. K.—Op. Cit—P. 161, No. 812.

35. Ibid—P. 449, No. 4308.

36. (1) *ḍhḍṭka addr tenga doi, khail khail nai nai.*
 (2) ঝট্কা আদর টেঙ্গা দই, খাইল্ খাইল্ নাই নাই।
 (3) Neglected welcome, sour curd, no harm if not accepted.
 (4) *Dzhḍṭka addr - neglected reception ; Tenga - sour, over fermented.*
 A remark after poor feeding in a rich man's house :-
 The poor are never cordially received in a rich man's house. They are served with bad food and nobody cares if they cannot eat it.
37. (1) *Taē tui tomra, ḍzeṭher bēṭa hamera.*
 (2) তায় তুই তোমরা, জেঠের বাটা হামেরা।
 (3) You people form one group and we outcast form another.
38. (1) *Amra gḍcher damra, tomar moton ki hamra.*
 (2) আমড়া গছের দামরা, তোমার মোতন কি হামরা।
 (3) You are born rich but we are not so.
 (4) *Amra - A tree with sour fruit ; Damra - bull.*
39. (1) *Agina barit nai-re natho, natho hoise ar ḍk moto.*
 (2) আগিনা বাড়িত্ নাইরে নাথো, নাথো হোইসে আর ঞক মোতো।
 (3) The man is not like the one of his former self, but has become a different man. (It is said when a poor man becoming rich forgets his former friends).
 (4) *Agina - former ; Natho - addressed to the man.*
40. (1) *Ḍzar komore kori ache, haṭibare bḍl ache,*
haṭ ḍzaē khaē gua pan.
ḍzar komore kori nai. haṭibare bḍl nai
haṭ ḍzaē mittur saman.
 (2) যার কোমরে কড়ি আছে, হাটিবারে বল আছে,
 হাট যার যার গুয়া পান।
 যার কোমরে কড়ি নাই, হাটিবারে বল নাই,
 হাট যার মিত্তুর সামান।
 (3) He who has money has strength. He goes to the market and buys luxuries. He who has no money has no strength. He goes to the market like a dying man.
 (A rich man has all the enjoyment, a poor man has none).
 (4) *Kori (cowrie) - money ; Gua pan - represents luxuries. Mittur - like a dying man. (S.C.B.—Mriter)*
41. (1) *Ḍlp kori ḍzar, kḍrkḍṭsa baigḍn tar.*
 (2) অলপ্ কড়ি যার, কৱকচা বাইগণ তার।
 (3) A short purse buys stale brinjal.
 (A poor man cannot buy good food)
 (4) *Kḍrkḍṭsa - stale, containing much seed.*
 At some places the same is said as :-
Ḍlp paisa ḍzar ghega baigḍn tar
 (অলপ্ পাইসা যার ঘেগা বাইগণ তার)
42. (1) *Ma ge ma kēla pakiche*
pakuk pakuk beṭi tsan uṭhiche
Ma ge ma tila naru kham,
tor baper darit chai poriche, kori kunṭhe pam.
 (2) মা গে মা ক্যালা পাকিছে,
 পাকুক্ পাকুক্ বেটি চান উঠিছে,
 মা গে মা তিলা নাড়ু খাম্,
 তোর বাপের দাড়িত্ ছাই পরিছে, কড়ি কুন্ঠে পাম্।
 (3) A poor girl sees ripe plantains on the tree of a neighbour. She desires to eat one and says to her mother - 'Mother, oh mother, you see there the plantains are ripe'. The helpless mother wants to draw the child's attention away and says—'Let them ripe, let them ripe, behold the moon is up'. The child says again—'Mother, oh mother, I like

38. De. S. K. - Op. Cit. - p. 387, No. 3560.

40. De. S. K. - Op. Cit. - p. 200, No. 1299.

to eat sesame sweets'. Now the helpless mother loses her temper and says—'Ashes are on the fortune of your father, where shall I get money'. (This reveals the story of a poor family and the mental strain a hapless mother is put to.)

- (4) Tila naru - Sesame seeds are mixed with boiled treacle and further boiled with stirring until the mixture is thick and sticky. When the mixture cools down, a little is taken out and rolled between the palm of both hands and small balls are made. They are a bit hard but much liked by the children.

Dari - fortune, luck.

43. (1) Mathar bèta caka, akal geil, durbhik geil, tène anlo taka.
(2) মাথার ব্যাটা চাকা, অকালে গেইল, দুর্ভিক্ গেইল, ত্যানে আন্লো টাকা।
(3) Behold the wheel of fortune, scarcity gone, famine gone, then you bring money, None was found in need, but money came after it was over.
It is litigant's bye-word :—

The pleader comes for defence after the judgment is passed.

44. (1) Din pðre khalot, kodu na tsðre tsalot,
dzodio tsðre tsalot, phðl na dhðre ðalot.
(2) দিন পড়ে খালোত, কোদু না চড়ে চালোত
যদিও চড়ে চালোত, ফল না ধরে ডালোত।
(3) When evil days come, the gourd does not creep up to the roof. If it at all does, branches do not bear fruit.
Misfortune does not come alone.
(4) Kodu - gourd.
45. (1) Tsilar hatase bilot nukaë, seo bil mor batase sukaë.
(2) চিলার হাতাশে বিলোত বুকায়ে, সেও বিন মোর বাতানে শুকায়ে।
(3) I hide into the water of the tank for fear of being caught by a hawk but to my ill luck the wind blows away the water and makes it dry. (Misfortune follows everywhere).

46. (1) Hin gorur bhin bathan, tsule dhako apðn kaða kan.
(2) হীন গোরুর ভিন্ বাথান, চুলে ঢাকো আপন কাটা কান।
(3) The weak cattle shall have different pasture. you should cover your cutaway ear with your hair. The weakling should remain away from the strong. He has to pocket the insults from the rich and the powerful.
(4) Hin - weak ; Bathan - pasture.

47. (1) Kulaë dze gal kðre, dzharía pochoria tole,
tsaluni dze gal kðre, dèl-dèlaëa uchri pðre.
(2) কুলায়ে যে গাল করে, আরিয়া পোছরিয়া তোলে,
চালুনি যে গাল করে, দ্যল দ্যালায়া উছরি পড়ে।
(3) The vanity of a winnowing fan is that it cleans every thing put on it. The vanity of a seive is that it allows to slip through any thing put on it.
(Vanity of the rich may do some good but vanity of the poor is useless).
(4) 'Pochoria' and 'Uchri' are pronounced as 'Posoria' and 'usri' respectively.

48. (1) Kula dze gðrðb kðre, dzhari pochri tole,
tsanni dze gðrðb kðre, dèrdèrea pðre.
(2) কুলা যে গরব করে আরি পছরি তোলে,
চান্নি যে গরব করে দ্যার দ্যারিয়া পড়ে।
(3) This is how the people of Rāngpur and Coochbehar say.
(4) tsanni - seive ; 'Pochri' is pronounced as 'posri'.

49. (1) Òbudzer hatot poril ðima, naitte tsaitte niklail kusuma.
(2) অবুজের হাতত পড়িলু ডিমা, নাইত্তে চাইত্তে নিকলাইল কুসুমা।
(3) An egg is given to a fool, he so handles that it breaks.
(4) Dima - egg (S.C.B. - ðim) ; Kusuma - egg yolk.

50. (1) Èke to bhandi, tar hatot kodali.
(2) একে তো ভাণ্ডি, তার হাতত কোদালি।
(3) Never give a spade to a bear.
(4) Bhandi - bear.

These two sayings mean :- (a) Never trust a fool.

(b) Never give a handle to a mischievous man.

46. De S. K. - Op. cit. - P. 134, No. 486

50. De. S. K. - Op. cit. - P. 514, No. 5639

51. (1) Dātal singāṭṭeria pak, tāk hate pongas hat durot thak.
 (2) দাঁতাল শিংগাট্ টেরিয়া পাক, তাঁক হাতে পোংগাস হাত দুরত্ থাক্
 (3) Never remain in front of a long-toothed or horned animal and stay fifty cubits away from them.
 (Avoid a quarrelsome woman.)
 (4) Dātal singa - a long toothed or horned animal. Really means a quarrelsome woman ; Teria - back ; Pak (pakhe) - side way.
52. (1) Pōrak dhorī nes bhes
 kākot ṭsoribe kokot hanibe
 ḍzodi ba prane na mare, dibe thes nes.
 (2) পরাক্ ধরি নেস ভেস
 কাঁকোৎ চড়িবে, কোকোৎ হানিবে
 যদি বা প্রাণে না মারে, দিবে থেস্ নেস্ ।
 (3) Never make friends with an unknown person. He will make a show of love and affection but will stab you at the belly. If you perchance do not succumb to the injuries, you are crippled for a long time. Never trust an unknown man.
 (4) Pōrak - foreigner, stranger ; other party. Nes bhes - friendship ; Kākot - lap ; Kakot - belly. Hanibe - will stab ; Thes nes - long suffering.

In some places of the Western Duars there is some difference :-

'nes bhes' is pronounced as 'nēs bhēs' ; 'kākot' as 'kākhōt' ; 'pran' as 'pan' ; 'thes nes' as 'thēs nēs'.

53. (1) Khōrō tōrō nari, ḍzōrō ḍzōrō ḍzari
 ṭsor nōfōr, pōrō pōrō ghōr,
 tak hati durot sōr.
 (2) খর তর নারী, বর বর বারি
 চোর নফর, পর পর ঘর
 তাক্ হাতি দুরত্ সর ।
 (3) You should avoid a garrulous woman, a leaky vessel, a dishonest servant, a tottering house.
 (4) Khoro toro - garrulous, ill tempered : ḍzoro ḍzoro - leaky ; The words 'khoro toro' are sometimes pronounced as 'khōr tōr'.
54. (1) Agōt chinu dama, tēne honu damōddōr
 tirpieye ṭsornu tangōner pōr
 bidhi ḍzodi hōḍ bam
 ghuri phiri pāo mui dama bēca kam.
 (2) আগত্ চিনু দামা, ত্যানে হনু দামোদ্দর
 তিরপিয়ে চড়নু টাঙ্গনের পর
 বিধি যদি হয় বাম
 ঘুরি ফিরি পাও মুই দামা ব্যাচা কাম ।
 (3) At first I was a cotton salesman, then I became a wholeseller, then I suddenly became rich and rode a horse. But God willed otherwise. I am again reduced to the same salesman.
 Don't be sorry when you are poor, don't be elated when you are rich. Always depend upon God. He can make and unmake rich or poor. Immutable is the decree of fate.
 (4) Dama - a retail seller of cotton ; Tirpieye - with a jump ; Tangon - a big horse.
55. (1) Pōrō nari pōrō dhōn, hāṭe pōthe dorisōn,
 michate guṭ paner bōḍ,
 ḍzabar kale ḍkṭa besi katha na kōḍ.
 (2) পর নারী পর ধন, হাটে পথে দরিশন,
 মিছাতে গুড়া পানের ব'য়
 যাবার কালে একটা বেশী কথা না কয় ।
 (3) Never run after other's wife nor after a rich man. Never spend money for them. When they go away they never look at you.
 (4) Bōḍ - spend (S.C.B. - bēy).

51. Ibid - p. 462, No. 4465

52. De. S. K. - Op. Cit. p. 522, No. 5237

53. Ibid - p. 385, No. 3531

56. (1) Upra mansik dzaēga dile uran gainer khōē
dzabar belāē ekṭa katha odhik kori kōē.
(2) উপরা মানসিক জায়গা দিলে উরাণ গাইনের ঝ
যাবার বেলায় একটা কথা অধিক করি কয়।
(3) To give shelter to a stranger is mere loss of money. When he goes away he only blames you.
(4) Uran gain - wooden mortar and pestle to husk paddy. Odhik kori kōē - blames, speaks something extra.
Dzēga - dzaēyga ; khōē - khōy ; kōē - kōy.
57. (1) Mukhe tsupri tsatang, bōsōne phori phatang,
dekha hoile namba selam deē,
subidha paile dehar chalṭa uṭhi neē
dzabar kale daga dia dzaē.
(2) মুখে চুপরি চাটাং বসনে ফরি ফাটাং
দেখা হোইলে নাম্বা সেলাম দেয়,
সুবিধা পাইলে দেহার ছালটা উঠি নেয়
যাবার কালে দাগা দিয়া যায়।
(3) Sweet in speech, tidy in dress
give long salute on meeting
(does) flay the skin on chance
(does) mischief while going away.
58. (1) Tsopor din gel èlore mèlore, dzonake sukache dhan,
ange beti cham gain la, tor bape kuṭuk dhan.
(2) চোপোর দিন গেল এলোর মেলোর, জোনাকে শুকাছে ধান,
আনগে বেটি ছাম গাইন লা, তোর বাপে কুটুক ধান।
(3) Whole day is spent in idling, will the paddy dry under the moon. Bring, my daughter, the wooden mortar and the pestle
and let your father husk the undried paddy.
The housewife is angry. The man was idling about and did not bring the paddy during the day time when it
could be boiled and dried in the sun. She sarcastically says that the paddy is to dried in the moonlight. She asks her
daughter to bring the husking machine and make it over to the man to try husking which he never does. Idle man
cannot make his family happy.
(4) tsopor din - whole day ; èlore mèlore - idling about ; dzonak - moon shine.
The word 'An-ge (আন-গে) is used in Coochbehar. In the district of Jalpaiguri and Terai the word 'Ni-gao'
(নি-গাও) - is used.
59. (1) Kam nai kurar ali ali dour.
(2) কাম নাই কুড়ার আলি আলি দৌড়।
(3) Idlers have no work, they run over the embankments.
(Busy about nothing).
60. (1) Òkōmma bhatar sedzar dosor, sedzat kōre khosor khosor.
(2) অকম্মা ভাতার সেজার দোসর, সেজাত্ করে খোসোর খোসোর।
(3) A lazy husband does no work but sleeps away the time. His bed is his friend.
(A woman worker speaks of her lazy husband).
(4) Sedza - bed ; Dosor - friend ; Khosor khosor - tossong in bed.
61. (1) Dzēla asibe bhola, sēla dzuribe khola.
(2) ঘালা আসিবে ভোলা, সালা জুরিবে খোলা।
(3) Cooking is started when the owner comes home.
This is spoken of a lazy wife. This is also spoken to one who never does any work in proper time.
(4) Khola - earthen pan (In some areas 'Dzēla' and 'Sēla' are pronounced as 'dzēla' and 'sēla' respectively).
62. (1) Ado tsurnir mone duk duk.
(2) আদো চুরনির মনে দুক দুক
(3) A thief's heart goes pit-a-pat.
(4) tsunni - thief (S.C.B. - Curni and in East Bengal 'Tsunni'.)

57. De. S. K. - Op. Cit. - p. 440, No. 4194.

58. De. S. K. - Op. Cit. p. 433, No. 4113 ; Ibid p. 763, No. 8374.

59. Ibid p. 221, No. 1570.

62. De. S. K. - Op. Cit., p. 126, No. 381.

63. (1) Hat lurbur tsok bura
Tsaiti bhat khilabi to beṭi, kanṭa te khila.
(2) হাত লুরবুর চোক বুৰা
চাইতি ভাত খিলাবি তো বেটি, কান্টাতে খিলা।
(3) A thief father was requested by his daughter to take his meals at her house. The father says that his hands are always for stealing, his look is unfriendly. If she should feed him with a morsel of rice let her serve at the back of the hut so that he may not see anything inside lest he is tempted to steal his own daughter's articles.

(It reveals the goodness even in a thief)

It is a common saying in the borders of Bihar, so it has some Hindi taint. The words 'bura', 'tsaiti', 'khilabi', 'beṭi' are Hindi words.

- (4) Lur-bur - Up to steal ; Bura - bad ; Tsaiti - a little ; Kanṭa - back side of a hut.
64. (1) Teuri pokhi dzhappōn tor tirppōn tor kṛṅk dekhais,
ghorer bhitōr ghōr bandhis nḍija na pais.
(2) টেউরি পখি ঝাপ্পন তোর তির্প্পন তোর কঁক দেখাইস,
ঘরের ভিতোর ঘর বান্ধিস নজ্জা বা পাইস।
(3) You little bird whom do you show your dance and wagging of your tail. You make nest within other's house still you do not feel ashamed.

One who feeds on others should be ashamed of himself.

- (4) Tewri pokhi - a kind of small bird. (Sparrow)
Dzhappōn - dancing ; Tirppōn - Wagging of tail.
'Nḍija' is sometimes pronounced as nodḍḍa.
65. (1) Dze bhanga phole tar do patarite tsin.
(2) যে বাঙ্গা ফলে তার দো পাতারিতে চিন।
(3) The real cotton tree is known as soon as the two leaves are out. Child is the father of man.
(4) Banga - short staple cotton ; Patari - leaf.
In more advanced areas 'Dze' and 'tsin' are pronounced as 'je' and 'cin' respectively.

66. (1) Dzat gune pat, phorua arai hat.
(2) জাত গুণে পাত, ফরুয়া আড়ই হাত।
(3) Leaf denotes the species of a tree, the pouch denotes the business of a man. Dress indicates profession.
(4) Phorua - a cotton or jute pouch or a sack that hangs from the neck, generally used by village tradesman. The 'Phorua' is sometimes called 'Namḍa' (নামজা)

67. (1) Haluak dekhia dze bḍḍ hal, tar dukko tsirotkal.
(2) হালুয়াক দেখিয়া যে বয় হাল, তার দুক্কো চিরোৎকাল।
(3) One who waits for others to start work comes to grief. Always take time by the fore lock.
(4) Halua - tiller, Dukko - misery (S.C.B. - dukhkhḍ or duksho)

68. (1) Ache goru na bḍḍ hal, tar dukko tsirotkal.
(2) আছে গোরু না বয় হাল, তার দুক্কো চিরোৎকাল।
(3) A lazy man is never well off. If the man in spite of possessing cattle does not till his land, he comes to grief always.
(4) In Cooch-Bihar and Rangpur the word 'tsirokal' is used but in the villages of Jalpaiguri the word 'tsirotkal' is used.

69. (1) Udzak chari kudzak kilaḍ,
niladḍok nak dendera deḍ,
niladḍ kḍḍ mor biao hḍḍ.
(2) উজাক ছারি কুজাক কিলার,
নিলাজক নাক ডেন্ডেরা দেয়
নিলাজ কয় মোর বিয়াও হয়।
(3) Leave the strong and beat the weak, when the shameless is insulted she takes it as her marriage merriment. That is she never feels the insult.

The mother-in-law rebukes her son's wife, the young wife starts beating her own children. The mother-in-law is angry upon the young lady but she does not care and laughs at her.

- (4) Udzak - strong ; kudzak - to the weak ; Niladḍ - shameless ; Nak-dendera - insult.

Sometime only the following is said :

'Ni-ladḍok nak-dendera deḍ, ni-ladḍ kḍḍ mor biao hḍḍ'.

70. (1) Dzār na džai sithane, gḁrḁdḁze tar džai poithane.
 (2) য়াঁর না যাই শিথানে, গরজে তার যাই পৈথানে।
 (3) To whom I do not go headwards, self interest takes me to his legwards.
 This is oft quoted during elections when big men who never care to visit the poor come to them very often for votes. Necessity has no law.
 (4) Sithan - head (In some areas it is pronounced as 'Sitan').
71. (1) Ghaṭat painu kamar, dao gḁre de hamar.
 (2) ঘাটাত্ পাইনু কামার, দাও গড়ে দে হামার।
 (3) I found a blacksmith on the way and then I felt the necessity of having a chopper made for me.
 A lazy man does not know the proper time and place to do a thing.
 (4) Ghaṭat—on the way.
72. (1) Kame kamaḁ, poiḁ choa na kuraḁ
 sela ṭungsul para, duarḁ duarḁ beraḁ.
 (2) কামে কামাইল, পৈল ছোয়া না কুরায়
 সেলা টুংসুল পারা, দুয়ারে দুয়ারে বেড়ায়।
 (3) Laborious works, he has even no time to look after his children. But a lazy loiters about from house to house.
 (It is a rebuke to the lazy vagabonds).
 (4) Kame - worker ; kamaḁ - works : Tungsulpara - vagabond.
73. (1) Nidz bhuir bichon dibaḁ na paḁ
 alir ṭsak kaṭi khali bhui baraḁ
 (2) নিজ ভুইর বিছন দিবায় না পায়
 আলির চাক কাটি ভুই বাড়ায়।
 (3) You have not enough seedlings to sow in your own land still you cut the common boundary to increase your land.
 (A rebuke to a greedy cultivator)
 (4) Ali - a raised boundary between two lands.
74. (1) Sḁt mao-r ki kōhi gun,
 kantsaḁ khulir bothua sag,
 tat na dḁḁ nun.
 (2) সৎ মাওর কি কোহি গুণ,
 কানচান খুলির বথুয়া শাক
 তাত না দেয় নুণ।
 (3) The ways of a step-mother is that she gives the step-children the worst form of vegetables that grow on the earthen walls of the floor of the house or on the refuse heap. They are given simply boiled without any salt.
 (An example of step-motherly attitude).
 (4) Kantsa - outer wall of the earthen floor ; Khuli - a refuse heap.
 Kantsa-khuli - generally means a dirty place below the side and back eaves of a hut.
75. (1) Apnar tḁle bati, kḁro gaoati,
 phḁnnar tḁl, phḁnnir bati,
 andhare phaṭibe tor chati.
 (2) আপনার ত্যাঁলে বাতি, করো গাওয়াতি
 ফন্নার ত্যাঁল, ফন্নির বাতি,
 আন্ধারে ফাটিবে তোর ছাতি।
 (3) Light your lamp with your oil. Other's oil, other's lamp, will break your heart in darkness.
 Manage your affairs with your earned money however humble it may be. If you borrow or beg from others you will fall into grief. Never beg nor borrow,
 (4) Kḁro gaoati - manage your affairs ; Phḁnnar - others.
76. (1) Maria mach, ardzia bhat, kḁto suk tat,
 gharot džhola pḁrer duar, kḁtoḁ dhikkar.
 (2) মারিয়া মাছ, আরজিয়া ভাত, কতো সুক তাত্,
 ঘাড়োৎ ঝোলা পরের দুরার, কতোয় ধিক্কার।
 (3) What happiness it there to live upon one's own earnings, what dishonourable it is to live upon begging from others.
 It is honourable to live upon one's own earning.
 (4) Ardzia - earning ; Gharot - on the shoulder. Dhikkar - dishonourable.

77. (1) Pap katha chap na ðe, od bataser agðt dzae.
 (2) পাপ কথা ছাপ না ঝে, ওদ বাতাসের আগত ঝায়ে।
 (3) Scandal never remains secret, it goes out faster than the sun light and the air. Scandal is always out.
 (4) Chap - secret ; ðe - remain (S.C.B. 'roy') ; Od - Sunshine (S.C.B. 'Rod').
78. (1) Dondoli buri kondol na paç, similar gðchðt tika ghðtslae.
 (2) দোন্ডোলী বুড়ি কোন্ডোল না পাচ, সিমিলার গছত টিকা ঘচ্স্লায়ে।
 (3) If a quarrelsome crone cannot pick up a quarrel she tortures herself by rubbing her buttocks against the spiky trunk of the Bombax (Simul) tree.
 A habitual mischief maker may do harm upon himself.
 (4) Dondoli - quarrelsome ; Simila - silk cotton tree. It has spikes on the stem ; Goch - tree ; Tika - buttock ; Ghðtslae - rubs.
79. (1) Bura bðrðk mai-k dinu, kadzot kon na konnu
 ekhe barer kam dui bar konnu.
 (2) বুড়া বরক্ মাইক দিনু, কাজত্ কোন না কনু
 একেবারের কাম দুইবার কনু।
 (3) I have given my young daughter in marriage to an old man. It is said that I have not done well. I shall give her in marriage again.
 It reveals an ageold custom. Amongst the Rajbansis a married girl can be married again even when her husband is alive. The first marriage is practically a mock marriage just to extract some money from the old man.
 It is also said when building a house. If one post becomes too short or too long this is said metaphorically when measurements are to be done over again.
 (4) Father calls his daughter 'Mai'.
80. (1) Içar thessa uçar thessi, tatke jache kam kissi.
 (2) ইচার ঠেস্সা উচার ঠেস্সি, তাত্কে যাচে কাম কিস্সি।
 (3) Unwilling workers spoil the work.
 This is said at the time of co-operative cultivation (hauli) when all cultivators should work jointly.
 (4) Thessa - telling others to work without himself advancing.
81. (1) Tzoror ma-o-r dāngor gala, apne badzi othe dhommer kendela.
 (2) চোরের মাওর ডাঙ্গর গালা, আপ্নে বাজি ওঠে ধম্মের কন্দেলা।
 (3) Long - tongued is the thief's mother but the drum of truth will sound. (Truth is always out).
 (4) Dāngor - big, high ; Kendela - drum.
82. (1) Mansi more do asaç, goru mðre ali ghasaç.
 (2) মানসি মরে দো আশাচ, গোরু মরে আলি ঘাসাচ।
 (3) When a man runs after two jobs at a time he loses both. A cow inspite of hay stack at home when fed only on the scanty grass grown on the embankment dies of hunger.
 Great hunger kills the clever, real hunger kills the fool.
 (4) Bhatar - husband ; Gora - fair skinned ; Nðdzðr - look (S. C. B. - nðjðr) ; Herua - Lean & thin. Tepor - with protruded belly. Chðtðr - umbrella.
83. (1) Pðrer bhatar gora sundor, tar upor kène nðdzðr,
 Apon bhatar herua tepor, tãç mor mathar chðtðr.
 (2) পরের ভাতার গোরা সুন্দর, তার ওপর ক্যানে নজর,
 আপন ভাতার হেক্সা টেপোর, তাঁর মোর মাথার ছতর।
 (3) Never look lustily to other's husband even if he is fair and beautiful. Your own husband may be lean and diseased but still he is your own dear and protector.
 Never envy other's wealth.
 (4) Bhatar - husband ; Gora - fair skinned ; Nðdzðr - look (S. C. B. - nðjðr) ; Herua - Lean & thin. Tepor - with protruded belly. Chðtðr - umbrella.
84. (1) Akasete tsan nai ki koribe tara, dze narir purus nai dine onti hara.
 (2) আকাশেতে চান নাই কি করিবে তারা, ড়ে নারির পুরুষ নাই দিনে অন্টি হারা।
 (3) Stars cannot give light when there is no moon, other friends cannot protect a woman whose husband is not there ; her ear rings may be snatched away even in day time. A husband only can protect his wife.
 (4) Tzan - moon ; Onti - ear ring (sometimes pronounced as 'Onti').

77. De. S. K. - Op. Cit - p. 451, No. 4334.

78. Ibid, p. 384, No. 3511.

82. De. S. K. Op. Cit. p. 147, No. 661.

85. (1) Kalai modde musuri, sagei modde sasuri.
 (2) কালাই মোদে মুসুরী, সাগাই মোদে শাসুরী।
 (3) Musur is the best of the pulses, mother-in-law is the best of the relatives.
 (4) Sagai - near relative ; Musuri-Lans esculants ; Modde - amongst (S.C.B. - modhye).
86. (1) Tsilar nògòt dourinu, kan̄a na naria dekhinu
 dzhòper bhitor aktinu, puran bokati tsuat porinu.
 (2) ঢিলার নগত্ দৌড়িনু, কানটা না নারিয়া দেখিনু
 বপের ভিতোর আকটিনু, পুরান বোকাতি চুয়াত্ পড়িনু।
 (3) I ran after the kite for my ear but did not put my hands on my ears to see whether it was there. At last I got entangled
 in a jungle and fell into an old abandoned well.
 Always move with eyes open.
 (4) Bokati - abandoned ; tsua - well ;
 Ridiculing a foolish running. It is also an election slogan when one agent forsakes his own man and supports a
 rich opponent.
87. (1) Bās bamòn kèla, tino dzhòne pèla,
 dzom, dzamai, bhagina, tino dzhòne begena.
 (2) বাশ, বামন, ক্যালা, তিনো বনে প্যালা,
 যম, জামাই, ভাগিনা, তিনো বনে বেগেনা।
 (3) The bamboo where sown spreads to the neighbouring area, the brahmins expand their clients' circle wherever they
 reside, the banana trees always encroach upon other areas. Thus inspite of your best efforts to entertain them the God
 of Death, the son-in-law and your sister's son will never be your own, they will always snatch away your dearest
 from you.
 Expansion is all trait of Bamboo, Brahmin and Banana. Death, Son-in-law and Sister's son are never your own,
 they are always unfriendly.
 God of Death, Son-in-law and Sister's son are all unfriendly.
 (4) Pèla - expand ; Begena - unfriendly.
88. (1) Sial dekhile agač, bagh dekhile pachač.
 (2) শিয়াল দেখিলে আগাচ, বাঘ দেখিলে পাছাচ।
 (3) You go ahead when a weak creature like a jackal is in front of you but you beat a heasty retreat when a tiger approaches
 you.
 This is said when the leaders of the village who are the mouth-piece in all matters talk big in front of a village
 watchman but remain very docile when the officer-in-charge of a Police station comes before them.
 A coward fears the strong.
89. (1) Koinar kurkuṭi kam, phèl ṭaka ari an.
 (2) কোইনার কুকুর্টি কাম, ফ্যাল টাকা আরি আন।
 (3) A widower wants to marry to look after his household affairs. His friend says that it would be extremely troublesome
 to meet the various demands of a young wife. It would be easier and better to get hold of a poor widow and buy
 her up.
 For aged man a widow is a better housewife than a young woman.
 (4) Koina - a vargin ; a young wife ; Kurkuṭi - varieties ; Ari - widow.
 This is oft quoted when building a new house. The advisors say that instead of wasting money and time on
 ornamental works it would be easy to erect a simple habitable house.
90. (1) Èkhe pirač bosi, nam moton na kori.
 (2) একাথে পিড়ায় বসি, নাম মোতোন না কোরি।
 (3) We sit on the same bench, it is better I do not speak out his name. When speaking ill of a friend it is wise not to tell
 his name.
 (4) Èkhe pirač bosi - members of the same profession ; Moton - that (equivalent to S.C.B. 'jeno').
91. (1) Dhòpkeča arir pèt korir tsanu,
 sun pathare bin phande phandi pornu,
 kadzot kichu koribar na pannu,
 michate mui èla dharot ṭhekinu.

85. Ibid - p. 394. No. 3649.

87. De. S. K. - Op. Cit. 561, No. 5718.
 (S.C.B.)

- (2) ধপ্কেয়া আড়ির প্যাট করির চানু,
শুন পাথারে বিন ফান্দে ফান্দি পরনু,
কাজাত কিছু করিবার না পানু,
মিছাতে মুই এয়ালা ধারত ঠেকিনু।
- (3) I wanted to ravish a widow by giving her a bluff. But my designs were out before I could do anything. As a result I had to pay a considerable amount to get out of the affairs and I am now steeped in debt.
(Never try to bluff any one).
- (4) Dhòpkeča - By giving bluff ; Sun pathare - wilderness ; Bin - without ; Phund - snare ; Dharot - in debt.
92. (1) Dadar ghora dadar the, bhodzir kanot sonar moni,
khali mor golamer hen henani.
(2) দাদার ঘোড়া দাদার ঠে, ভোজির কানোত সোনার মণি,
খালি মোর গোলামের হেন হেনানি।
(3) The younger brother of a family says :-
The elder brother, the head of the family has all the comforts, his wife has all the ornaments, but I work as a servant.
This is purely a village politics where the younger brother is excited against the elder of the family.
(4) Bhodzī - elder brother's wife ; hen henani - running errands.
93. (1) Tissaē na d̥zane ghaṭ ki ḍghaṭ,
ninde na d̥zane bhanga khaṭ,
pirit na budzhe d̥zat ki ḍd̥zat.
(2) তিস্সার না জানে ঘাট কি অঘাট,
নিন্দে না জানে ভাঙ্গা খাট
পিরিত না বুঝে জাত কি অজাত।
(3) When one is thirsty he drinks from anywhere, when one is sleepy he falls asleep at any place, when one is in love he does not care whether his lady-love is good or bad.
Hunger knows no law.
(4) Tissa - thirst ; Nind - sleep.
94. (1) S̥t p̥ḥth dh̥mm̥ chati, andar atit milaē sathi.
(2) সৎ পথ ধম্মের ছাতি, আন্দার আতিত মিলায় সাথী।
(3) God helps a virtuous man.
(4) A ndar - dark.
95. (1) Tui bapoi s̥ḥḥt thak, andar atit milibe bhat.
(2) তুই বাপাই সতত থাক, আন্দার আতিত মিলিবে ভাত।
(3) My boy, you follow the truth, you will get food even in dark night. (Blessing a child).
96. (1) D̥angat hareča d̥ḥḥḥt ṡandaē, tar moto goar kothaē.
(2) ডাঙ্গাত হারেসা জলত চান্‌গা, তার মোতো গোয়ার কোথায়।
(3) He is a fool who loses a thing on dry land but makes a search for it in water. A fool goes to a wrong place.
(4) D̥anga - dry land ; ṡandaē - search ; Goar - fool.
97. (1) ṡaṭit ṡhari phorkit bandhe, khorak thuia sanki ṡaṭe.
(2) চাটিত ছারি ফোরকিত বান্‌ধ, খোরাক থুইয়া শাকি চাটে।
(3) It is foolish to tie the gable end without fixing the lower wall on which it rests. It is foolish to lick the plate leaving aside the food.
Fool is he who does not know how to work properly.
(4) ṡaṭi - wall ; Phorki - the gable end, the triangular upper side wall of a two roofed house.
98. (1) Chaoak thuia bhuranik dh̥re, beṭik thuia bape biao k̥re.
(2) ছাওক থুইয়া ভুরানিক ধরে, বেটিক থুইয়া বাপে বিয়াও করে।
(3) A father is a fool who marries a widow with a child when his own child is at home. A father is a fool who marries again when his unmarried young daughter is at home.
Never forget your own children.
(4) Bhurani - an elderly widow with children born to her. Any elderly woman is also called 'Bhurani'.
99. (1) ṡilar son bondhe hokkos mama,
s̥ankuraē uṭhi k̥ḥē (k̥ḥy) koṭhe d̥zabu bhagina.
(2) চিলার সোন্‌বন্ধে হোকোস মামা
সাঁকুরায় উঠি কহে গোটে য় বু ভাগিনা।

- (3) The vulture is the maternal uncle of the kite, the turtle comes out of water and calls him his nephew.
All wickeds are friends. This is said when there is an unholy alliance.
- (4) Tšila - kite ; Hokkos - vulture ; Sankura - turtle ; Bhagina - sister's son. .
100. (1) Paisat kbre mansir dʒat, gɔbbɔɔt hɔɔ tankur pat.
(2) পাইসাত করে মানষির জাত, গবরং হয় তানকুর পাত ।
(3) Money gives social status to a man as cowdung yields tobacco leaf. Money is a good manure for growth.
(4) Paisa - money ; Dzat - social status ; Gɔbbɔɔ - cowdung. Tanku - tobacco.
101. (1) Dzeṭhe mar thaki mosir dɔɔɔɔ, seṭhe gobho hɔɔ manna mɔɔɔɔ.
(2) যেঠে মার থাকি মসীর দরদ, সেঠে গোভো হয় মান্না মরদ ।
(3) When an outsider probes into the family affairs there is every danger of disruption, even the bigs of the family are drowned.
Never allow an outsider to probe into your family affairs.
(4) Gobho - drown ; Manna mɔɔɔɔ - strong man.
102. (1) Bhasia asil narar pala, oi tak hoilek akhar sɔla.
(2) ভাসিয়া আসিল নারার পালা, ওই টাক হোইলেক আখার সলা ।
(3) Drifted has come a rubbish heap, that serves me as fuel. This is said when an unknown outsider becomes incorporated in a family and serves them faithfully.
(4) Narar pala - a rubbish heap.
103. (1) Ōngal dāti argia dʒaɔ, sakua dāti bosia khaɔ.
(2) অঙ্গাল দাঁতি আর্জিয়া যায়, সাকুয়া দাঁতি বসিয়া খায় ।
(3) The poor cultivator who has no time even to cleanse his teeth works hard to raise crops and earn, whereas the gentleman who has enough leisure to cleanse his teeth gets hold of the food and the money and appropriates them for his own use. Workers earn and idlers enjoy. Poor men earn, rich men eat.
It is also used when old men earn and the idle youngsters eat. The old men rebuke the young people.
(4) Ōngal - bad, unclean ; Sakua - good, clean.
104. (1) Sadhu sɔdʒone bosibar dɔɔ dʒhollaɔ khetaɔ,
tsɔr chuccak bosibar dɔɔ bɔro piraɔ.
(2) সাধু সজনে বসিবার দ্যায় ঝোল্লায় খেতায়,
চোর চুচ্চাক বসিবার দ্যায় বড়ো পিড়ায় ।
(3) Good men are seated on torn mat whereas thieves and scoundrels are given good seats.
Nobody fears a good man. He is welcomed in a homely way. The thieves and scoundrels are always feared lest they do some harm. So they are welcomed with great pomp.
Good men get the heart, bad men get the show. Good men never care to see how they are received but bad men are particular about it.
This is also used against village police men. They welcome the scoundrels and make friends with them but keep the honest men away.
(4) Jholla - torn ; kheta - a seat made of torn cloth.
105. (1) Tsorer bɛtar biao patharer goru dan,
kauar bhasat kuhulir gan.
(2) চোরের বাটার বিয়াও পাথারের গোরু দান
কাউয়ার ভাসাত কুহুলির গান ।
(3) At the marriage of the son of a thief he invariably steals a cow from the common pasture and makes a gift to the girl's father as a token of friendship, just like a cuckoo who steals into the nest of a crow and sing.
A bad man lives on other's money as a cuckoo feed on crow's earnings.. A bad man makes a gift of others property posing it as his own.
(4) Pathar - open field, meadow ; Kuhuli - cuckoo.
106. (1) Muchile kuchile tsati, pindhaile uraile beṭi.
(2) মুছিলে কুছিলে চাটি, পিন্ধাইলে উড়াইলে বেটি ।
(3) A wall looks nice if it is properly cleaned, a girl looks nice if she is properly dressed and adorned with ornaments. A thing well-kept looks nice.

- (4) Muchile kuchile - if rubbed with cowdung and water and made clean. Tsaṭi - bamboo-made wall ; Findhaile - if dressed with ornaments. Uraile - if dressed with good cloth.
107. (1) Barir soba gitthani, haṭer soba dokani,
ṭṣengri maiyar soba, hēla rōnger paṭani.
(2) বাড়ির শোবা গিথানি, হাটের শোবা দোকানি,
চেংরি মাইয়ার শোবা, হালা রংএর পাটানি ।
(3) The beauty of a house is the housewife, the beauty of a market is the shop-keeper, the beauty of a girl is the red-blue cloth she wears.
(4) Gitthani - house wife. The wife of the big boss of the family. Dokani - shop-keeper.
Hēla - blue and red mixed ; Paṭani - phota - phota, cloth. Soba - beauty (S.C.B. - Sobha)
108. (1) Nodir soba ban borisa, digir soba phul,
bamoner soba poita gora, narir soba ṭsul.
(2) নদীর শোবা বাণ বরিসা, ডিগির শোবা ফুল,
বামনের শোবা পইতা গোরা, নারীর শোবা চুল ।
(3) The beauty of the river is the flood in the rains,
The beauty of the tank is the bloom of flowers,
The beauty of the brahmin is the white sacred thread,
The beauty of the woman is the copious hair on the head.
109. (1) Nodir ṭsikḍn ban borisḍn, balur ṭsikḍn bao,
narir ṭsikḍn soami poridḍn, chaoar ṭsikḍn mao.
(2) নোদীর চিকণ বান বোরিসন, বালুর চিকণ বাও,
নারীর চিকণ সোমামি পরিজন, ছাওয়ার চিকণ মাও ।
(3) River's beauty is the flood and rain,
Sand's beauty is the blowing wind,
Woman's beauty is the husband and relations,
Child's beauty is the mother.
The river looks beautiful when the flood fill it to the brim and the rains pat over it. The sandy tract looks nice when the sand is blown into the sky by strong winds, a woman looks elegant when her husband and relations are living and the child is pretty on its mother's lap.
(4) Ṭsikḍn - beauty ; Ban - flood ; Borisḍn - rain ; Soami - husband ; Chaoa - child.
110. (1) Barir sobankḍr kḍlogḍchi narikḍl, ṭsalir soba hoil ḍzhari,
narir soba hoil putra na poridḍn, sedzar soba hoil nḍdari.
(2) বাড়ির শোবাকর কলোগছি নারিকল, চালির শোবা হোইল ঝারি
নারীর শোবা হোইল পুত্র না পোরিধন, সেজার শোবা হোইল নদারী ।
(3) Beauty of a house is the plantain and coconut tree,
Beauty of a ledge is the clean ewer,
Beauty of a woman is the children and relations,
Beauty of a bed is the newly married wife.
The idea of beauty is described in a homely way. A house having banana and coconut trees looks beautiful, a clean water pot (ewer) placed in a corner of a varenda makes it look nice. A woman with her children and relations is a complete beauty and a bed is attractive when a newly married wife is there.
(4) Sobankḍr - beauty ; Kḍlo - plantain ; Gḍch - tree. Ṭsali - ledge, varenda ; Dzharī - ewer, a long narrow mouthed water jug with a nozzle attached to a side. Usually made of brass and sometimes ornamented.
Paridḍn - Relatives (sometime spoken as 'paridzḍn).
Sedza - bed ; Nḍdari - newly married wife (S.C.B. - nuton bou).
111. (1) Bhḍrḍsa nai nodir parot bari, bhḍrḍsa nai gabur bḍser ari.
(2) ভরসা নাই নোদীর পাড়ত্ বাড়ি, ভরসা নাই গাবুর বসের আরি ।
(3) Never depend upon a house on a river bank,
Never depend upon the fidelity of a young widow.
(4) Gabur - grown up, young ; Ari - widow.

109. De. S. K. - Op. Cit. - P. 551, No. 5604.

111. De. S. K. - Op. Cit. - P. 462, No. 4471.

112. (1) Gðch modde similar gðch, gðgðne pðncho ðal,
nari hðða ðngðrup mui, akhim kðto kal.
(2) গছ মোদে সিমিলার গছ, গগনে পঞ্চ ডাল,
নারী হয় অঙ্গরূপ মুই, আখিম কতো কাল।
(3) Even the big Simul (Bombax) tree can preserve at least five branches in the sky when grown up, how long can a mere woman like myself preserve her beauty in tact.
Beauty has its limitations. Wailings of an aged unmarried girl.
113. (1) Kuno dese dza re banga, kerkar nai tor eran.
(2) কুনো দেশে যা রে বঙ্গা কেরকার নাই তোর এরান।
(3) Fate follows everywhere.
(4) Kuno - any (S.C.B. kono)
Banga - short staple cotton (S.C.B. - Tula)
Kerka - Wooden cotton ginning machine worked by hand.
114. (1) Alsia, tor kholoi dzaë bhasia, dzaë na ne bhasia,
Aro goraim mui diat bosia.
(2) আলসিয়া, তোর খোলোই যার ভাসিয়া, যার না নে ভাসিয়া,
আরও গরাইম মুই ডি়াত বোসিয়া।
(3) Lazy fellow, your fishing basket is drifting away in water. Let it go floating, another shall I make sitting on an earth mound on the bank.
A lazy fellow allows opportunities to pass by, a worker gets advantage even from a distance.
An old man scolding a young fellow whiling away the time. He says—You do nothing boys, attend your duties. Your so called friends may give you hopes but that will not help you in any way.
(4) Alsia - lazy ; Kholoi - a bamboo made basket for keeping fishes ; Goraim - shall make ; Dia - dry high bank.
115. (1) Khali dangat khais tui hogot, nao dubise tor ghegir ghatot.
(2) খালি ডাঙ্গাত খাইস তুই হোচোট, নাও ডুবিসে তোর ঘেগির ঘাটোট।
(3) You stumble over plain land, your boat sinks in the river close to your own house.
A lazy man stumbles everywhere.
(4) Ghegi - A woman with goitre. (His own wife). Goitre is a disease common to the women of this area.
116. (1) Bosibar dzanile matia pira, khaihar dzanile tsaulia tsura.
(2) বোসিবার জানিলে মাটিয়া পিড়া, খাইবার জানিলে চাউলিয়া চুরা।
(3) One who knows how to seat can seat anywhere. One who knows how to eat can eat even badly husked flattened rice.
A man who knows how to work can work with any tool.
(4) Pira - a wooden seat : Tsura - flattened rice.
Rajbansis love to eat flattened rice with curd.
117. (1) Boner banra dori kene tor galaë,
natsaë dze mok telenga salaë.
(2) বনের বানরা দড়ি ক্যানে তোর গালায়,
নাচায় যে মোক তেলঙ্গা শালায়।
(3) Wild monkey, why a rope round your neck.
I am to dance at the bidding of the dancer brother-in-law.
This is generally said to a witness coming to the court to depose for some body. A friend asks him why he has come to the court. It is to speak in favour of some body. The witness says that he has been forced against his will to come.
Poor people are sometimes forced to work against their will by monied and powerful.
(4) Boner banra - a wild monkey, a free man.
Dori kene tor galaë—why you are being led by somebody.
Natsaë dze mok - I am forced to do.
Telenga - a Madrasee who usually works as a monkey dancer. Used to denote a notorious and powerful village tout (deunia).
Sala—wife's brother. A slang term to address an undesirable person.

118. (1) Nopkalek thopkalek tor bhangilek thomol,
Her dek mui bosia acho pudzari bamon.
(2) নোপ্ কালেক্ ঠোপ্ কালেক্ তোর ডাঙ্গিলেক্ ঠোমোল
হের দেখ মুই বোসিয়া আছ পুজারী বামন ।
(3) A cat entered the kitchen, sucked all the milk stored there and then ridiculed the chained dog sitting quietly in the yard.
At last the cat was caught, her mouth was smashed to the ground so much so that her cheek-bone got fractured. Now
the dog spoke to her in return. 'You had the punishment but I was not touched.'
Never get elated nor ridicule others on your immediate fortune.
(4) Nopkalek thopkalek - thrashed against the earth.
Thomol - cheek-bone ; Pudzari bamon - a Brahmin priest who sits for the puja and all the food is brought to him.
A respected person.
119. (1) Dzan bandha dzaē, kan bandha daē.
(2) ডান বান্ধা যায়, কান বান্ধা দায় ।
(3) It is easy to stop a current but it is difficult to stop a rumour.
(4) Dzan - current ; generally 'Dzan' means 'Life', but here it means 'current'.
120. (1) Kal phoringa hage, ekthekar gu sat the nage.
(2) কাল ফরিঙ্গা হাগে, একঠেকার গু সাত ঠে নাগে ।
(3) Black grasshopper excretes, the excreta of one place is carried to seven places.
Misfortune never comes alone. A scandal spreads.
(4) Kal - black (S.C.B. 'Kalo').
121. (1) Mala j̄dpeche t̄dp̄dr̄ t̄dp̄dr̄, elao na aise sebar kh̄db̄dr̄.
(2) মালা জপেছে টপের টপের, এলাও না আইসে সেবার খবর ।
(3) A vaisnava mendicant is invited to a dinner. He sits in the outer house making a great pretence of his religion but his
mind is after the food.
Never trust a pretender or a greedy fellow.
This is also used to ridicule a poor man who runs errands for the rich. Also to a man who does one work but
thinks of another at the same time.
(4) Seba - a dinner given to the Vaisnava mendicants.
122. (1) Chaoa m̄dre mao mao kori, mao dzaē d̄aguak dhori.
(2) ছাওয়া মরে মাও মাও কোরি, মাও যায় ডাঙ্গুয়াক ধোরি ।
(3) The child cries for the mother, but the mother goes away with her paramour.
I work for you but you forsake me and follow others.
(4) D̄angua : A man kept by a widow without formally marrying him.
123. (1) Odoler bodol, suk̄ta dile sidol.
(2) ওদোলের বোদোল শুকটা দিলে সিদোল ।
(3) If you give dried fish, I add aurum to it.
Tit for tat.
(4) Odoler bodol - in return. (S.C.B. - Òddler b̄dd̄ol)
Suk̄ta - dried fish.
Sidol - Sun dried fish pounded with steams of aurum and made into balls. It smells badly but liked by the common
people, but worse than 'Suk̄ta'.
124. (1) Bichais na ge tui khalot pat, mor p̄dr̄sonir ache hatot tak.
(2) বিছাইস না গে তুই খালোত পাত, মোর পরশোনির আছে হাতোত তাক ।
(3) You may spread your plate on a hole but the distribution of food lay in my hands.
During a community feeding an invitee spreads his plantain leaf plate on a hole so that he may get a larger quantity
of curd (dohu) in the cup formed over the hole but the distributor says that he knows how much to serve on each plate
and no body will get more.
It is said before a control shop. The man coming earliest is sitting in front of the gate but the man coming late
says that you may come early but the shop keeper will distribute according to the quantity written on the ration card and
not more.

It is also said to mean that you may try for all undue advantages but justice will be dispensed evenly to all.

- (4) Pōrsoni - distribution, administration of justice.

This saying is expressed in another form, e.g. 'Tui bichabu khalot pat, mor ache hatot tak.'

125. (1) Bodzrur dāhar bhitōrōt kōl, upore dekh tui tōl tōl.
dzeithe dibo tui hat, bhitōr khali bhua ar chōl,
puri hobe charat charat.

- (2) বোজরুর ডাহার ভিতোরৎ কল, উপরে দেখ তুই-টল টল,
যেইঠে দিবো তুই হাত, ভিতোর খালি ভুয়া আর ছল,
পুড়ি হোবে ছারাত ছারাত।

- (3) Electrified Tajia has machine inside,
It looks nice and plain from outside,
There is nothing but deceit and fraud inside,
Anywhere you place your hand, it will burn and scorch.

It is said when people disapproves of a Government measure, they say that it looks nice and plain from above but will be dangerous in its application.

- (4) Bodzru - Thunder (S.C.B. - Bojjro), Electricity.

Dahar - a representation of the tomb of Hossain and Hassan brought out during Maharram (Dahar michil) (S. C. B.—Tajia). Actually means a grand show with danger lurking behind.

Tōl tōl - clear ; Charat charat - sound of the electric spark.

126. (1) Haluar hal, dzuvar dzu, od batasot dzuḅle tar piṭhi hōḅē nal,
sogaḅ tak deḅ gal, ar tulibar tsahe dehar chal.

- (2) হালুয়ার হাল, জলুয়ার জাল, ওদ বাতাসোত্ জলে তার পিঠি হোঁই নাল,
সগাষ তাক্ দেষ গাল, আর তুলিবার চাহে দেহার ছাল।

- (3) Ploughmen plough, fishermen net,
Sun, wind and water make their back red.
Scolded by all and threatened to be flayed alive.

A poor cultivator and a fisherman express their sorrow. It is they who till the land and catch the fish in all seasons - summer, winter and the rains - to provide food for the rich but get in return slight and insult from these people.

127. (1) Kōbar gele guṣṭhi bedzār, na kohile tui-o bhal mui-o bhal.

- (2) কবার গেলে গুষ্ঠি বেজার, না কোহিলে তুইও ভাল মুইও ভাল।

- (3) If you speak out the truth all get angry, if you are silent all are good.

Be reserve in your talk and all will praise you.

Thieves should keep their secrecy.

- (4) Bedzār - angry (S.C.B. - Bejar means sorry).

128. (1) Kangaler chaoa komlit boise, tika sur suraḅ mone mone hase.

- (2) কঙ্গালের ছাওয়া কোমলিত বইসে, টিকা সুর সুরাষ মনে মনে হাসে।

- (3) A poor lad had been to a rich man's house, he was given a bad blanket to sit on. He was very happy and felt honoured to sit on it although the stout hairs of the blanket caused itching of his buttocks.

A poor man making a show of riches does not mind the after pinch.

- (4) Tika - buttocks.

129. (1) Choṭo noker chaoa dzuḅdi ḅlōp bisoi paḅ,
tsoiddo hat paguri pindhi cheyar bhiti tsaḅ.

- (2) ছোট বোকের ছাওয়া যদি অল্প বিষেই পার,
চোইদ্দ হাত পাগুরি পিন্ধি ছেয়ার ভিতি চায়।

- (3) (a) If a poor man's son gets a little wealth he puts on a big hat and looks to his shadow to see how great he has been.

(b) Never get puffed up with wealth.

(c) Wealth never makes a man great.

- (4) Bisoi - wealth ; property ; Bhiti - towards.

130. (1) Nic noker ucchò katha prane nahi sòḍ
 ক'রুঁ dekhiche ghòrar koṭit ḍima bahir hòḍ
 (2) নীচ লোকের উচ্চ কাথা প্রাণে নাহি সয়
 ক'য় দেখিছে ঘড়ার কোটিত্ ডিমা বাহির হয় ।
 (3) The big talk of a small man is unbearable.
 Has any one seen eggs coming out of the belly of a horse. Pretension is always bad.
 (4) Ghòra - horse (S.C.B. - Ghora) Koṭi - belly. ḍima - egg (S.C.B. - dim).
131. (1) Kala bamòṇ, gora hari, khaṭo mocorman, bòro bòḍḍzater tari.
 (2) কাল বামণ, গোরা হাড়ি, খাটো মোচরমান, বড়ো বজ্জাতের তারি ।
 (3) There are three classes of wicked fellows, one is a dark skinned Brahmin, one is a fair skinned low caste Hari, and another is a dwarf Mohamadean.
 (4) Gora - fair skinned ; Khaṭo - dwarf.
132. (1) Eke to dukhiar dukko, pòṇthe badḍaḍḍḍ beṇa,
 tar ḡsaite odik dukko, gabur bòser dhena.
 (2) একে তো দুখিয়ার দুক্কো প'ন্থে বাজায় বেনা,
 তার চাইতে ওদিক দুক্কো গাবুর বসের ঢেনা ।
 (3) A poor man has woes but he plays on the harp in the streets and can beg, but greater woe is the fate of an unmarried youngman of advanced age who cannot even procure a wife by begging.
 A joke to old unmarried.
 (4) Pòṇthe - on the road ; Bena - a bow like instrument made with a bent bamboo strip and a bunch of twisted horse hair stretched between the two ends ; Gabur - grown up ; a person of marriageable age ; Dhena - unmarried.
133. (1) Kirpiner duna bèḍ, potha bhatot nòḍḍner khòḍ.
 (2) কিরপিনের দুনা ব্যয়, প'ন্থা ভাতত নবণের খয় ।
 (3) A miser spends more salt on stale rice to make it eatable just to save some fresh rice.
 Caution to a miser. A miser sometimes spends more to save a little.
 (4) Nòḍḍn - Salt (S.C.B. - Lòḍḍn) ; Bèḍ or Bòy - spend ; Khòḍ or Khòy - loss.
134. (1) Dzanaḍ ḍze ḍzane, ḍḍzanaḍ ḍzeṭhe seṭhe hane.
 (2) জানায় যে জানে, অজানায় যেঠে সেঠে হানে ।
 (3) Experts know where to strike, a lay man wanders about. Seek the advice of the experts.
135. (1) Nòstò hoil ḍzomi khan, modde hoil baṭ,
 Nòstò hoil girir bou, nitte kòre haṭ.
 (2) নষ্ট হোইল জমি খান, মোদে হোইল বাট,
 নষ্ট হোইল গিরির বউ, নিতে করে হাট ।
 (3) A land is spoilt by dividing it in the middle by a road ; a good wife of the landlord is spoilt by going to the market every day. Bad handling and bad association spoil every thing. Liberty without restraint is dangerous.
 (4) Baṭ - division, road ; Giri - landlord.
136. (1) Bhòḍgomanē korile hin, dukke suke ḍzabe din.
 (2) ভগবানে করিলে হীন, দুকে সুকে যাবে দিন ।
 (3) God has made me poor, I quitely endure all troubles. When a rich man ridicules a poor man he says this.
 A poor man resigns to his fate.
 (4) Bhòḍgoman - god (S.C.B. - Bhòḍḡban)
137. (1) Bhatattir upor bhatar ache, ni-bhatarir bhòḍgoman ache.
 (2) ভাতাতীর উপর ভাতার আছে, নি-ভাতারির ভগমান আছে ।
 (3) Husband protects a married woman, God helps a widow. God helps the helpless.
 (4) Bhatatti - a woman with husband living (S.C.B. - Sòdhòba). Bhòḍgoman - God (S.C.B. - Bhòḍḡban).
138. (1) Odhiko ḍhanga na hoi batase helaḍ,
 odhiko khaṭo na hoi benge nedaḍ.
 (2) ওধিকো ঢাঙ্গা না হই বাতাসে হেলায়,
 ওধিকো খাটো না হই বেংএ নেদায় ।

131. Ibid—P. 241, No. 1807.
 — 133. De, S. K.—Op. Cit—P. 218, No. 1530.
 135. Ibid—P. 365, No. 3288.

- (3) Don't become too tall, the storm will bend ; don't become too small, frogs will kick.
Follow a middle path. Don't try to be too rich and don't be too poor.
- (4) Beng - frog (S.C.B. - bèng) ; Nedač - kick.
139. (1) Ògiane korile pap gian hoile sare,
giane korile pap sange nahi nðre.
(2) অগিয়ানে করিলে পাপ গিয়ান হোইলে সারে,
গিয়ানে করিলে পাপ সাজে নাই নড়ে ।
(3) If a fool does any wrong it is cured after he becomes wise.
If a wise does any wrong it cannot be removed by any means. It continues till his death.
(4) Ògian - uneducated, fool.
Sang - a bamboo pole carried by two or more persons generally used to remove heavy articles.
Sometimes used to denote a bier.
140. (1) Udzan bhui djar, bhaṭi malli tar.
(2) উজান ভূই য়ার, ভাটি মাল্লি তার ।
(3) One whose land is on the upper level should construct the embankment on the lower end of the land.
This is an agricultural technique of the cultivator.
(4) Udzan - (upper riparian) upland. Bhaṭi - (lower riparian) low land. Malli - embankment (ail).
141. (1) Una bhate duna bol, bhora bhate rðsatðl.
(2) উনা ভাতে দুনা বল, ভরা ভাতে রসাতল ।
(3) Less eating gives strength, over eating kills early.
(4) Una - small quantity ; Bhora - full belly, large quantity.
142. (1) Èkhe pate khai, tor kène gao dum dum, mor kène nai.
(2) একখে পাতে খাই, তোর ক্যানে গাও দুম দুম, মোর ক্যানে নাই ।
(3) We eat the same food, why you are strong while I am not.
It is also used as :-
(a) We do the same work, why you become rich but I remain poor.
(b) We have equal status, why you have much influence but I have none.
Apparently same work but two effects.
(4) Gao dum dum - strong and fatty body.
143. (1) Tsengrak na dekhai bhārear bhasa,
maičak na koi biseser kaṭha.
(2) চেংরাক না দেখাই ভাঁড়ের ভাসা ।
মাইচাক না কোই বিশেষের কাথা ।
(3) Never show a bird's nest to a child, never break your secret to your wife.
Never confide your secret to a woman. (It will be out).
(4) Bhārea - kite ; Maiča - wife ; Bises - confidential.
144. (1) Dzāč hoč kissener bèṭa, tsoit mase phelač paṭa.
(2) ঝাঁক হয় কিস্যার ব্যাটা, চৈত মাসে ফেলার পাটা ।
(3) A true cultivator knows when to sow. (Jute is to be sown in choitra—March-April).
A wise man knows when to start work.
145. (1) Dzāč kðre pap, tāč hðč atharo choar bap.
(2) ঝাঁক করে পাপ, তাঁর হয় অঠারো ছোয়ার বাপ ।
(3) Two many children is the sign of misfortune. (They realise the efficacy of family planning).
146. (1) Dze din maribe Hori, ki koribo dang nari.
(2) যে দিন মারিবে হরি, কি কোরিবো ডাং নাড়ি ।
You may show your power today but death will surely come in due time.
(3) Death never spares the powerful.
(4) Dang - sword, stick.

147. (1) Sòd bhikha sòdač, odik bhikha padač.
 (2) সদৃ ভিক্ষা সদাচ, ওদিক ভিক্ষা পাদাচ।
 (3) Honest earning is good, greed leads to troubles.
 (4) Odik - much (S.C.B. - odhik) ; bhikha - alms (S.C.B. - bhiksha) ; padač - leads to trouble.
148. (1) Mach bhat sòbbò kal, doi dudh girir kapal.
 (2) মাছ ভাত সৰু কাল, দুই দুধ গিরির কাপাল।
 (3) Simple fare of rice and fish may be had always but better food consisting of milk and curd depends upon landlord's prosperity.
 A cultivator says that he can have his moderate food by his own efforts but his landlord should grow rich - so that he may get better food from him.
 This shows how the landlord and the tenant are economically linked up.
 (4) Doi - curd.
149. (1) Din džač katha òč, ghaua palač dag òč.
 (2) দিন যায় কাথা অচ, ঘাউয়া পালার দাগ অচ।
 (3) Time goes, story remains ; ulcer heals, scar remains.
 Deeds outlive life.
 (4) Òč - remain (S.C.B. - Ròč) ; Ghaua - ulcer.
150. (1) Bon pora džač soggač dèkhe, mon pora džač kàhòč na dżane.
 (2) বন পোড়া যায় সোগ্গায় দেখে, মন পোড়া যায় কাঁহয় না জানে।
 (3) All can see a forest burning, none can know a heart burning.
 No body knows what happens in the mind.
151. (1) Kun ba nodit nai khar, kun ba ghòròt nai dżar.
 (2) কুন বা নদীত্ নাই খার, কুন বা ঘরত্ নাই জার।
 (3) Where is the river that carries no filth, where is the family that has no immoral woman.
 A river flows merrily inspite of some filth floating over it. A family can continue smoothly inspite of some taint in it.
 Never look to the faults of others.
 (4) Khar - filth, jungle ; Dzar - wicked woman (unchaste).
152. (1) Ghar hèlač dżak bhokti dinu, tak na koi ghega,
 dżak dia bhat khanu, tak na koi chèka.
 (2) ঘাড় হালায়া যাক ভক্তি দিনু, তাক না কোই গেগা,
 বাক্ দিয়া ভাত খানু, তাক না কোই ছেকা।
 (3) When you make obeisance to some one by bending your head, never ridicule or abuse that person (call the person as having a goitre). When you eat rice with a curry never call it bad.
 Never dishonour the respected.
 (4) Ghega - a person having a goitre ; Bhokti - salute make obeisance.
 Chèka - a curry prepared by adding some alkaline salt. The salt is made by burning dried banana root.
153. (1) Taper bela bap, tap-o phurail bap-o phurail
 (2) তাপের বেলা বাপ, তাপও ফুরাইল বাপও ফুরাইল।
 (3) When in difficulty you call me father, when it is over I am no body.
 Never forget your benefactor.
 (4) Tap - danger, difficulty.
154. (1) Peṭuk mðre pètòk nagi, nami mðre namòk nagi.
 (2) পেটুক মরে প্যাটক নাগি, নামি মরে নামক্ নাগি।
 (3) Eating ruins the greedy, fame kills the famous.
 (4) Pèt - stomach ; belly (S.C.B. - peṭ)
155. (1) Pubiča potgiča bao-e nðre bhatèr hari,
 èkta maiča pusir na pač, aro tsandač ari.
 (2) পুৰিয়া পাঁচিয়া বাও-এ নড়ে ভাতের হাড়ি,
 একটা মাইচা পুসির না পায় আরো চান্দাচ আরি।
 (3) Wind turns your empty cooking pot, you cannot maintain one wife still you run after a widow.
 This is said when one cannot till his own land properly but tries to grab other's land.
 (4) Bao - wind ; Maiča - wife ; Pusir na pač - cannot maintain ; Tsandač - search, run after ; Ari - widow.

156. (1) Dekhilar bandik ani, a-dekhilar gittanik-o na ani,
doi kini tar madzhot khal, koina ani dzar mao-ta bhal.
- (2) দেখিলার বান্দিক আনি, অ-দেখিলার গীতানীক-ও না আনি,
দই কিনি তার মাঝোত্ খাল, কইনা আনি যার মাওটা ভাল।
- (3) I am ready to bring even the maid servant of a known family but I am not inclined to accommodate in my house even the best woman of an unknown family. The best curd is known by its concave surface, the best girl is she whose mother is good.
- This is the homely saying about choosing a girl for marriage.
- (4) Dekhilar - of known ; Bandi - an ordinary girl, a maid servant (S.C.B. - Bādi).
Gittani - a good looking girl, a housewife (the usual word for it is Gitthani) ;
Mao-ta - mother.
157. (1) Dzār katha òk tār-e sògge mòntse nage thèk,
dzār katha dui tār k tania hutti thui,
dzar katha tin tār dekhilbar nage ghin.
- (2) য়ার কথা এক, তার সগ্গে মন্টে নাগে থ্যাক,
য়ার কথা দুই, তাঁক্ টানিয়া হুতি থুই,
য়ার কথা তিন, তাঁক্ দেখিলার নাগে ঘিন।
- (3) A man is honourable who keeps his word. (Whose word is one). A man has no respect who goes back on his word. (Whose word is two). He is to be dragged aside. A man is hated who attaches no value to his words. (Whose word is three). He is not worth looking at. He is the true man who keeps his word.
- This is how a man is judged.
- (4) Mòntse - to earth ; Nage thèk - touches ; Tania - dragging ; Hutti - there ; Ghin - hate.
158. (1) Boider kasula mao, kamarer ghetketa dao
chòkòrbònder bhidza matha, tātir chaoar galat kheta.
- (2) বৈদের কাশুলা মাও, কামারের ঘেট্কেটা দাও
ছকরবন্দের ভিজা মাথা, তাঁতির ছাওয়ার গালাত্ খেতা।
- (3) Physician's mother is coughing,
Blacksmith's knife is blunt,
Roof-maker's house is leaking,
Weaver's son in tattered clothing.
- This is an instance where home affairs are neglected in preference to other duties.
- (4) Kasula - suffering from cough ; Ghetketa - blunt so much so that it cannot even cut a soft stem of aurum.
Chòkòrbònd - one who makes or mends a thatched roof ; Kheta - torn cloth ; tattered cloth.
159. (1) Corer còlòn tsalam tsulum, monot kòre phak,
dhuddar còlòn nai kathate, pare sat pak,
bhal moto paṭoarir còlòn, matha paria nèkhe,
alsia mansir còlòn, bèlar bhitti dèkhe,
bepari paikarer còlòn, bòroi tsok phok,
dhonir còlòn, bèla gori dzač, tār na nage bhok.
- (2) চোরের চলন চালাম চুলুম, মনোত্ করে ফাক্
চুড্ডার চলন নাই কাথাতে পারে সাত পাক্
ভাল্ মতো পাটোয়ারীর চলন, মাথা পাড়িয়া ন্যাখে
আলসিয়া মানসির চলন ব্যালার ভিত্তি দ্যাখে
ব্যাপারী পাইকারের চলন বড়ই চোক ফোক্।
ধনীর চলন ব্যালা গড়ি যার তাঁও না লাগে ভোক্।
- (3) A thief is known by his scheming and rolling eyes, a rogue by his unseemingly and unusual movements, a good village headman moves gently and minds his own business, a lazy is up to see that his work-time passes off; a shrewd wholeseller moves about quickly amongst his clients, a rich man is not hungry until the sun moves down to the west.
- A homely example of the study of men.
- (4) Phak - scheme ; Paṭwari - headman ; Bhitti - towards. Bèla gori dzač - sun goes down to the west ; Bhok - hunger.

160. (1) Dui kan kaṭa chai nêt pêtā
asman dekhail tsila bêtā
ḍẏāo na ḍẏane tiptipir hhāo
tak agḍt tiptipao.
- (2) দুই কান কাটা ছাই ন্যাট প্যাটা
আসমান দেখাইল চিলা ব্যাটা
যাঁও না জানে টিপটিপির ভাঁও
তাক আগত টিপটিপাও।
- (3) A man was sitting near a pond with his angle dipped in water to catch fish. A fish from water says that he was caught once, the housewife cut his two ears and smeared him with ashes in order to cut into pieces. In the meanwhile a kite swooped down and took him away in the sky. Two kites quarreled in the air and he slipped down into this water. So please try your angle on some one else who had no such experience.
Try your luck on an inexperienced.
- (4) Nêt-pêtā - smeared ; Asman - sky (intrusion of a foreign word).
Tiptipi - the dancing cork stick floating vertically on water from which hangs a hook into the deep water (angle feather) ;
Bhāo - nature, taste.
161. (1) Mach, kene aṭkiṭais tui ḍẏḍlḍt,
ḍẏakhoit marim kholoit dhuim,
kaṭari khakerea kaṭim, kaṭ kholat bhaḍzim,
dāter sukhe tsabaim, ḍẏibar sukhe nḍr-bḍraim,
gala dia dhire mor pêtot sondhaim,
peter ogune kḍrḍe kḍrḍe hḍḍẏḍm korim,
pukṭi dia dangat phelaim sadḍea gu,
sela chini tsinibo tui kemon bōdhu,
kauaṭ tsilaṭ thoṭot kori khaibe tok,
selaṭ tor ses na hobe bhog.
- (2) মাছ, ক্যানে আটকিটাইস তুই জলত্
জাখইত্ মারিম্, খোলোইত ধুইম্
কাটারি খাকেরিয়া কাটিম্, কাঠ খোলাত ভাজিম্
দাঁতের সুখে চাবাইম্, জিবার সুখে নড়বড়াইম্
গালা দিয়া ধীরে মোর প্যাটত্ সোন্দাইম্
প্যাটের অণ্ডে করডে করডে হজম কোরিম্
পুকটি দিয়া ডাঙ্গাত ফেলাইম সাজেয়া গু
স্যালা ছিনি চিনিবো তুই ক্যামোন বঁধু
কাউয়ার চিলায় ঠোঁটোং কোরি খাইবে তে'ক্
স্যায় তোর শেষ না হোবে ভোগ।
- (3) Fish, why swim merrily in water,
with ḍẏakhoi shall catch, in kholoi shall wash,
with knife shall skin, in pan shall fry,
shall chew merrily with teeth,
shall leisurely move in the mouth with tongue,
through throat shall push into my stomach,
in the fire of the stomach shall slowly digest,
through anus on the field shall throw the converted faeces,
then will you feel what type of friend am I,
crow and kite with beak will eat you,
even then your suffering will not end.
An expression of violent anger.
The friend is called a fish moving in his own circle. The man says :- hallo friend, why move freely in your own society. I shall catch you forcibly in a trap. I shall flay you alive and completely efface you from the earth.
- (4) Aṭkiṭais - swimming freely ; Ḍzakhoi - a bamboo made trap where a fish is forcibly caught by drawing a string attached to it ; Kholoi - a bamboo made pitcher with a narrow mouth to keep live fish ; Kaṭari - knife. Khakerea - slowly peeling off the scales and the skin and then cutting with slow strokes ; Kaṭ khola - an oven where dry chips of wood are used as fuel ; Nḍrbḍra - move inside the mouth. Kḍr ḍe kḍr-ḍe - slowly ; Pukṭi - anus ; Sadḍea - converted ; Bōdhu - friend (used ironically) ; Kaua - crow ; tsila - kite ; Thoṭ - beak.

Unusual phenomena.

162. (1) Ramer gòche phòle tam
benger mukhe Hori nam
rakhal hoil adza
tsalakot bòndòre khase
ghier piñho bhadza.
- (2) রামের গছে ফলে টাম
বেঙ্গের মুখে হরি নাম
রাখাল হোইল আজ
চালাকত্ বন্দরে খাসে
ঘি়ের পিঠো ভাজা।
- (3) Guava grows on mango tree
frog sings the name of God
cow boy becomes king
cunning fellow eats sweets in the market.
- (4) Ram - mango (S.C.B. - am)
Tam - guava ; Khase - eats (S.C.B. - khay) ;
Tsalakot - a cunning fellow ; Bòndòre - market, town.
Ghier piñho - a sweet prepared with clarified butter.
163. (1) Mukkher bèta pondit hðē
ram kòntholer poritsòē
kòto ponditer bitsar kòbreche
mukkher chaila hðēa.
- (2) মুখের ব্যাটা পণ্ডিত হর
রাম কন্ঠলের পরিচর
কতো পণ্ডিতের বিচার করেছে
মুখের ছাইলা হয়।
- (3) Son of an unlettered poses to be learned.
he read no books but only ate mango and jack-fruit in childhood.
the son of an unlettered trying the cases of many pandits.
An unlettered bossing over the learned.
Referring to Union Bench Court in the village.
164. (1) Kolir bitsar chei,
Bentse Bode dekhi pai,
neka pòra na dzane kãho,
tare mathòt bðro.
- (2) কলির বিচার ছেই
বেন্সে বোডে দেখি পাই
নেকা পড়া না জানে কাঁহ
তারে মাথত্ বড়।
- (3) There is no justice in Koli Yuga,
this is seen in the (Union) Bench and Board
none have education
(but) they are the bigs.
- (4) Chei - nothing ; Benche - in Union Bench Courts.
Bode - in Union Boards
165. (1) Kistò dzommil Mathurate
bònsò moribe Kistèr hate
Kistèr dèse Kistòr bapok
rakhil karagare.
- (2) কিস্ট জম্মিল মথুরাতে
বংশ মরিবে কিস্টের হাতে
কিস্টের দ্যাসে কিস্টের বাপোক
রাখিল্ কারাগারে।

162-166. Are generally sung as a prelude to Krishnalila play.

- (3) Lord Krishna was born in Mathura.
his family was to be killed by Krishna himself.
(So) in the land of Krishna his father was kept in prison (to prevent the birth of Krishna).
Intellegent man are kept at arm's length by the fools in authority (Dig at Union Board).
- (4) Kisto - Lord Krishna ;
Dèse - in the country (S.C.B. - des).
Kistok - of Krishna (S.C.B. - Krishner)
Bapok - the father (S.C.B. - Bap-ke)
Karagar - prison.
166. (1) Pòrer tal pòrer sur
nidze hoitge bahadur
phuṭanit kòre ao
dhik dhik tor d̥z̥m̥mo micha
dhik tor bap mao.
- (2) প'রর তাল পরের সুর
নিজে হোইচে বাহাদুর
ফুটানিত করে আও
ধিক ধিক তোর জন্ম মিছা
ধিক তোর বাপ মাও ।
- (3) You get things done by others but take the credit yourself and pose to be a learned man.
I condem you for your birth and shame to your parents.
A pretender gets a snub.

Common Sayings.

167. (1) Ki dèkhen mor ti
dhula uraik tor ti.
(2) কি দাখেন মোর তি
ধূলা উড়াইক তোর তি ।
(3) Two friends passing by, one looking at the other and saying why look at me, you are raising the dust.
Don't find fault with others till you look at your own.
168. (1) Dzar ache khoraker mon, t̥ā̃t̥ agina uṭhãt̥ bon.
(2) যার আছে খোরাকের মন, তাঁর আগিনা উঠার বন ।
(3) A good housewife keeps the yard clean.
169. (1) Dzei t̥s̥engrar d̥h̥k, oa barir b̥k.
(2) যেই চ্যাংরার ঢক, ওয়া বাড়ির বক ।
(3) The child looks like a heron on the paddy field.
Just a joke against a fair skinned but lean child.
(4) D̥h̥k - appearance ; Oa bari - (roa bari) the transplanted paddy field ; B̥k - heron.
170. (1) Dzirale d̥zirao b̥dro basar t̥l
khale khao mama mamir gh̥r.
(2) জিরালে জিরাও বড় বাশার তল
খালে খাও মামা মামির ঘর ।
(3) If you like to rest seek a big bamboo grove.
If you like to eat go to your uncle's house.
Stay and eat at safe places.
Always seek shelter under the bigs.
(4) Khale - if you want to eat.
171. (1) Kis̥t̥ ki kam koril, d̥z̥ai bhatari hoil.
(2) কিসৎ কি কাম করিল, জেঁয়াই ভাতারি হইল ।
(3) What foolish act you have done, you make your son-in-law your own husband.
A slang scolding for a wrong done.

172. (1) Kathaē hōbōr dzōbōr, behar kale nai dil khōbōr.
 (2) কাথায় হবর জবর, বেহার কালে নাই দিল্ খবর।
 (3) Talk big and do nothing.
173. (1) Emon bari bandhi, palaleo na kandi.
 (2) এমন্ বাড়ি বান্ধি, পালালেও না কান্দি।
 (3) I make such a wretched house that I may leave without regret.
 A share cropper says that he has no right over his land so he will make such a house that he may abandon it any day.
 Do such work that you may not regret afterwards. No right, no responsibility.
174. (1) Nidze kolle sōna, bētaē kolle ang
 tsakōre kolle bōngser tan.
 (2) নিজে কোল্লে সনা, ব্যাটায়ে কোল্লে অং
 চাকরে কোল্লে বংশের টান।
 (3) If I do my work myself it is good, if my son does it is medium, if the servant does it is bad for the family tradition.
 Do your work yourself, never entrust it to others. It is honourable to do one's own work.
175. (1) Aghōne pouṭi, Puse ceuṭi
 Maghe nara, Phagune kara.
 (2) অঘণে পৌটি, পুসে চেউটি
 মাঘে নারা, ফাগুণে কাড়া।
 This is the common saying of the cultivators. If you harvest Amon (winter) paddy in Agrahayan (Nov.-Dec.), you get full crop ; if in Paus (Dec.-Jan.), you get three fourths of the crop ; if in Magh (Jan.-Feb.), you get one fourth of the crop ; if in Phalgun (Feb.-March) you get nothing.
- Note : Pouṭi - full crop, about 80 maunds of paddy (in five acres of land i.e. fifteen blghas).
 Ceuṭi - a strip of land about 10 bighas—paddy 60 maunds ; that is, you lose one fourth of the crop, get crop of ten bighas only).
 Nara - the part of the paddy plant that remains on land after the paddy is harvested ; that is you get more straw but lose three fourth of the crop.
 Kara - the inflorescence of paddy without any fruit ; that is you get all strand but no paddy.
176. (1) Halua hōēa na ḍṭhaē gocia.
 Ōdzha hōēa na dhōre chucia.
 (2) হালুয়া হুয়া না ঊঠায়ে গোচিয়া
 ঊড়া হুয়া না ধরে ছুচিয়া।
 He is a bad cultivator who does not plough the hard spaces between the furrows. He is a bad exorcist who does not know the art of driving out evil spirits.
- Note : Gocia - the space between the two furrows ; Dhōre chucia - incantation to drive out evil spirits.
177. (1) Upōre dzōtō, bhitore tōtō, tak kōhe sili
 bahire dzōtō ghōre tōtō, tak kōhe giri.
 (2) উপরে যত, ভিতরে তত, তাক্ কহে শিলি
 বাহিরে যত, ঘরে তত, তাক্ কহে গিরি।
 As a wooden pole is not properly rammed and set if half of it is not inside the earth and half outside, so a monied landlord is not worth anything if he does not spend at least half of his wealth for his comforts. (That portion is distributed). A true landlord is he who does not make a fuss of his wealth but eats and feeds moderately keeping at least half of his wealth for bad days. Then he has a sound footing.
- Note : Sili - properly rammed ; Giri - landlord.
178. (1) Adza hōēa na kōre aidzer bicar
 bēta hōēa na kōre baper udhar
 maiya hōēa na kōre purusōk bhokti
 ei tinṭa dzip dṭabe ḍdhōgoti.
 (2) আজা হুয়া না করে আইজের বিচার
 ব্যাটা হুয়া না করে বাপের উদার
 মাইয়া হুয়া না করে পুরুষক ভক্তি
 এই তিনটা জীপ্ যাবে অধোগতি।

The king who does not look to the welfare of his subjects, the son who does not perform the funeral rites of his father, the wife who does not respect her husband, all these three sorts of people are sure to go down.

Note : Aidz - the subjects of a kingdom ; Udhar - rescue the soul ; Bhokti - respect ; Dzip - animals (here - people).

A girl was drawing water from a well. A man from a distance said :-

179. (1) Dzbl modde cuar dzbl, phbl modde ram
maiya modde dhauli, purus modde nami.

(2) জল মদে চুয়ার জল, ফল মদে রাম
মাইয়া মদে ধাউলী, পুরুষ মদে নামী।

The best water is well water, the best fruit is the mango, the best woman has a white skin, the best man has a fame.

At this the woman said in reply :—

180. (1) Maiya modde phedeli, phbl modde kodoli,
dzbl modde bhasa, purus modde casa.

(2) মাইয়া মদে ফেদেলী, ফল মদে কদলী
জল মদে ভাসা, পুরুষ মদে চাষা।

An unassuming chaste and modest woman is the best, plantain is the best of all fruits (as mango is seasonal but plantain can be had all the year round), a flowing water is the best, and the best man is the industrious and honest cultivator. (S. C. B. - Chasa).

Chapter X

Music and Musical Instruments.

The Rajbansis are passionately fond of music and songs. In some occasions they sing and dance with instrumental music the whole night through. Instrumental music is played in worships, marriages and in all social functions excepting in funeral rites. The instruments are made of skin and wood as in drums 'Tasi' (Dhol), and 'dhak', of skin and earth as in 'Khol', of metals as in cymbal 'kansi' and 'kartal', of strings as in 'dotra' and 'sarengi'. Wind instruments are also used. They are 'sanai' and 'mokha-bāsi'.

Double membrane drums

Tasi :

Tasi is a favourite drum. Its body is made of wood about $\frac{1}{2}$ " thick. The inner portion is hollow. Each end is covered with clean goat skin stretched out by means of strong cotton strings perforated through the margins of the skin of both sides of the body. The tightening or loosening of the skin is made by stretching or loosening the bracing cords by means of metal hooks through which the cords pass. When the skins are tight there is more resonance. The tight skins are stroked with one small bamboo stick of which one end has a knob. This gives a loud sound and the light strokes give weaker sounds. Thus the desired pitch is obtained by adjusting the strokes. In this area a Tasi is played with the bamboo stick striking the right hand skin and the left skin is stroked by the hand directly. The diameter of a Tasi is usually 12" in the centre. It tapers to about 9" at the right and 8" at the left end. The length varies from 24" to 36". The 'Tasi' and 'Sanai' (flute) are the main instruments played in songs with dancing.

Dhak :

Dhak is just like Tasi but the body is straight, it does not taper towards the ends. The diameter varies from 27" to 45". It is played with two sticks and not with hands directly stroking the skin. Only the skin of one side is thrown into vibration, the other skin serves as a resonator and also as an attachment for bracing cords to stretch the sounding membrane. The throngs are made of cotton strings and there are no hooks. The membranes are stretched by drawing the strings with the fingers.

'Dhol' and 'Tasi' are synonymous. So a 'Tasi' player is called a 'Dhuli'. A 'Dhak' player is a 'Dhaki'. The sentence 'dhol dangaē dichu' means 'proclamation has been made with beat of drums'. But 'Devi pujaē dhol badzabar nage' means 'dhol is to be played at the time of Durga puja'. 'Tasi' is played in 'Bas khela gan', during marriage, in social songs (Morisuria gan) and in open air operas in 'Dham'. Dhak is played in pujas, in Devi (Durga) puja, in 'gomira' and 'Goroknather gan'.

Turu-muru :

It is a small drum. The cylinder of the body is made of wood and is 12" wide. The diameter of the upper vibrating skin is 12" and that of the dummy lower skin is 9". The bracing cords are made of leather; tightening and loosening of the skin is made by drawing the brass hooks through which the cords pass. It is tied with jute strings to the waist of the musician and the upper skin is struck with two iron rods or with two fine bamboo sticks. It is played in a concert during marriage ceremony and also for proclamation by beat of drums. It is locally made.

Akrai :

It is a small Tasi. The length is 24", the diameter at the middle of the wooden cylinder that is of the body, is 14" and 12" at the ends. The skin is tightened or loosened by drawing the metal hooks through which the cotton cords pass. The skins of both sides are struck with hands and played in congregational songs, kirtans and operas (palaṭia gan). It is locally made.

Khol :

It is a drum of special make. The body is made of sticky earth and burnt to a hard consistency. The skins are attached to the two sides of the cylindrical body. The diameter at the centre is 12" and at the left end 3", at the right 6". The middle part of the skin is made thicker and painted black. The throngs are made of strips of leather covering the body. The skins are tuned to the desired pitch by drawing the throngs and striking at the junction of the leather and the body with a piece of wooden hammer. Both the skins are struck by the finger directly and the force of the thrust gives high or low pitch. It is played in

‘kirtans’, in ‘Dhumali’ songs during post funeral ceremony (Sradh). This instrument is imported from the southern parts of Bengal.

Gong.

Kansi, Kasi :

It is a bell-metal gong of 6" diameter. Its edge is slightly curved inwards. One end has a hole through which passes a jute string forming a loop. This loop is held by the left hand suspending the gong in the air and is struck with a short bamboo stick having a knob at one end, by the right hand. It marks the time of the song and the music of the Tasi and Dhak.

Clappers.

Kartal :

It is a cymbal. The plates are made of brass or bell-metal. The central portion is slightly raised forming a hollow on the other side and thus the plate has a concave surface on the inner and convex on the outer side. The top of the raised centre has a hole through which passes a jute string having a knot to prevent the plate slipping away. Each plate is 3" in diameter. The string is passed round a finger suspending the plate in the air and the two plates held similarly are struck together to emit a sharp sound. The damping of the note is done by placing other fingers lightly on the metal while striking and thus a melodious tone is produced. In the hands of the experts the resonance and rhythm are pleasing to the ear. It is played in ‘kirtans’ to mark the time. The gongs and cymbals are imported from outside.

String Instruments.

Dotra :

It is a four stringed harp. The length of the body is usually 36" long. The base is 4" wide and the body tapers from 2½" to ¾" at the top. The body is made of one solid wood and the lowest portion is ballooned to a cup. The open mouth of the cup is closed with a clean skin gummed to the rim of the wooden cup and kept stretched. The gum is made by immersing ‘musur dal’ (lans esculants) or flattened rice (chura) in water overnight and made into a fine paste next morning by pressing between a stone mortar and pestle and adding some ‘dhuna’ (powdered ‘dhup’). This is painted on the margin of the skin and pressed on wooden rim. This when dry fixes the skin tightly to the wood and the skin remains stretched. The cup with the skin is 6" long and 5" wide. This skin has 6-12 perforations generally each batch of three forming a triangle.

The hollow between the skin and the cup forms the musical box. A small wooden or iron bridge 2" long and ½" wide is placed horizontally at the middle of the skin. It stands on two wooden legs ¾" high, the legs resting on the skin. The bridge has four grooves to accommodate a string in each and the pressure of the stretched strings keeps the bar in upright position on the legs. There is a knob at the furthest outer end of the cup near the base. The top part of the harp is 2½" long and 2" wide with a hollow in the middle. Four wooden plugs two on each side are driven through the hole in the ¼" body plate of the hollow passing into the groove of the other plate. Thus the hollow contains four round bases of the plugs for the strings. The portion of the plugs that remain outside is 2" long and flat. This flat portion is held by the fingers to turn the plugs within the hollow. Four fine strings are made by tightly twining a few silk (muga) threads. They are cut into pieces of 24" each. One of them is again twined with a few more threads to make it a little thicker than the others. One end of the each thread is fixed tightly to the body of the plug in the upper hollow and all the threads are drawn down and passed through each groove on the musical box and then all the strings are tied together with a stronger rope of cotton which is then tightly fixed to the knob at the base of the sounding box. The strings are stretched to the required tension by turning the upper plugs and the strings remain nearly parallel to one another. The player knows how far he will stretch the strings to produce the note he requires.

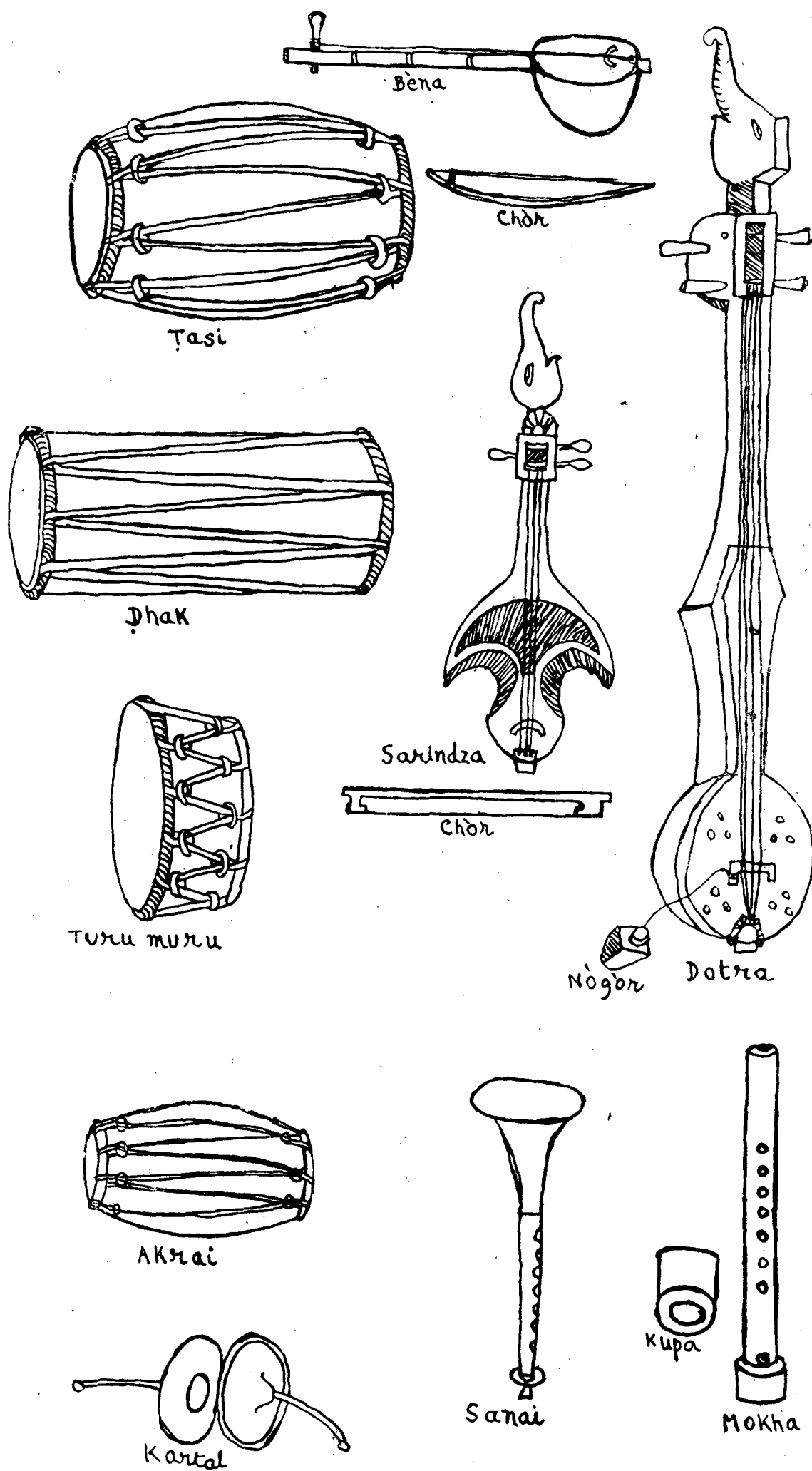
A triangular solid piece of wood of the size 1" x 1" x 1" is the striker. It has a knob at the base. A fine string is attached to the knob and to one of the legs of the bridge. The player plucks the strings with this solid piece of wood held in his right hand. The fingers of the left hand move over the strings to ‘stop’ the strings to produce different notes.

The tune is fascinatingly melodious. Many a time the writer called a ‘Dotra’ player in his house to hear the music. A song from a distant solitary hut with ‘Dotra’ playing with it heard from a lonely road in a moonlit night is enchanting no doubt. The writer had such experience several times.

It is a very favourite instrument of the villagers. The name ‘Dotra’ appears to be a misnomer. It has four strings. The name is probably due to the fact that two of the strings produce the real music, others are resonators.

‘Dotra’ is played either alone (solo) or with ‘monosiksha gan’ that is religious songs concerning the frailness of the body (deha-tattva) and ‘udasi gan’ that is songs where the tune is long drawn like ‘Bhatiali’ songs of East Bengal.

Plate XXII MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS



Parts of 'Dotra'

The bridge on the musical box is called -	Ghora.
The thicker string on the extreme left is called -	'Bom'.
The second string is called	... 'Gin'.
The third string is called	... 'Sur'.
The fourth string is called	... 'Agini'.
The knobs to tighten the strings are	... 'Kan'.
The striker is	... 'Nḍgḍr'.

Sarindza :

It is a very small three stringed instrument resembling a violin. It is 18" to 22" long. The body is made out of one solid wood. The frame consists of a resonator from one end of which issues a neck of about 12" long. The resonator consists of two cups hollowed out of the wood, the upper one has a transverse diameter of 8" and vertical 4", the lower end of this cup enters into a second cup whose transverse diameter is 3" to 4" and vertical 3" to 3½". The mouth of the lower cup only is covered with a piece of thin skin. This skin is prepared from a killed iguana or fish. The covering skin has a few holes as in Dotra. There are three tuning pegs at the neck of the body. One end of the strings is wound round the body of the tuning pegs at the neck, the strings are passed through the grooves of a bridge ½" high fixed on the resonator skin and then made into a bundle and tied together with a stouter cotton string and fixed to a knob at the bottom of the instrument.

The strings are made of twined 'muga' or silk threads. The strings are vibrated by drawing a friction appliance across the strings. The friction bow is made of a flat piece of wooden plank about 10" x ½" x ½" at the two ends of which two other small piece of planks ½" high are firmly fixed. To the upper end of these planks there are two holes through which passes a bunch of tail hair of a house. The ends of the bunch are fixed with another two small pieces of planks gummed to the vertical planks. This keeps the hairs stretched. It is lald on the left hand and the arm for playing, the right hand bowing while the left hand figures 'stops' the strings to produce modulations of the tune. Resin or 'dhup' powder is applied on the strings and hairs to increase friction.

The tune is very sweet. This instrument is not played in any congregational songs or concerts. It is played solo or sometimes with 'udasi gan' inside a hut. It is locally made.

Bena (Bayana) :

This is a single stringed instrument about 18" long. The body is made of a bamboo slip pushed through a wooden cup and fixed to the other and with a clog. The wooden cup is covered with a skin made from the stomach of a goat. The diameter of the cup is 6" and the vertical distance from the middle of the skin to the apex of the cup is nearly 3". Sometimes the stump of a bamboo is used instead of a wooden cup. The string is made by winding a few horse hairs. One end is wound round the tuning peg at the neck and the other end is fixed to the knob at the outer base of the cup. The string is made to pass over a bridge placed on the resonator skin so as to allow some space between the string and the body. The friction bow is made of a bamboo slip and horse hair. The string of the 'bèna' is stretched to the required strength by turning the top peg and then vibrated by drawing the hairs of the bow across it while the fingers of the left hand play upon the string to produce modulations of tune.

It is usually played in 'Chor Churnir gan' and 'Udasi gan' of the vaisnavas and also played solo. It is never played in other congregational songs and dances.

Wind Instruments.

Sanai :

It is a flute. A jet of air is directed by the lips through a duct into the hollow of this instrument to produce musical tones. It is held nearly horizontally in playing. The vibrating tongue that is the uppermost part is made of three thin strips of dry palm (Tal) leaves. The mouth end is free and the lower end is fixed into a brass plate of 1" diameter. The whole thing is placed tightly on the top of a wooden pipe, the second part. This part is 6" to 8" long and contains seven finger holes. The diameter of this pipe is ½". The lower end of this part is firmly fixed to a metal portion, the third part. It is made of brass about 6" long and the outermost part is wide having a diameter of 6". A jet of air is blown through the first part and the play of fingers on the holes of the second part produces modulations and the lower part increases the pitch of the sound. The sound is sharp but melodious.

It is played during marriage, processions, pujas, congregational songs and dances. Rajbansis usually do not play on this flute. A man of Hari caste is called to play upon it. It is locally made.

Mokha :

This is a flute made of bamboo all through. There is no metal part. The mouth piece is a hollow bamboo stem of 2½" diameter with a middle hole of 1" diameter and 1½" long. It is called 'Kupa'. It fits into a hollow bamboo pipe 12" long and 1" diameter. It has seven sometimes eight finger holes. The top is closed but a portion at one side is slightly notched to allow a little space for the wind to pass when the 'Kupa' is fitted on the top and air blown through it. Just below this groove there is a bigger hole in the pipe. When air is blown through the hollow of the 'Kupa' it passes through the chink into the big hole of the main pipe and goes out through the open end.

The play of fingers on the holes produces modulations of tune and the pitch depends upon the force of the blowing air. It is difficult to play as the mouth should always be full of air which should be blown continuously with pressure into the 'Kupa' pressed against the lips.

It produces a moaning sound but different tunes are also produced. This flute is played only during 'Bisahari Puja.' (Worship of the snake goddess).

Marriage songs.

1. (1) Haṭer modde Baurar haṭ, d hamer modde Kasi
sei moton dekhu dada, tsengri maiyar hasi
tsengri maiyar hasi re mor, Kakatuar ao
elane dzurache dada, mor tenṭaar gao.
(2) হাটের মোদে বাউরার হাট, ধামের মোদে কাশী
সেই মতোন দেখু দাদা, চংরী মাইয়ার হাসি
চংরী মাইয়ার হাসি রে মোর, কাকাতুয়ার আও
এলানে জুড়াছে দাদা, মোর ট্যানটার গাও।
(3) The market at Baura is the best,
of the holy cities Kashi is the best,
the smile of a young girl is similarly the best,
to me the smile of a young girl is as
fascinating as the song of a parrot,
now my young unmarried boy is going to be happy.
(4) Haṭ - weekly market ; Baura - a village formerly in Jalpaiguri, now in Rangpur, E. Pakisthan ;
Dham - a religious place ; Kashi—Baneras.
Dekhu - see ;
Tsengri maiya - a young unmarried girl ;
Kakatua - Parrot ; Ao - song, sound (S.C.B. - Rao) ;
Elane - now (Sometimes pronounced as 'elaoe')
Tēna - young unmarried boy.
2. (1) He bari dzaite, ho bari dzaite, ponthe chim chim pōni,
gaburer bhidzil dzamare dzora, koinar bhidzilek sari,
he bari dzaite, ho bari dzaite, ponthe chim chim pani,
kauṭate kōl kōlache, bāser agōl paṭa,
dui sōtōni dzhogra kore, bura bhatar paṭa.
(2) হে বাড়ি যাইতে, হো বাড়ি যাইতে, পন্থে ছিম ছিম পানি
গাবুরের ভিজিল জামারে জোড়া, কইনার ভিজিলেক সাড়ী
হে বাড়ি যাইতে, হো বাড়ি যাইতে, পন্থে ছিন ছিম পানি।
কাউয়াটাতে কলকলাছে, বাঁশের আগল পায়া
দুই সতনী ঝগরা করে, বুড়া ভাতার পায়া।
(3) It is raining while going from the bride's house to the bridegroom's, the dress of both gets wet. The crow is cawing on
the top of the bamboo grove just as two co-wives quarrel over their old husband.
(4) Pōnthe - on the road ; Chim chim pani - pit-a-pat rain ; Gabur - bridegroom ; Koina - bride ; Sōtōni - co-wife,
Bura - old.
3. (1) Bāser agalot ṭoria sōggo dhōr, ki na bāsire badzais
bāsi-re sur-te ṭokhu-r tip kano-te
tor boini maiyak dekhis-re ; etti ay-re boini maiya,
buddi bhola kori,
normasing-e baidze, normasing-e dak dese.

- (2) বাঁশের আগলত চড়িয়া সগুগো ধর, কি না বাঁশেরে বাজাইস
বাঁশেরে সুর তে চখুর টিপকানো তে
তোর বইনী মাইয়াক দেখিস রে ; এত্তি আরেরে বইনী মাইয়া
বুদ্দি ভোলা করি
নরমাসিংএ বাইজে, নরমাসিংএ ডাক দেসে ।
- (3) It is an after-marriage song but nearly impossible to find out any rational meaning.
- (4) Maiya - newly married girl ;
Bhola - good (S.C.B. - bhalo) ;
Normasing - cloud ; Dese - has given (S.C.B. 'Di-eche')
- 4.* (1) Sokhi-re na khai tohor gua re, na khai tohor pan,
na kori boideshir pirit Hindu Mussalman,
sokhi-re ram mule, djam mule, kontholer tolat mutsi
bdds hoyise atharo bdechdr sei dzalač na bātsi, sokhi-re,
o-pare kangrar goch tiač kači khač
Kdēa pethan doel bondu dūibon bdeā dzač.
- (2) সখিরে, না খাই তোহোর গুয়া রে, না খাই তোহোর পান
না করি বৈদেশীর পীরিত হিলু মুসলমান,
সখিরে, রাম মুলে, জাম মুলে, কন্ঠলের তলাত মুচি
বয়স হইসে আঠারো বছর, সেই জালায় না বাঁচি, সখিরে
ওপারে কাংরার গছ টিয়ায় কাটি খায়
কয়া পেঠান দরেল বন্ধু জীবন বয়া যায় ।
- (3) A girl says :—
Oh my friend, I do not eat your areca nor your betel. (I don't make friends with you). I shall not fall in love with any foreigner be he a Hindu or a Mussalman. Oh friend, I see the cobblers sitting at the foot of the mango tree, blackberry and jack-fruit trees (Shining and mending even old shoes to look like new ones). I am now eighteen years old and restless. There is on the other side of the river a kangra tree and the parrots are eating the sour fruits and I inform those happy birds that my youth is passing away (if they can do something for me).
- (4) Khai - is sometimes spoken as khāo ; Ram - mango (S. C. B. - Am). Mutsi - cobbler ; Kangra - a sour fruit (Averrhoa carambola) (S. C. B. - Kamranga).
5. (1) Boner hati bondi hoise nohar pindzirat
mui nariṭa bondi hoisi boidesir pirit
am-saro, dzhuṭi-saro, ar kakatua
bondur bari dekhi ailam sal, nariel, gua, Sokhi-re.
- (2) বনের হাতি বন্দি হইসে নোহার পিন্‌জিরাত্
মুই নারীটা বন্দি হইসি বৈদেশীর পীরিত
আম সারো, ঝুটি সারো, আর কাকাতুয়া
বন্ধুর বাড়ি দেখি আইলাম শাল, নারিয়েল, গুয়া, সখিরে ।
- (3) The wild elephant has been captured in an iron cage. I, a mere woman, has been captured in the love of a foreigner. I had been to my friend's house and saw there many nice birds in a cage and also nice trees around his house (My friend is well-to-do).
- (4) Hoise or hoisi - has been ; Pindzirat - in the cage ; Am-saro - a bird (Ramsaro is pronounced as Amsaro) ; Dzhuṭi saro— a bird with a tuft on the head ; Gua - areca.
6. (1) Tsangrabandar haṭote, ghuni phota berai se,
ghuni photar bdro-e nam,
koṭhe gail-re bhaber deora, kodu pareā de,
soru kori kuṭinu, nune tēle andhinu,
koṭhe gail-re bhaber deora, sak tsakhia dza.
- (2) চাংরা বান্দার হাটোতে ঘুনি ফোতা বেরাইসে
ঘুনি ফোতার বরো-এ নাম
কোঠে গেইল রে ভাবের দেওরা, কদু পারেসা দে
সরু কোরি কুটিবু নুনে ত্যাগে আনধিবু
কোঠে গেইল রে ভাবের দেওরা শাক চাকিয়া যা ।

* This song was collected from the village Belacoba P. S. Rajgunj, Dt. Jalpaiguri. A similar song was collected from Rangpur and published in p. 218 of 'Banglar Loke Sahitya', 1957 by Bhattacharjee, Ashutosh. There is some difference in the dialect.

- (3) The young girl is in love with her husband's younger brother. She wants a nice cloth from the market at 'Changra-bandha' and in return invites him to dine at her house.
- (4) Tsangrabanda - a village market in the district of Cooch-behar ; Ghuni phota - a coloured cloth ; Deora - husband's younger brother ; Kodu - gourd ; Sak - vegetable. (All vegetables are called 'sak').
7. (1) Bapo gaise haṭ, mao gaise haṭ,
mao anibe molar naru, bap anibe khaṭ,
oi khaṭot ṭsoria ḍzamu Bindaboner haṭ,
Bindaboner haṭote nau pholise,
nau upor ḍhora sap phòppea uṭhise.
dui kona pitoler khuri bhasia berase,
èk-k na nigil Dhòròṁ ṭhakur, èk-k na nigil ṭiha,
ṭihar beṭir bihao hòse nal khorikhan diā,
nal khorikhan ghoṭor moṭor, modde angar ḍor.
pèṭ-mangita phòrphòrase bhatar niga tor.
- (2) বাপো গেইসে হাট, মাপ গেইসে হাট
মাপ আনিবে মোলার নাড়, বাপ আনিবে খাট
ওই খাটত চড়িয়া যায় বিল্বাবনের হাট
বিল্বাবনের হাটে নাউ ফলিসে
নাউর উপর ঢোঁড়া সাপ ফলিয়া উঠিসে।
দুই কোণা পিতলের খুরি ভাসিয়া বেড়াসে
একনা নিগিল ধরম ঠাকুর, একনা নিগিল টিহা
টিহার বেটির বিহাও হসে নাল খরিখান দিয়া
নাল খরিখান ঘোটোর মোটোর মোদে আঙ্গার ডোর
প্যাট মাল্টিটা ফরফরাসে ভাতার নিগা তোর :
- (3) Difficult to give any rational meaning.
- (4) Molar naru - a sweet ball made with flattened rice and treacle. Phòppea uṭhise - raised its hood ; Khuri - bowl ; Khori - sari, coloured cloth ; Tiha - parrot (St. Beng. - ṭia) ; Pèṭ-mangi - begger ; Niga - take away.
8. (1) Kauṭate kòlo khase, mok na de bigi,
bòrò mamar bia-o hòse. neram kheram dhuti,
choṭo mamar bia-o hòse, kumur kumur badzi re
kumur kumur badzi.
- (2) কাউয়াটে কালো খাসে, মোক না দে বিগি
বড়ো মামার বিয়াও হসে, নেরাম খেরাম ধুতি
ছোটো মামার বিয়াও হসে, কুমুর কুমুর বাজী রে
কুমুর কুমুর বাজী।
- (3) Describing the marriages.
- (4) Neram kheram - torn ; Kumur kumur badzi - music of drum (Dhol).
9. (1) Ki mayaṭ bondi hoilam re nagòr,
pan kande mor, (tor) boidessèr bade re,
asibar ṭsaia geilen bòndòr òchòla dia,
mon kòre mor urao bahirao, dotra geilo bhiria,
eto ḍzodi chilo mone mor pem barailen kène, re,
pan kande mor, (tor) boidessèr bade re.
- (2) কি মায়ার বন্দি হোইলাম রে নাগর
পান কান্দে মোর (তোর) বৈদেশ্যার বাদে রে
আসিবার চাইয়া গেইলেন বন্দের অছলা দিয়া
মন করে মোর উরাও বাহিরাও, দোত্রা গেইলো ভিরিয়া
এতো যদি ছিল মনে মোর পেম বারাইলেন ক্যানে রে
পান কান্দে মোর (তোর) বৈদেশ্যার বাদে রে।
- (3) What fascination has imprisoned me, oh dear. My heart weeps for that stranger. On the pretext of coming back he went to the town. But my heart is restless and the string of my music is torn. If you had this in mind why did you attract me so much. Now my heart weeps for you, Oh ! the outsider.
- (4) Nagòr - lover ; Boidessea - outsider, foreigner, of other village, stranger.
Bade - for ; Bòndòr - market, town.
Òchòla - pretext.
Dotra - a stringed musical instrument ; Bhiria - torn.

SARDA ACT.

This Act was passed by the Central Assembly of India in 1930 A. D. to limit the age of marriageable girl to 14 in order to stop child marriage. There was a great commotion in the country. It was reported that several thousands of child marriage were done in one year. The following song was composed by K. Sinha Roy of village Mantadari, Dt. Jalpaiguri.

O, re, aiseche (r)ainer dhara
 hukum hoibe kara kara
 gadzibe dulahar dari
 nai to nai beha.
 O, re, choto koina, choto bdr
 behao ddo re ei bdrchdr
 ar sdn hate choto koinar
 beha lai-re bhai.
 Dzabdt na lambe koinar gapthor-re
 tabdt beha hobe lai.
 O, re, baruk beti
 gdm gaē gdrdre thdm thdm
 khara tng tng, hok tdr tdr
 gabhur hok mdr mdr.
 Dzhulkuk hophtar tdn
 tal-tsinir moton gdn
 dhoruk beti bas khleba
 dbtar tdrdn hen.
 Dhonno re aramdk bhokti
 bondi tar tdrdn.
 O, re, kolikalet kadzere beti
 bhai, tsandare bhatar
 O, ki, o, moribe, o, re, dhonno
 aēan dhonno dzare beti
 baruk baper bari
 elao to tin sdpdn
 hadzar taka nagibe-re
 betir pdn.
 mor ar sdn ar hu sdn
 o, re, dzare beti pohila mal
 tare hobe khobe gal
 bdrdnna koribe taē.
 O, re, sdsarete nagibe budzhi
 piriter dzdr-dzdrkar.

ও, রে, আইসেছে রাইনের ধারা
 হকুম হইবে কাড়া কাড়া
 গাজিবে দুলাহার দাড়ি
 নাই তো নাই বেহা।
 ও, রে, ছোটো কইনা, ছোটো বর
 বেহাও দেও রে এই বছর
 আর সন হাতে ছোটো কইনার
 বেহা লাইরে ভাই।
 যাবত না লাম্বে কইনার গাপথোর রে
 তাবত বেহা হোবে লাই।
 ও, রে, বারুক বেটি
 গম্ গাম্ গতরে থম্ থম্
 খাড়া টং টং, হোক চ চ
 গাভুর হোক মচ্ মচ্।
 বুলুকুক হোকতার তন
 টাল চিনির মতোর গণ
 ধরুক বেটি বাশ খ্যালেবা
 অবতার চলন হেন।
 ধন্য রে আরামক ভক্তি
 বন্দি তার চরণ।
 ও, রে, কলিকালেতে কাজেরে বেটি
 ভাই, চান্দারে ভাতার
 ও, কি, ও, মরিবে, ও, রে ধন্য
 আয়ান ধন্য যারে বেটি
 বারুক বাপের বাড়ি
 এ্যালাও তো তিন সপন
 হাজার টাকা নাগিবে রে
 বেটির পণ।
 মোর আর সন আর হু সন
 ও, রে, যারে বেটি পহিলা মাল
 তারে হোবে খোবে গাল
 বন্দনা করিবে তায়।
 ও, রে, সংসারেতে নাগিবে বুঝি
 পীরিতের জ-জকার।

Free translation :

Next year Sarda Act prohibiting child marriage is going to take effect. The groom will grow beard but even then he will not be married. If you have a child daughter and a child son get them married this year. From next year no such marriage would be allowed. From next year when the girl will be tall and fat and the breast will sink down on the chest then she would be fit for marriage. She will take part in Bas Khela (Modon Kam) and will move like a giant and emit sweet smell of cinnamon (to attract human flies). In this *kalikal* the aged girls will find out a man for herself and will not depend upon the parents for the purpose. The bride-price will go up to one thousand rupees. From next year onwards the real virgin girl will be a matter of pride and all will seek her. Probably the days of pre-marital engagement are coming into the society.

Note :- (R)ain - law, Act ('ain' is pronounced as 'rain').

Gapthor - the inner core of a plantain tree (meaning thereby when the girl will grow big).

Dzulkuk - let hang (S.C.B. - juluk) ; Hophtar - chest ;

Tdn - breast ; Talsini - Cinnamon ; Tsandare - will go out in search of ; Aēan - life ;

Pohila mal - the pure and virgin girl ; Gal - pride.

Wife fled away - মাইরা পাললো - (maia palalo)

O, ge, kunti tui palalo maiya ge
maiya nai kolo òk katha
o, ge, tsopor ati òakabu mui
maiya maiya korìa ge
kuṭhe geil kuṭhe nai
mor ghòr duar dhai dhai
aisek maiya aiso
sitanot bosia òla
mok gua pan dibe kãṛ
magur tsanar kopal khan
mor bhal re nò haṛ.

ও গে, কুন্তি তুই পাললো মাইরা গে
মাইরা নাই কোলো এ্যাক কথা
ও গে, চোপোর অতি ডাকবু মুই
মাইরা মাইরা করিয়া গে
কুঠ গেইল কুঠে নাই
মোর ঘর দুয়ার ধাই ধাই
আইসেক মাইরা আইস
শিতানত বসিয়া এয়ালা
মোক গুয়া পান দিবে কাঁর
মাগুর চানার কোপাল খান
মোর ভাল রে ন হার।

Where have you fled away my darling wife,
I hear only one voice that my wife is no more.
I call you the whole night but you are not
to be found. My house has become desolate.
Come darling come. Who will now sit on my bed
and give me the betel and the areca. My fate
is bad and slippery and I am undone.

Note : Maiya - wife.
Tsopor ati - The whole night.
Dhai dhai - empty, desolate.
Sitan - bed.
Magur tsana - slippery, uncertain, bad.

Love song.

1. (1) Hamar bhadu kèmon ache, bondur bari dolan koṭha an
hamar bari kheri ghòr.
o soami, tor paye dhorì, oi bondur moton dolan kòr.
hamar bhadu tsakri kòre Jalpaiguri sòhòr,
mase mase pòttòr dilam, hamar bhadu kèmon ache,
o soami tor paye dhorì, oi bondur moton dolan kòr.
bondu dile ghuni phota, o tumi kichu dile na,
o soami tumi moile khabo mache bhate,
ar bondu moile matha muri pinḍi dibo Gòya te.
hater nisi hate oilo, dãte misi bosa hoilo na
ayna kinir bayena dilam Jalpaiguri sòhòre
kãkoi kina hoilo na.

- (2) হামার ভাদু কেমন আছে, বন্ধুর বাড়ি দোলান কোঠা আন
হামার বাড়ি খেড়ি ঘর
ও সোয়ামী, তোর পায়ে ধরি, ওই বন্ধুর মতোন দোলান কর।
হামার ভাদু চাকরি করে জলপাইগুড়ি সহর
মাসে মাসে পত্তর দিলাম, হামার ভাদু কেমন আছে
ও সোয়ামী তোর পায়ে ধরি, ওই বন্ধুর দোলান কর।
বন্ধু দিলে ঘুনি ফোতা, ও তুমি কিছু দিলে না
ও সোয়ামী, তুমি মইলে খাবো মাছে ভাতে
আর বন্ধু মইলে মাথা মুড়ি পিণ্ডি দিব গয়াতে।
হাতের নিশি হাতে ওইলো দাঁতে মিশি বোসা হোইলো না
আয়না কিনির বায়েনা দিলাম জলপাইগুড়ি সহরে
কাঁকই কিনা হোইলো না।

- (3) A village love song :—

My friend is living happily in his brick-built house well furnished but mine has a mere thatched house. Oh my husband, I beseech you to make a building as my friend has done. My friend has taken up a job in Jalpaiguri town. He

writes me letter every month and informs me how he is doing. Oh my husband, I implore you to build a brick house like my friend. My friend gave me a nice coloured cloth but you did not give me any. Oh my husband, I shall continue to eat fish and rice even after your death (I shall not bear any sign of widowhood) but if my friend dies I shall perform all his funeral rites. The ornament made for me lies in my hand but I have no chance to put it on. The nice tooth powder he bought for me could not be used. I sent some money in advance to Jalpaiguri for a looking glass but the comb has not been bought.

- (4) Bhadu - friend ; Dolan koṭha - brick-built house ;
An - furniture ; Bondu - friend ;
Ghuni phota - a coloured cotton cloth generally worn by Rajbansi women.
Moile - after you die ; Matha muri - shaving off the hair.
Pindi - last rites to free the soul from earthly attractions.
Nisi - ornament ; Misi - a coloured tooth powder.
Kinir - to buy ; Bayena - earnest money ; Kākoi - comb.

2. (1) তুই সোজনি হামার দেশে,
তুই সোজনি বিনে আর কান্দি স না গো সই
তুই সোজনি হামার দেশে,
আহা, হামারো না দেশে ড়াভো, সুন্দর ওসিক পাবো
তুই সোজনি হামার দেশে.
আহা, আসারো না স্রাওন মাসে স্রাওন স্রাওন
ওই মতন ভাসালো গো সই
তুই সোজনি হামার দেশে.
আহা, মূই কান্দি সো মনের দুখে
ওসিকের পরাণ ফাটে
তুই সোজনি হামার দেশে.

- (2) চল সোজনি হামার দেশে
তুই সোজনি বিনে আর কান্দি স না গো সই
চল সোজনি হামার দেশে ।
আহা, হামারো না দেশে যাবো, সুন্দর ওসিক পাবো
চল সোজনি হামার দেশে ।
আহা, আসারো না স্রাওন মাসে স্রাওন স্রাওন
ওই মতন ভাসালো গো সই
চল সোজনি হামার দেশে ।
আহা, মূই কান্দি সো মনের দুখে
ওসিকের পরাণ ফাটে
চল সোজনি হামার দেশে ।

- (3) A lover speaks to his lady-love. He bids her to go to his own country and gives a description of it.

- (4) Sojoni - lady-love ; Osik - male lover (South Bengali - Rosik)
Sraon - (S.C.B. - Sravan) ; rainy season.
Siol - moss.
'Sojoni' is often spoken as 'Sodzoni'.

3. (1) Choṭo dada mor boro dada, o tor bhale nagal panu ge, madzha haṭote,
bari gele mok gali parabe, o mor dada ge,
Ek hala mok sontra kini de.

- (2) ছোট দাদা মোর বড় দাদা, ও তোর ভালে নাগাল পানু গে, মাঝা হাটতে,
বারি গেলে মোক গালি পারাবে, ও মোর দাদা গে
এক হালা মোক সন্তরা কিনি দে ।

- (3) A young girl came to the market to have a private talk with her lover. They were so much absorbed that the day passed off and she was afraid of punishment at home on account of the delay. Fortunately she met her brother in the market. She begged of him to buy two pairs of oranges for her just to avoid the punishment. She would say that she went to the market to buy oranges and for no other purpose.

- (4) While singing the word 'choṭo' is lengthened as 'choṭo-ho'. The word 'mor' is lengthened as 'mo-ho-r'. The word 'dada' is lengthened as 'dada-a-a', 'bhale' is lengthened as 'bha-a-le', 'ge' is lengthened as 'ge-e-e', etc. The song at the time of singing takes the following form :-
Choṭo-ho dada mo-ho-or boro dada-a-a,
O tor bha-a-a-le nagal panu ge-e-e, madzha haṭo-o-o-te,
Bari-i-i gele-e-e mo-ho-k gali-hi para-ha-be,

- O mohor dada-a-a- ge-e-e
 ðk hala-a mo-o-ho-k sontra kini-a-a de-e.
 Nagal - meet ; Madzha haṭe - in the market ;
 Sontra - orange ; Hala - two pairs.
10. (1) O-re bondu mor rosia, ðkbar dèkha dèo asia,
 asibar tsàḍa aisilen na, moner ogun mor nibalen na,
 boroni dhaner bhadzilam khoi, bhaber bondu mor aisilen koi
 asibar tsàḍa aisilen na, bhadza khoi mor khèa gèhèlen na
 kènere bondu biros mon, khèa dzao mor batar pan.
- (2) ওরে বন্ধু মোর রোসিয়া একবার দেখা দেও আসিবার
 আসিবার চায়া আইসিলেন না মনের অগুন মোর নিবালেন না
 বোরোনি ধানের ভাজিলাম খৈ, ভাবের বন্ধু মোর আইসিলেন কৈ
 আসিবার চায়া আইসিলেন না, ভাজা খৈ মোর খায়া গাহেলেন না
 ক্যানেরে বন্ধু বিরস মন, খায়া যাও মোর বাটার পান ।
- (3) Oh my friend, my dear, come and see me once. You promised to come but did not, you did not quench the fire of my mind. I fried some khai (parched paddy) from Boron paddy but my dear did not come. You wanted to come but did not and did not eat the fried khoi. Why my dear your heart is heavy, do please come and ckew one betel from my betel box.
- (4) Rosia - dear, lover ; Boroni dhan - a deep water paddy.
 Khoi - parched paddy ;
 Gèhèlen - come and go (S.C.B. - gelen).
 To modern educated people most of the above songs are practically meaningless, but the uneducated village folk express their sentiments in such simple form.

Dotrar gan (Love Song)

These songs are generally sung with 'Dotra' playing with it.

Song (1)

Oi Kalir duare sinan korla
 dhuali tsengriṭa dzor paṭha mane
 sattyer mor Kali hobo
 pòrkòte uturiḅo
 kala tsengraṭak manea dibo moke ge
 he Kali dzor paṭha pabo.
 O, mori re, he, he,
 mor darun bidhuta
 dine dine narir
 up òng dzache tsolia.

ওই কালীর দূরারে সিনান করিয়া
 ধাউলী চেংরিটা জোর পাঠা মানে
 সত্যের মোর কালী হোবো
 পরকতে উতুরিবো
 কাল চেংরিটাক মানেয়া দিবো মোকে গে
 হে কালী জোর পাঠা পাবে ।
 ও মরি রে, হে, হে,
 মোর দরুন বিধুতা
 দিনে দিনে নারীর
 উপ, অং, যাচ্ছে চলিয়া ।

Free translation :

The white skinned girl after bathing offers a pair of goats to goddess Kali. She says if you are a real Kali you must make me pass this trial. That you must make that black young man come to me and marry me. If this happens I shall sacrifice a pair of goats before you. Don't you see oh goddess, my bad luck, that a woman's (mine) appearance and colour are becoming less attractive with increasing age.

Song (2)

Oi nodi sinaite
 balu dzhaṭa mok kitaḍ dilo
 oiṭhe monṭa pagol korlo dhauli ge
 tor upor mor boro tisina
 tor upòr mui dziuṭa disu ḍhalia
 O, mori, re
 dhaluli tsengriṭar datot misi
 pagol korle tsan mukher hasi.

ওই নদী সিনাইতে
 বালু ঝাটা মোক কিতাষ দিলো
 ওইঠে মনটা পাগল করলে ধাউলী গে
 তোর উপর মোর বড় তিসিনা
 তোর উপর মুই জিউটা দিসু ঢালিয়া
 ও, মরি, রে
 ধালুলি চেংরিটার দাতত মিসি
 পাগল করলে চান মুখের হাসি ।

Free translation :-

When bathing in the river why you white skinned girl threw a ball of sand at me. From that time my mind became mad after you. I like you much, I surrender myself to you. The black paint on the teeth of that white girl and her sweet smile has made me mad.

Gulapi Sorir gan

গুলাপী সরীর গান (Song of a grown up unmarried girl)

Nam buratar Bhorol Khaṭi, tar dui dṛhḍn ache beṭi
don bohiniṛ nam akhiche, Dzulapi ar Gulapi.
tomra sun re sun, bḍro beṭi ṭak beṭṣḍa khaitṣe
choṭo beṭi-ṭa gabhur hoitṣe.
ḍla gulapi-ṭa behabar laik hḍḍa geise re
sṅḍṭ dulaha khan na aise ḍkhoḍ ghḍr re.

Gulapi sings :-

O, ge, ki kapal dhorā asi chu
mor ḍlao na hḍḍ beha
dinḍ dinḍ up sḍbhang mor dṛache ṭsolia
O, ge, ar kichu din khale
kunṭa ṭsengrar mui kham pḍchḍn
Ki taḍ ge mor na hḍḍ mḍrḍn.
ki khaḍa mon tui dṛurabo deha
O, re, haḍ re, ḍbhagir mon, ṭḍḍl bogari khaba
khare mon kha, bogari khaḍ tui dṛura asadhḍn.
O, re, soami nai te ḍbhagir kḍḍ purabe mon.
O, re, ki na koitṣu tor dos guna
ki taḍ soami wor na ase ḍhḍna
O, re, mor kapale taman dulahaḍ magi mḍra aseche re.

Speaking to her sister, Julapi :-

Bai ge, katha-ṭa mai tui monot akhis
dṛhuri kharu gḍreha dim tok
aro dim tok dṛhanga ar ḍhala paṭani
kamai sakho kinia dim tok
dṛatrar bela dim tok bircha ge mala.

Free translation :-

The old man Bhorol Khaṭi had two daughters, one was Julapi and the other Gulapi. The elder one was married and the younger grew up to a marriageable age. But a suitable groom was not found.

Now Gulapi (the younger) was sorry for her fate as she was not married even then. She was sorry as her beauty was fading away with age and after sometime she feared, she would not be liked by any young man. She preferred to die instead. What would give her peace. She wanted to go to eat jujub. (The first acquaintance with young man generally takes place in a jujub grove). Excepting a husband none else could satisfy her. She was sorry as no unmarried groom ever came for her, only those whose wife was dead proposed to marry her. She did not like a second-hand groom.

She then implored her sister to get a suitable groom for her and promised to reward her for the act. She promised to give a bunch of silver bangles, a wrapper, a nice red phota and also a bunch of good conch-shell bangles. She also promised to give a silver necklace at the time of next Devi puja if a good groom was procured for her.

Note :- beṭi - daughter ; beṭṣḍa khaitṣe - got her married.
gabhur - young, grown up ; behabar laik - marriageable age.
sṅḍṭ - suitable to the social position of the family.
sḍbhang - beauty ; kham pḍchḍn - will be liked.
ki taḍ - why ; ḍhḍna - unmarried young man.
magi mḍra - widow (is sometimes spoken as mogi mḍra - মোগী মরা)
dṛhuri kharu - a bunch of silver bangles ;
dṛhanga - a piece of cloth to cover the body ; wrapper ; (also called 'arati')
kamai sakho - a bunch of conch-shell bangles.
dṛatra - Durga (Devi) puja.

নাম বুড়টার ভোরল খাটি, তার দুই বন আছে বেটি
দোন বোহিনীর নাম অখিছে, জুলাপি আর গুলাপি ।
তোমরা সুন রে সুন, বড় বেটিক্ ব্যাচায়া খাইচে
ছোট বেটিটা গাভুর হইচে ।
এলা গুলাপিটা বেহাবার লাইক হ'য়া গেইসে রে
সঙ্গত দুলাহা খান না আইসে এখন ঘর রে ।

গুলাপী—

ও গে, কি কাপাল ধরিয়া আসি ছু
মোর এলাও না হয় বেহা
দিনে দিনে উপ শভাং মোর যাছে চলিয়া
ও গে, আর কিছু দিন খালে
কুনটা চেংরার মুই খাম পছন
কি তায় গে মোর না হয় মরণ ।
কি খায়া মন তুই জুরাবো দেহা
ও রে হায় রে, অভাগীর মন, চল বোগারি খাবা
খারে মন খা, বোগারি খায়া তুই জুরা আশাধন ।
ও রে, সোয়ামী নাই তে অভাগীর কাঁর পুরাবে মন ।
ও রে, কি না কইচু তোর দোষ গুণা
কিতায় সোয়ামী মোর না আসে ঢ্যানা
ও রে, মোর কাপালে তামান দুলাহার মাগি মরা আসেছে রে ।

জুলাপী—

বাইগে কাখাটা মাই তুই মনত্ অখিস্
ঝুরি খারু গড়েহা দিম্ তোক্
আরও দিম্ তোক্ ব্যাংতা আর ঢালা পাটানি
কামাই শাখো কিনিয়া দিম্ তোক্
যাত্রার বেলা দিম্ তোক্ বিরছা গে মালা ।

Cor Curnir gan

(Sung by late Dhairjya Nath Roy and composed by late Basudev Khen of Jalpaiguri).

Prelude

Bòndòna kori ami tsor tsòkòrpoti
tsor tsòkòrpoti re tor pòde bhòkòtí
ki gun montorer dzore tsuri kòro din dupure
tok dhorite kãho nahi pare
nai karor sòkòtí.
khònek choa, khònek tsora, khònek gabur
khònek bura, khònek tui nobin tsengra,
khònek thubri
bòndòna kori tsor tsòkòrpoti.

Tsurni sings

Mui dèkhechu tor re tsora
gòlòp kathai sar
ki kohim ar, dza kène te o-re
tsora tsuri koribar.
je dzòn tsora kòre tsuri
tar maiya pindheche sari
pañoi na bomboi dekho mandrazi
phul tol botti pindhece
haoar tsador gaë diche
ghorer bhitor bossya ache
dekhite modza ki bahar
dza kène tui o-re tsora
tsuri koribar.

Thief sings

Tsurni, kène koro bhabona
hòpkòte korinu bio
nai deo gahena, tate kiser bhabona
dão pale mui korim tsuri
kòto pindam gahena.
tsurni, tsuri koriba dzam sei din
sòyer dzinis kòtoi anim
gahena pati kapor tsopor kòtoi dze anim
tsurni, dekhis se dzinis
nin notun tor bahar dekhis
se katha tui na bhabis.

Tsurni sings

Tsora-re, adzi ekkhan tsuri koris dhokra
mor narir èkta photai sar
gao dhole nai pindibar
mor bade tui phota anis ek dzora
dine dine kòto beram
ek kapra hðëa.

বন্দনা

বন্দনা করি আমি চোর চকরপতি
চোর চকরপতি রে তোর পদে ভক্তি
কি গুণ মস্তরের জোরে চুরি কর দিন দুপুরে
তোক ধরিতে কাঁহো নাহি পারে
নাই কারোর শক্তি ।
খনেক ছোয়া, খনেক চোরা, খনেক গাবুর
খনেক বুড়া, খনেক তুই নবীন চেনরা
খনেক খুবরী
বন্দনা করি চোর চকরপতি ।

চুরণী

মুই দ্যাখেছু তোর রে চোরা
গলপ্ কাথাই সার
কি কহিম্ আর, যা ক্যানেনেতে ও রে
চোরা চুরি করিবার ।
যে জন চোরা করে চুরি
তার মাইরা পিন্ধেছে সাড়ী
পাটই না বোম্বোই দেখো মাল্লাজী
ফুল তোল বোটি পিন্ধেছে
হাওয়ার চাদর গাষ দিছে
ঘরের ভিতর বস্যা আছে
দেখিতে মজা কি বাহার
যা ক্যানে তুই ওরে চোরা
চুরি করিবার ।

চোর

চুরণী, ক্যানে কর ভাবনা
হপ্ কতে করিবু বিয়া
নাই দেও গাহেনা, তাতে কিসের ভাবনা
দাও পালে মুই করিম্ চুরি
কতো পিন্দাম গাহেনা ।
চুরণী, চুরি করিবা যাম্ সেই দিন
সরের জিনিষ কতোই আনিম
গাহেনা পাতি কাপোড় চোপড় কতই যে আনিম্
চুরণী, দেখিস্ সে জিনিষ
নিব্ নোতুন তোর বাহার দেখিস
সে কাথা তুই না ভাবিস ।

চুরণী

চোরা রে, আজি একখান চুরি করিস ধোকা
মোর নারীর এ্যাকটা ফোতোই সার
গাও ধোলে নাই পিন্দিবার
মোর বাদে তুই ফোতা আনিস এক জোরা
দিনে দিনে কতো বেড়াম
এক কাপড়া হয় ।

Free translation :

Prelude :

I pray you lord of the thieves. I bow down to you. What *mantra* do you know that you can steal in broad day light but none can catch you. At times you become a child, a thief or a young man. Sometimes you become old, a fashionable fop or an old woman. I pray to you the lord of the thieves.

The wife of the thief sings :

What I hear about you is nothing but a vain story. Go I say, to steal. The wife of a thief puts on costly saris, they may be of coloured jute of Bombay or Madras made or decorated with threaded flowers ; she wraps her body with fine muslin. She sits in her hut nicely dressed and looks beautiful. Go you thief, to steal.

The thief sings :

Oh dear, why you are so anxious, suddenly I married you and could not give you ornaments ; please don't be sorry. When opportunity comes I shall steal and bring for you nice clothes, ornaments and all you desire. You will use new things every day and look nice and beautiful.

The wife of the thief sings :

Oh thief, this day you steal a coloured cloth. I have only one *phota*, there is none other to change after bath. You better steal one pair of *phota*. How many days shall I move about with only one cloth.

Notes :—*Tsbkbrpoti* - lord of the thieves ; *Gabur* - young ; *Thubri* - very old woman ; *Maiya* - wife ; *Bossya* - sitting ; *Hbpbkte* - suddenly ; *Nin* - daily ; *Dhokra* - coarse cloth. *Pindibar* - to wear.

Tsor Tturnir gan

This song was composed by Sri Mukundo dev Ray of No. 3 Patkata Union of Jalpaiguri and received through Bangiya Sahitta Parisad (Siliguri Branch) and published in Siliguri College Patrika 1956 A. D. by Prof. N. Ray. This song relates to the near-famine condition of 1945 A. D. when ration had to be introduced.

Song.

Eila dèser tin katsale
santi nage na
eibar morim re tturni
ar to batsim na.
tturni-ge, mulukot akal poriche
dhonir dhan dhoria geiche
taka di to bari ghbre
dhan caul mil-e na.
o-ge, milail dèser tsira murki
khawa noke dhoriche tsana.
tturni-ge, nanan tale mor mon aule
taka na deë Boder caul-e
dui sèrete sat din-o
mor thèke na,
tin dine phuria jache
oi na dhbre bhabonā.
nadzer katha na jaë koha
ki budzhibe maiya choa
mor pèt tai budzhe na,
eibar morim re tturni, ar to batsim na.
hiṭa kun dèser aloa tsail
khawa na jaë bina dail
gdr̥m dz̥le dhuite gdn chuṭe na,
khèa-o monṭa achim chima
sorile bdl ashe na.
chaila bdl-e hde baba mor pèter bedbna
eibar morim re tturni, ar to batsim na.

Tturni sings

Tsora, aseche pujar bazar
nage ei sdn mor tsdn̄dr̄ har
dine dine din jache mor, korek tui bitsar
o, narir udzani bahar.

এইলা দ্যাসের তিন কাচালে
শান্তি নাগে না
এইবার মরিম রে চুরণী
আর তো বাচিম্ না।
চুরণী গে, মুলুকোৎ আকাল পরিছে
ধনীর ধান ধরিয়া গেইছে
টাকা দি তো বাড়ি ঘরে
ধান চাউল মিলে না।
ও গে, মিলাইল দ্যাসের চিরা মুরকী
খাওয়া লোকে ধরিছে চানা।
চুরণী গে, নানান তালে মোর মন্ আউলে
টাকা না দেয় বোডের চাউলে
দুই স্যারেতে সাত দিন ও
মোর ঠ্যাকে না,
তিন দিনে ফুরিয়া যাছে
ওই না ধরে ভাবনা।
নাজের কাথা না যায় কোহা
কি বুঝিবে মাইয়া ছোয়া
মোর প্যাটটাই বুঝে না,
এইবার মরিম বে চুরণী, আর তো বাচিম্ না।
হিটা কুন দ্যাসের আলোয়া চাইল
খাওয়া না যায় বিনা ডাইল
গরম জলে ধুইতে গন্ ছুটে না
খাওয়াও মনটা আছিম্ ছিয়া
শরীলে বল আসে না।
ছাইলা বলে হর বাবা মোর প্যাটের বেদনা
এইবার মরিম রে চুরণী, আর তো বাচিম্ না

চুরণী

চোরা, আসেছে পুজার বাজার
নাগে এই সন মোর চন্দ্রহার
দিনে দিনে দিন যাছে মোর, করেক্ তুই বিচার
ও, নারীর উজানী বাহার।

o mor, ei bðchðr nai pindhðn pati
 o mui, berachu adhir nakhati
 nðjjate monache moribar.
 o mor, alsite bherache kandon
 pindhðn dekhi ek-dzhðnkar,
 nage ei sðn mok tsðndrð har.
 tsora re, buri ma tha, ari dhuri
 sðgaẽ hor pindhiche tsuri
 kolit hoise ðng cðng taẽ sar.
 o tui, hinong dinot na dis pindhðn
 kðmon tui maiyar bhatar,
 nage ei sðn mok tsðndrð har.
 o tor, patharot phuani bhari
 phðrkaẽ dim upor dari
 dhorì berais deunia bahar.
 o tui, mok pindhais domura phota
 porsi dekhe pondzar,
 nage ei sðn mok tsðndrð har.
 o tui, ki hate bðhechis hal
 o tor, bhatla aẽ kun hðẽ sal,
 kaẽte marite oine hðẽ ki kabar ?
 ei sðn, tsouddo mon maril paẽa
 sudhite ki phurail dhar ?
 nage ei sðn mok tsðndrð har.

Thief sings

Tsurni ge, na nage kandibar,
 dibar nai parim tsðndrð har.
 dzðtðla marinu paẽa
 ki kohim tok ar
 salar nai panu bazar.
 tsurni ge, niga paẽar taãa, thð ne
 o tui, giriãak khadzena de ne,
 dzeila batse, mok na nage ar
 o-ge, choar bade dhuti dzama
 khðrðts-ãa korek pujar
 tẽkser bade mok dzodi na dhore tsokidar.
 tsurni ge, mulukot akal poriche
 kèto mansir bhat phuriche
 dhoni gula khabar dhoriche dhar.
 kãho bẽcaẽ maiyar mala kaãhi
 tsira dzama dhoiche gaẽ
 tui tsurni na budzhis kichu
 èkãa kathaẽ sar.
 o, mor, nana dzalaẽ ghure matha
 tor tsurni pindhoner katha
 dinẽ dinẽ na monaẽ sunibar.
 o mor, hisabot na kulaẽ taãa
 kemni gðraim tsðndrð har.
 tor bade ki o-ge tsurni
 dzam mui moribar.

Free translation :-

Trouble after trouble in this land has taken away the peace, tell me not any more. This time shall I die, oh dear no chance there is to live.

The thief sings :

ও মোর, এই বছর নাই পিন্ধন পাতি
 ও মুই, বেড়াছু আধির নাখাতি
 নজ্জাতে মনাছে মরিবার।
 ও মোর, অলসিতে ভেরাছে কান্দন
 পিন্ধান দেখি এক বনকার
 নাগে এই সন মোক্ চন্দ্রহার।
 চোরা রে, বুড়ি মাঠা আড়ি ধুরি
 সোগায় হোর পিন্ধিছে চুরি
 কলিত হইসে অং চং টাঙ্গ সার।
 ও তুই, হিনং দিনত না দিস পিন্ধন
 কামন তুই মাইয়ার ভাতার
 নাগে এই সন মোক্ চন্দ্রহার।
 ও তোর, পাথারত ফুটানো ভার
 ফরকার দিম উপর দাড়ি
 ধরি বেড়াইস দেউনিয়া বাহার।
 ও তুই, মোক্ পিন্ধাইস দেমুরা ফোতা
 পরশি দেখে পঞ্জার,
 নাগে এই সন মোক্ চন্দ্রহার।
 ও তুই, কি হাতে বহেছিস হাল
 ও তোর, ভাতলা আটে কুন হস সাল
 কাটিতে মারিতে ঐনে হস কি কাবার ?
 এই সন চৌদ্দ মণ মারিল পাটা
 শুধিতে কি ফুরাইল ধার ?
 নাগে এই সন মোক্ চন্দ্রহার।

চোর

চুরণী গে, না নাগে কান্দবার
 দিবার নাই পারিম চন্দ্রহার
 যতলা মারিনু পাটা
 কি কহিম তোকে আর
 শালার নাই পানু বাজার।
 চুরণী গে, নিগা পাটার টাকা থ নে
 ও তুই গিরিটাক খাজেনা দে নে
 যেইলা বাচে, মোক না নাগে আর
 ও গে, ছোঙ্গার বাদে ধুতি জামা
 খরচটা করেক্ পুজার
 ট্যাঙ্কের বাদে মোক যদি না ধরে চোকিদার।
 চুরণী গে, মুলুকোৎ আকাল পরিছে
 ক্যাতো মানষির ভাত ফুরিছে
 ধনীগুলো খাবার ধরিছে ধার।
 কাঁহো ব্যাচাঙ্গ মাইয়ার মালা কাঠি
 চিরা জামা ধরিছে গাঙ্গ
 তুই চুরণী না বুঝিস কিছ
 এ্যাকটা কথায় সার।
 ও মোর, নানা জালায় ঘুরে মাথা
 তোর চুরণী পিন্ধনের কাথা
 দিনে দিনে না মনায় শুনিবার।
 ও মোর হিসাবত্ না কুলায় টাকা
 কেমনি গড়াইম চন্দ্রহার।
 তোর বাদে কি ও-গে চুরণী
 যাম্ মুই মরিবার।

Oh dear, scarcity there is everywhere, all paddy of the rich have been taken away, no food is there in any house to buy with money. Oh dear, *chira* and *murki* have all disappeared, the people have started eating gram.

Oh dear, many a trouble my mind has perturbed, two seers of Board's rice ration cannot sustain me a week. In three days it disappears and upsets my mind. This story of shame cannot be told, what will my wife and children understand, even my own stomach fails to agree.

This time, oh dear, shall I die, no chance there is to live. What type of sundried rice is supplied, from which country does it come I cannot say ; it cannot be eaten unless mixed with pulses. With hot water I wash but the stink does not go. It makes the stomach upset and the body does not get strength. The child complains of pain in his belly.

This time, oh dear, shall I die, no chance there is to live.

The thief's wife sings :

Oh thief, the puja is coming, this year a silver necklace I want, my youth is passing away, do please consider, my beauty is fading away.

This year my clothing is short, I move about like a begger, sometimes I think of dying of shame. My tears roll on unawares when I see another woman nicely dressed.

This year a necklace must I have.

Oh my thief, the old women, the widow and the crone all have put on nice bracelets, you see. In this Koli juga all have become showy. In these days if you fail to give me good clothing, you cannot claim to be a good husband.

This year a necklace must I have.

You talk big outside in the fields, I shall pull out your moustaches and let you move about as an ugly village headman. You gave me a mere *phota*, my neighbours laugh at me.

This year a necklace must I have.

How do you till your land I fail to understand. In no year you have crop in excess. Does all go away to pay the creditor ? You have raised fourteen maunds of jute, this year. Was all exhausted to pay the loan ? After all, this year a necklace must I have.

The thief sings.

O dear, don't you weep, I cannot give you necklace. I made some jute but as ill luck would have it, the market was down. O dear, take away the proceeds of the sale of jute, pay the landlord his due rent and take away the rest, I don't want the money for myself. You buy the clothing of the puja for the children. But see that the police does not harass me for the taxes.

Oh dear, there is scarcity all around, many have nothing to eat, the rich are living on loan. Some are selling off the ornaments of their wives, some using old and torn shirts. Oh dear, don't you understand, you only insist on your demand.

Oh dear, dire want has upset my brain, I do not like to hear about your demands. No surplus can I find, how can I get a costly necklace for you. Do you want me to commit suicide ?

Notes :

Mulukot - in the country ; Milail - disappeared ;

Murki - sweetened parched paddy ; Aule - upset

Toka - finish ; Hiṭa - this ; Achimchima - not feeling well ,

Tṣondrò har - a costly necklace of silver ;

Uḍzani bahar - beauty of growing age ;

Nakhati - begger, who has nothing to eat ;

Ari - widow ; Dhuri - hag, crone ;

Hinong dinot - in these days ; Patharot - in the field outside the house ; Pharkaē - pull out ; Pondzar - taunt, ridicule ;

Marinu paṭa - washed and dried jute fibres ;

Niga - take away ; Giri - landlord ;

Khòròṭṣ - to buy, purchases ; Maiya - wife ;

Mala kaṭhi - a beaded necklace ; Tṣira - torn.

Cor Curnir gan.

This is a village song. One man plays the part of a thief and another man dresses as a woman plays the part of his wife. They sing before an assembly of villagers, from house to house and from village to village. The party of singers generally consists of ten to twelve persons with drums, cymbals and flute made of bamboo. The song is attended with dancing.

It begins from the next day of Kali Puja in the month of Kartik (October-November) and continues for two weeks up to the full moon night, the Rash-Purnima. The party collects subscription in the form of money, rice and vegetables from the villagers.

After the Rash-Purnima night they build a temporary hut in an open field and worship the goddess Kali. The offerings *prosad* is distributed to all present at the puja.

The following is a song sung in 1954 A.D. in the Western Duars (Jalpaiguri) after the disastrous flood that swept away a large tract of land.

Song

The thief sings :

Ge t̥urni ge
Teroso eksot̥ti sale bhador maser ch̥oy tariker dui pohore
Kalua nodit bana asil ge
Khanabhottir taman d̥z̥bl Kaluat asil ge,
Had̥zir bari, m̥d̥z̥id taman bhangil ge.
Had̥zi b̥̄ta pad̥zi h̄d̄ēa, mok t̥sor-k̄d̄ dil-e dh̄draye
ēlaē Had̥zir bari bhangil ge
boro mīr̄ k̄d̄n̄h̄d̄ler tolāt kh̄d̄pra bandhi ache ge.
ge t̥urni ge,
teroso eksot̥ti saler bhador mase,
Kalua nodit bana asil ge.
Dhaniram babur bari banat nodi khail ge
ēlaē b̄naise thana kh̄d̄pra bandhi b̄d̄ter t̄olat ge
ge t̥urni ge, Kalua nodit bana asil ge.

The thief's wife sings :-

O mor t̥sora re
e-b̄d̄ch̄dr mok Kali pud̄zaē sari kini de
pāta b̄̄tsaēa mok sari kini de
pātar bad̄zar pont̄sas t̄aka
pāta b̄̄tsaēa mok sari kini de
pāta b̄̄tsaēa de re t̥sora mok sari kini de
O mor t̥sora re.
Had̥zi saheb pad̄zi h̄d̄ēa tok dil t̥sor kor̄ia dh̄draēa
e-b̄d̄ch̄dr banat Had̥zir bari geil bhasia,
O mor t̥sora re
e-b̄d̄ch̄dr mok d̄ng-bahar sari kini de.

The thief intends to go out to steal and says to his wife :

The thief sings :-

Mor bondu ad̄zi aise
taratari tui andhek bhat
musuri, kh̄sari, kalai-er andhis dail
mach bh̄ad̄zi kor̄is boali, koitor maria kor̄is d̄sa
baiguner torkari
ch̄ēka dia andhis b̄̄ser gad̄za
t̄ēkar d̄zhal hobe mod̄za.

The thief with his friend went out to steal but did not return in due time. The wife is anxious.

চোর চুরণী গান

চোরের গান :-

গে চুরণী গে
তেরশে একষটি শালে ভাদর মাসের দুই পোহরে
কালুয়া নদীত্ বানা আসিল গে
খানাভোতির তামান জল, কালুয়াত আসিল গে
হাজীর বাড়ি, মজিদ্ তামান ভাঙ্গিল গে।
হাজী ব্যাটা পাজী হ'য়া মোক চোর-ক দিলে ধরায়ে
এ্যালায় হাজীর বাড়ি ভাঙ্গিল গে
বড় মিঞার কন্ঠলের তলাত্ খপড়া বান্ধি আছে গে
গে চুরণী গে
তেরশে একষটি শালের ভাদর মাসে
কালুয়া নদীত্ বানা আসিল্ গে।
ধনীরাম বাবুর বাড়ি বানাত্ নদী খাইল্ গে
এ্যালায় বানাইসে থানা খপড়া বান্ধি বটের তলাত্ গে
গে চুরণী গে, কালুয়া নদীত্ বানা আসিল গে।

চুরণীর গান :-

ও মোর চোরা রে
এ বছর মোক্ কালীপূজার সাড়ি কিনি দে
পাটা ব্যাচায়া মোক্ সাড়ী কিনি দে
পাটার বাজার পোন্চাশ টাকা,
পাটা ব্যাচায়া মোক্ সাড়ী কিনি দে
পাটা ব্যাচায়া দে রে চোরা মোক্ সাড়ী কিনি দে
ও মোর চোরা রে।
হাজী সাহেব পাজী হ'য়া তোক্ দিল্ চোর করিয়া ধরায়া
এ বছর বানাত্ হাজীর বাড়ি গেইল ভাসিয়া,
ও মোর চোরা রে
এ বছর মোক্ তাং-বাহার সাড়ী কিনি দে।

চোর চুরি করিতে বাহির হইবে—চুরণীকে বলিতেছে :-

চোরের গান :-

মোর বলু আজি আইসে
তাড়াতাড়ি তুই আন্থেক ভাত
মুসুরী, খ্যাসারী, কালাইএর আন্থিস্ ডাইল
মাছ ভাজি করিস বোয়ালী, কইতোর মারিয়া করিস অসা
বাইগুণের তোরকারী।
ছ্যাকা দিয়া আন্থিস্ বাঁশের গাজা
চ্যাকার ঝাল হোবে মোজা।

বন্ধুসহ চোর চুরি করিতে গেল কিন্তু সময় মতো ফিরিল না দেখিয়া চুরণী চিন্তিত হইল।

Thief's wife sings :

Odžoni hoilo bhor bèla hoil duphor
èlao na aise mor țsor
dhaț kauața kòlkòlache utor ghòrer țsalot hor
èlao na aise mor țsor.
ađzi budzhi dhòra poise bai, mor nirasir țsor
hās dia bās andhinu, mach dia gabthor
sak sukati poria oil, bhat oil harir bhitòr,
èlao na aise mor țsor.

The unfortunate wife sees in her mind's eye the events following the arrest of the thief.

The wife sings :

Pulise bandhia țsorak loi dżache dżehelkhanat
hač bidhata mor țgora ar batsibe na,
kunthe oil mor Jalpai dżela
kǎe dżabe deunia hðèa
barit bosia mui kòro bhabona
dukko sagore bhasal bidhi
chaoa chofo dhorìa.
pulise bandhia țsorak loi dżache dżehelkhanat
hač bidhata mor țgora ar batsibe na.

The wife goes to the town with the *deunia* and interviews the thief in the jail. She says after coming back.

The wife sings :

Dèkhechi țgora apon nbyòne Jalpaiguri dzehele
bðro țgora țgora-re, țsoror bðro sadza
tar napa dżoka kha-dza
mațha muria tadz pindhaise, bðndhòn tar hate
țsoror sadza mor dekhìbare monač na
dèkhechi țgora apon nbyòne Jalpaiguri dzehele
kðto sðto țgorar ghare dżòal dia tèl mareche
oi dzehel ghðre.

The thief comes back after serving his term. He is not willing to continue his profession.

The thief sings :

Kǎč kohe mok țsor
borgir pach dhorì mui nècho kopin dör
țsuri bidda bhal na hðč, dzehel dżaoa ar na mðnač.

Free translation :

The thief sings :

Oh dear wife, on the sixth of the month of Bhadra in the year 1361 B. S. (July 1954) at noon there was a great flood in the river Kalua. The whole water of the river Khanabharti entered into the Kalua. The house of Hazi, the mosque all were broken. The wicked Hazi got you arrested as a thief and now his house is washed away. He has now a small hut made under the jack tree and is living there. The house of Dhaniram Babu has gone under the flood and he has built his office under the banyan tree.

The thief's wife sings :

Oh my dear thief, you please buy a sari (woman's cloth) for me during the Kali puja. You sell some jute and buy a sari for me. The jute is selling at Rs. 50/- per maund and you sell some jute and buy a sari for me. The wicked Hazi got you arrested as a thief and now his house is swept away in the flood. This year buy me a nice coloured sari.

চুরণীর গান :

ও জোনী হইল ভোর ব্যালা হইল দুফোর
এ্যালাও না আইসে মোর চোর
চাট্ কুউয়াটা কলকলাসে উতোর ঘরের চালত হোর
এ্যালাও না আইসে মোর চোর।
আজি বুঝি ধরা পোইছে বাই, মোর নিরাশীর চোর
হাঁস দিয়া বাঁশ আনধিনু, মাছ দিয়া গাব থোর
শাক শুকাতি পোরিয়া অইল, ভাত ওইল হাড়ির ভিতর,
এ্যালাও না আইসে মোর চোর।

চুরণী যেন সম্মুখে দেখিতেছে ধরা পড়িবার পরে চোরের
কি দশা হইল :-

চুরণীর গান :

পুলিশে বান্ধিয়া চোরাক লই যাছে জেহেলখানাত্
হায় বিধাতা মোর চোরা আর বাচিবে না,
কুন্ঠে ওইল মোর জলপাই জেলা
কাঁয় যাবে দেউনিয়া হ'য়া
বাড়িত্ বোসিয়া মুই কঁরো ভাবনা
দুক্কো সাগরে ভাসাল বিধি
ছাওয়া ছোটো ধরিয়া।
পুলিশে বান্ধিয়া চোরাক লোই যাছে জেহেলখানাত্
হায় বিধাতা মোর চোরা আর বাচিবে না।

চুরণী শহরে যাইয়া জেলখানায় চোরকে দেখিয়া
আসিল।

চুরণীর গান :

দ্যাখছি চোরা আপন নয়নে জলপাইগুড়ি জেহেলে
বড়ো চোরা চোরা-রে, চোরের বড়ো সাজা
তার নাপা জোকা খা-জা
মাথা মুড়িয়া তাজ পিন্ধাইসে, বন্ধন তার হাতে
চোরের সাজা মোর দেখিবারে মনায় না
দ্যাখছি চোরা আপন নয়নে জলপাইগুড়ির জেহেলে
কত শতো চোরার ঘাড়ে জোঁয়াল দিয়া ত্যাল মাঝেছে
ওই জেহেল ঘরে।

চোর জেলখানা হইতে ফিরিয়া আসিল। তাহার আর
চুরি করিবার ইচ্ছা নাই।

চোরের গান :

কাঁয় কহে মোক চোর
বরগীর পাছ ধরি মুই ন্যাছ কোপীন ডোর
চুরি বিদ্যা ভাল্ না হয়, জেহেল যাওয়া আর না মনায়।

Free translation :

The thief likes to go out to steal and sings :

My friend will come to-day to assist me. You quickly cook some rice and some pulses of *Musuri*, *Khesari* and *Kalai*. You fry some *Boal* fish and make a curry, make a hot curry with the flesh of a pegin and also a brinjal curry. Make a curry with soft bamboo and alkalies (*cheka*) and a pungent curry of the *ceka* fish would be very nice.

The thief goes away to steal and does not come back in due time. The wife is anxious and sings :

The night is over, it is noon, still the thief does not return. The black crow is cawing ominously on the top of the northern hut. To my misfortune, probably he is caught to day. I cooked the duck's meat with soft bamboo and the soft plantain stem with fish. The rice and the vegetables are lying untouched. Even now the thief does not come back to eat.

The wife thinks and sings :

Probably the police has taken the thief to the jail. Oh God, my thief will not survive this time. How can I go to Jalpaiguri town and who is there to escort me as a guardian and I anxiously think about him sitting at home. God has left me in the sea of sorrow with my little ones.

The thief's wife interviews the thief in the jail and sings :

I have seen the thief with my own eyes in Jalpaiguri jail. The punishment of the thief is heavy. His food is measured, the hair of his head is shaved off then a cap is placed on his head and he is hand-cuffed. It pains me to see the misery of a thief. In the jail I saw wooden yoke fixed on to the shoulders of many thieves and they were moving round an oil presser to extract oil from oil-seeds, as a punishment.

The thief comes back home after serving his term and sings :

Who now calls me a thief. I am now becoming a disciple of a Vaisnava mendicant and going to wear the dress of a holy man. I do not want to pursue the profession of a thief and do not like to be in jail any more.

Notes :—

1. 'ge' (It is equivalent to S. C. B. 're'). When a man addresses a woman 'ge' is used.
2. 1361 B. S.—Bhadra : July 1954 A. D.
3. Kalua—a dry river in Dhupguri P. S., Western Duars, Jalpaiguri.
4. Khanabhatti—It is R. Dimdima, in Western Duars, Jalpaiguri, about half a mile to the west of R. Kalua.
5. Hadzi—a mahamadean landlord.
6. Tsor kò : calling a thief.
7. Kònthol : jack fruit tree (Some Say 'Kòthòl').
8. Khòpra : a small hut.
9. Dhoniram : President Union Board.
10. Thana—Union Board Office.
11. 'O' 're'—term of address of a woman to a man.
12. Mok—to me.
13. Paṭa—jute.
14. Banat—in the flood.
15. Ong bahar—coloured.
16. Bondu—friend.
17. Aise—will come.
18. Andhek—do cooking (S. C. B.—Randho)
19. Boali—a kind of fish.
20. Koitor—pegion.
21. Òsa—a hot or pungent curry (S. C. B.—Jhal ; Rosa)
22. Chèka—an alkaline solution prepared from the ashes of dried plantain root and steam.
23. Gadza—soft portion of a young bamboo.
24. Ṭseka ; ceka—a kind of small fish.
25. Modza—relishing.

26. Odzoni—night (S. C. B.—Rojoni).
27. Elao— even now.
28. Dhat kaua—a black male crow.
29. Kòlkòlache—cawing (ominous).
30. Hor—there.
31. 'Bai'—term of address by a woman to a woman.
32. Nirasi—unfortunate.
33. Gab thor—soft internal core of a plantain tree.
34. Sukati—dried leaf of jute plant, Sak-sukati—Vegetables.
35. Kunthe—to which place.
36. Deunia—guardian.
37. Choa chofo—little children.
38. Napa dzoka—measured.
39. Kha-dza—food, take food and go.
40. Tadz—cap.
41. Jòal—yoke.
42. Tèl mareche—extracting oil.
43. Borgi—a vaishnava holy man (S.C.B.—Boiragi).
44. Nècho kopin dor—getting initiated.
45. Na mðnaē—do not like.

Dommir gan - Religious songs

1. (1) Dzogot dzoloni ma-o Kailas basðnti, dðēa koro o-ma-o dzoloni,
tomar dzðntðrð tumi badzao, go, hami kichu na dzani,
dðēa koro o-ma-o dzoloni.
ami oti muðo moti go, hami kichu na dzani,
dðēa koro o-ma-o dzoloni.
- (2) জোগোত জোলোনি মাও কৈলাস বাসন্তী, দয়া কোরো ও মাও জোলোনি
তোমার মত তুমি বাজাও, গো, হামি কিছু না জানি,
দয়া করো ও মাও জোলোনি
আমি অতি মুচ মোতি গো, হামি কিছু না জানি,
দয়া করো ও মাও জোলোনি ।
- (3) A song before the goddess Durga :—
Oh my mother, you live in the Kailas hills. Be pleased on me mother. I am a sinner, I know nothing. Be pleased on me oh, mother.
- (4) dzogot - world (S.C.B. - Jðgðt) ;
dzoloni - mother (S.C.B. - Jðnðni).
hami - I (it is sometimes spoken as - ami or mui).
2. (1) Kar mayaē bhulia acho o-re rabodh mon,
bhðdzo Hori dinobondu potito pabon, o-ki o-re rabodh mon.
moile ki charibe tok oina mohadzon,
kar mayaē bhulia roli, Horir name ki korili,
solo namer baki re ekhon, o-ki o-re rabodh mon.
balute tulosi gari, istahar koribe dzari, o-tor haliar puran,
o-ki o-re rabodh mon.
gurur tsoron Gðya Kasi oi na Bindabon
sei tsoron ke na bhodzili, ki hobe tor Gðya gele
matha mura pinðo deoa sobi ðkarðn
o-ki o-re rabodh mon.
- (2) কার মায়ায় ভুলিয়া আছ, ও রে রাবোধ মন
ভজ হরি দিনবন্দু পোতিতো পাবন, ওকি ওরে রাবোধ মন ।
মোইলে কি ছাড়িবে তোক ওই না মোহাজন,
কার মায়ায় ভুলিয়া রোলি, হোরির নামে কি করিলি,
মোলে নমের বাকি রে এখন, ওকি ওরে রাবোধ মন ।
বালুতে তুলসী গাড়ি, ইস্তাহার কোরিবে জারী, ও তোর হালিয়ার পুরাণ
ওকি, ওরে রাবোধ মন ।

গুরু চরণ গয়া কাশী, ওই না বিদ্যাবন
সেই চরণকে না ভোজিলি, কি হোবে তোর গয়া গেলে
মাথা মুড়া পিণ্ডো দেওয়া সবই অকারণ
ওকি ওরে রাবোধ মন ।

- (3) You fool, what attraction has kept you bound. You pray to Hari. Your sins will be reconed after your death. You should pray to Hari from now. You fool, your cultivator's religious books teach you to plant basil on sand which will soon die out. You take a Guru and resign yourself to him otherwise your all religious actions will be in vain.
- (4) Oki - is that ; Rabodh - foolish (S. C. B. - Obodh),
Halia - cultivator ; Puran - a religious book.

3. (1) Somoë geilo re mon, tor sadhon hoibe na
tulsir mala d̥ɔ̃ɔp k̥ɔro Horir nam̥ti sar k̥ɔro,
bhober asa mon char re char.
aha, asibe s̥ɔm̥ɔn koribe d̥ɔm̥ɔn
ghiria nibek tok mon kal s̥ɔm̥ɔn
bhober asa mon k̥ɔro ki karon.

- (2) সময় গেইলে রে মোন তোর সাধন হোইবে না
তুলসীর মালা জপ কৰো হরির নামটি সার কৰো
ভবের আশা মোন ছাড় রে ছাড় ।
আহা, আসিবে শমন কোরিবে দমন
ধিরিয়া নিবেক্ তোকে মোন কাল শমন
ভবের আশা মোন কর কি কারণ ।

- (3) Days are passing away, you do not pray. You pray with a headed basil wood garland (mala) and depend solely on Hari and give up all your earthly passions. Death will surely come and cover your mind. Why then run after earthly passions.

4. (1) Guruji banaise louka solo dane b̥bhe boi̥tha,
se louka poirese bipake, guru mor g̥ɔ̃saia re,
pitar m̥ɔst̥ɔke chilam d̥ɔlonir udore geilum,
sadhon bhodzon kichui hoilo na, guru mor g̥ɔ̃saia re.
d̥ɔs mas d̥ɔs din d̥ɔlonir udore chilam
sadhon bhodzon kichui hoilo na, guru more g̥ɔ̃saia re.

- (2) গুরুজী বানাইসে লৌকা সোলো দানে বহে বৈঠা
সে লৌকা পোইরসে বিপাকে, গুরু মোর গৌসাইয় রে
পিতার মস্তকে ছিলাম জলনীর উদরে গেইলাম
সাধোন ভজোন কিছুই হোইলো না, গুরু মোর গৌসাইয়া রে ।
দশ মাস দশ দিন জলনীর উদরে ছিলাম
সাধোন ভজোন কিছুই হোইলো না, গুরু মোর গৌসাইয়া রে ।

- (3) My Guru (preceptor) has made a boat for me with sixteen oars to move on. The boat is in trouble, oh, Guru, I was in the hrain of my father and then in the womb of my mother for ten months and ten days. Oh Guru, I had no time to pray to God.

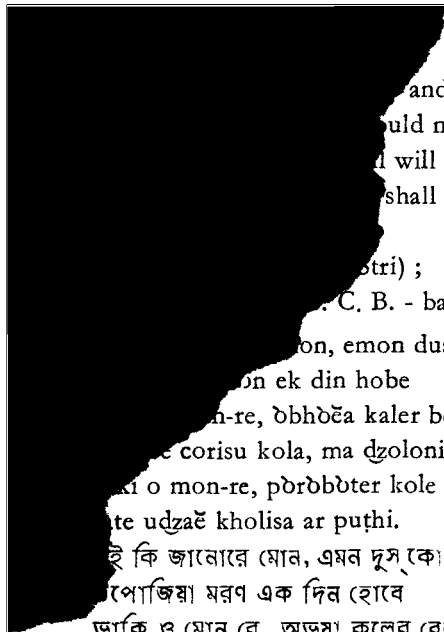
- (4) Louka - boat (S. C. B. - Nouka)
Dzolonir - of the mother (S. C. B.—J̥ɔ̃n̥ɔnir).

5. (1) Hori b̥ɔlo mon r̥ɔsona, purao moner basona,
man̥ɔb d̥ɔ̃ɔɔm ar hobe na,
d̥ɛhota mḁtir bhand̥o, moile hobe khand̥o khand̥o,
bhangile deha d̥ɔzrai nibe na,
bondu bandob bapo bhai, dhon sompotti sokoli chai,
moile s̥ɔnge k̥ãho to d̥ɔzabe na.

- (2) হোরি বলো মোন রসোনা, পুরাও মোনের বাসোনা,
মানব জলয় অর হোবে না
দ্যাংহোটা মাটির ভাঙ, মোইলে হোবে খাঙ খাঙ
ভাঙিলে দেহা জোরাই নিবে না,
বন্ধু বান্দব বাপো ভাই, ধন সম্পত্তি সকোলি ছাই
মোইলে সঙ্গে কাঁহো তো যাবে না ।

- (3) Oh my mind, sing the name of Hari and your desire will be fulfilled. You will no more be born as man. The body is nothing but an earthen pot which will go to pieces after death and will never re-unite. Friends, father, brother, wealth are all but ashes (not your own) and none will go with you after your death.

6. (1) Haē haē mor bidhata, manus d̥ɔb̥l̥ɔm ɔkarone geilo re,
o ad̥za hoil mon re ad̥za, patro mitro sogāē kana, kanar karkhana,
deha ad̥zer monte ad̥za, ch̥b̥ē ripu tar p̥ɔr̥b̥d̥za, tara kaṭhai sune na,
d̥ɔb̥ē p̥ɔrad̥ɔb̥ē sogāē d̥zane, moner ogun k̥ṛhoē na d̥zane
d̥ɔl dile ogun nibhe na.
- (2) হাষ হাষ মোর বিধাতা, মানুষ জন্ম অকারণে গেলো রে
ও আজা হোল মোন রে আজা, পাত্র মিত্র সগার কানা, কানার কারখানা,
দেহা আজের মোন রে আজা, ছয় রিপু তার পরজা, তারা কাথাই সুনো না
জয় পরাজয় সোপায় জানে, মোনের অগুন কাঁহোঁ না জানে
জল দিলে অগুন নিভে না।
- (3) Oh God, my birth as a man goes in vain. My mind is the king but all the courtiers are blind -
blinds. The mind is the king of the body kingdom and the six passions are the subjects but they do not
Every one understands the outward victory or the defeat but no body knows the fire burning in the mind
cannot be quenched with water.
- (4) Ad̥za - king (S. C. B. - Raja) ;
P̥ɔr̥b̥d̥za - tenants (S. C. B. - Proja) ;
Ogun - fire (S. C. B. - Agun) ;
7. (1) O mor mon bhai, ṭhekilam mačar d̥zale, suk nai suk nai re
bapok charilam, mao-ke charilam, charilam ṭiner bari
d̥sot charia ailam sonar uposi sundori
mone more suk nai suk nai re.
Doldoli dekhilam, Naratoli dekhilam, dekhilam Bhaṭibari,
biha kori charia ailam sonar uposi sundori
mone hamar suk nai suk nai re.
- (2) ও মোর মোন ভাই, ঠেকিলাম মাচার দ্জালে, সুক নাই সুক নাই রে,
বাপোক ছারিলাম, মাও-কে ছারিলাম, ছারিলাম টিনের বাড়ি
দ্যাসোত্ ছারিয়া আইলাম সোনার উপোসী সুন্দোরী
মোনে মোর সুক নাই সুক নাই রে।
দোলদোলি দেখিলাম, নারাতোলি দেখিলাম, দেখিলাম ভাউটি বারি,
বিহা কোরি ছারিয়া আইলাম সোনার উপোসী সুন্দোরী
মোনে হামার সুক নাই সুক নাই রে।
- (3) Oh my mind I am entangled in the net of maya (love and affection). I left my father, my mother, my tinned roofed
house and my beautiful wife at home. I travelled to Doldoli, Naratoli, Bhaṭi-bari, I left my beautiful wife soon
after marriage, still I have no peace of mind.
- (4) Uposi - beautiful (S. C. B. - ruposi) ;
Doldoli, Naratoli, Bhaṭi-bari - names of some villages in Western Duars, Jaliguri.
Biha - marriage (S. C. B. - Biye)
Suk - peace (S. C. B. - Sukh).
8. (1) O-re duniar mod̥za keu pailo keu pailo na
ei to bh̥b̥ber kando karkhana,
dui nai dunia, ei ache ai nai, tita miṭha kichui bud̥zilam na,
dui diner t̥ore bhai ch̥ri putra bandob pai
dui din bade charibe s̥b̥b d̥zh̥ona,
ar asilam ba ki na kaṭ̥ze, korilam ba ki na kaṭ̥z,
ki korimo nai tar ṭhikana,
o-re bhabite d̥ɔb̥l̥ɔm geilo, bhabona ses hoilo na
ei to bh̥b̥ber kando karkhana.
- (2) ও রে দুনিয়ার মজা কেউ পাইলো কেউ পাইলো না
এই তো ভবের কাণ্ডো কারখানা,
দুই নিয়াই দুনিয়া, এই আছে এই নাই, তিতা মিঠা কিছই বুঝিলাম না,
দুই দিনের তরে ভাই ছিঁ পুত্র বান্দোব পাই
দুই দিন বাদে ছারিবে সব ঝনা
আর আসিলাম বা কিনা কাজে, করিলাম বা কিনা কাজ
কি করিমো নাই তার ঠিকানা
ওরে ভাবিতে জন্ম গেলো, ভাবোনা শেষ হইলো না
এই তো ভবের কাণ্ডো কারখানা।



and some could not, this is the way of the world. Two things make the world, just here
could not feel the difference between the sweet and the bitter. Wife, son and friends are there
will leave me after some time. I come to the world to do some work but I did something else
shall do in future. The whole life is over in thinking but there is no end. This is the

(stri) ;
(C. B. - bandhòb).
on, emon duska hobe re
on ek din hobe
n-re, òbhòčā kaler bela.
corisu kola, ma d̥zolonir khaisu duita tòn
o mon-re, p̥òròbòter kole kole imjhim d̥zòl p̥òre
te udzāč kholisa ar puṭhi.

ই কি জানোরে মোন, এমন দুস্কো হোবে রে
পোজিয়া মরণ এক দিন হোবে
ভাকি ও মোন রে, অভয়া কলের বেলা ।
বাপোরে চড়িসু কোলা, মা জলোনির খাইসু দুইটা তন
ও কি ও মোন রে, পরবতের কোলে কোলে ইম্‌ঝিম্‌ জল পড়ে
তাতে উজায় থলিসা আর পুঁঠি ।

(3) Could I know, my soul, such a sorrow would come upon me, death will come any day after birth.
I pray o my soul for courage.
I got up on my father's lap, I sucked the breasts of my mother. Oh my soul, water patters on the side of the hills and
fishes swim merrily up in the streams that flow.

(4) Upod̥zia - after being born, after taking shape.
Imjhim - patter (S. C. B. - Rimjhim)
Tòn - breast (S. C. B. - Stòn) ;
Udzāč - go up stream.

(1) E deha gourob micha d̥zòler bhāka re
uria d̥zabe p̥òran pakhi poria n̄ deha,
aha, bhai d̥èkhō, bhatid̥za dekhō ompottiro bhagi
age koribe dhaner baṭa, pachoribe goti,
aha, k̄ācca b̄āser khaṭ palong, mon, sukna p̄aṭar d̥or
bhai bhatid̥za bhiria bande, payger cor,
aha, hate nibe d̥zokha nori, re monkandhote kod̥al
nid̥z ghòr charia gail-o, nid̥hua path̄
t̄òle dibe dham khori, re mon, upord̄ibe khori
tin pak ghuria k̄òhe, bolo Hori Hori,
e-deha gourob micha.

(2) এ দেহা গৌরোব মিছা জলের ভুলুকা রে
উড়িয়া যাবে পরাণ পাখি পড়িয়া নবে দেহ,
আহা, ভাই দ্যাখো, ভাতিজা দ্যাখো, মোক্ষোত্তিরো ভাগী
আগে কোরিবে ধানের বাটা, পাছত কোরিবে গতি,
আহা, কাঁচা বাঁশের খাট পালং, ওরে মোন, শুকনা পাটার ডোর
ভাই ভাতিজা ভিরিয়া বান্দে, পায়ে সিন্ধের চোর ।
আহা, হাতে নিবে জোখা নোড়ি, রে মোন, কান্ধোতে কোদাল
নিজ ঘর ছাড়িয়া গেইলো, নিধুয়া পাথর
তলে দিবে ধাম খড়ি, রে মোন, উপোরে দিবে খড়ি
তিন পাক ঘুরিয়া কহে, বোলা হোরি হোরি
এ দেহা গৌরোব মিছা ।

(3) Vain is the pride for the body, it is like a bubble in the water, life will fly away, only the body will remain. Your
relatives you see around will divide your wealth at first and then agree to take your body for cremation. They will
make a bier with green bamboo and dry jute string. They will lay your body on the bier and tie it up firmly as they do
to a thief caught in the act and stealing. They will carry a measured stick and a hoe to prepare the pyre. They will
leave your home and carry you to a lonely place. They will lay you on a bed of wood and cover you with dry wood
(bamboo). One will move round your pyre thrice and all will shout Hori Hori and set fire to the pyre and burn you up.
It is vain to be proud of one's own body.

- (4) The history of a man from his birth to his death is nicely described with all details of the cremation. The object of the song is to show that the body as we see is nothing to be proud of.
Bhuluka - bubble ; Singer cor - like a thief that enters the hut through a hole made in the mud-floor and then caught.
Nidhua pathar - wilderness (cremation ground) lonely place.
11. (1) Taito dhanda nage gōsai-dzi, kon ònge bandiacho ghòr,
tsengra kal geilo hasite khelite, gaburo kal gailo òng-e
por-ilo bidhu kal, ghoṭilo d̥zond̥z̥al, guru bhod̥zim koto kal,
gōsai-dzi, kon ònge bandhicho ghòr.
tsulo na pakil, d̥āto na bhangil, b̥yòs h̥d̥ēa gel bhaṭi
aste aste khosia poril angia dolaner maṭi,
gōsaidzi, kon ònge bandiacho ghòr.
- (2) তাইতো ধান্দা নাগে গৌসাইজী, কোন অংএ বান্দিয়াছো ঘর,
চংরা কাল গেইলো হাসিতে খেলিতে, গাবুরো কাল গেইলো অংএ
পোরিলো বিধু কাল, ঘোটিলো জোঞ্জাল, গুরু ভোজিম্ কোতো কাল
গৌসাইজী, কোন অংএ বান্দিয়াছো ঘর ।
চুলো না পাকিল, দাঁতো না ভাঙিল, বয়স হ'য়া গেল ভাটি
আস্তে আস্তে খসিয়া পরিল আন্দিয়া দোলানের মাটি
গৌসাইজী, কোন অংএ বান্দিয়াছো ঘর ।
- (3) What a riddle it is to me. How you have made my house (body), oh God, I passed my childhood in marriment, my young days passed in love affairs, my old age is full of troubles, when shall I pray to you. My hairs did not turn grey, my teeth did not fall off still my age advanced far, slowly my life's castle is tumbling down. Oh God, I wonder, how you have built my house.
- (4) Gabur - young ; Òng - love ;
Kon òng-e - in which manner ; in which style.
Bidhu-kal - late in life, advanced age.
Angia - coloured ; Dolan - building (S.C.B. - dalan).
12. (1) Dzodi bhòb̥d̥pare d̥zaite tsao, asona, gurur kache, koro sadhona,
m̥bl m̥bl kaṭher tori, guna sari sari, gurur kache n̥eo mon,
louka bod̥zhai kori.
d̥zironte èkbar n̥eo Horir nam,
bhòb̥d̥par d̥zaite karo badha nai.
- (2) যদি ভবপারে যাইতে চাও, আসনা, গুরুর কাছে, কর সাধোনা,
মল মল কাঠের তরি, গুণা সারি সারি, গুরুর কাছে ন্যাও মোন,
লৌকা বোঝাই কোরি ।
জিরন্তে একবার ন্যাও হোরির নাম,
ভবপার যাইতে কারো বাধা নাই ।
- (3) If you want salvation go to a preceptor and learn to pray. Get your training in full. Guru has made a nice boat with oars arranged. Have all from him. You once call the name of Hari in your whole life and you get salvation.
- (4) M̥bl m̥bl - beautiful ; Guna - paddles ;
N̥eo - take ; Louka - boat ; Dzironte - during life.
13. (1) D̥anga dia tori d̥zaē, boile kon osik loi-e,
d̥angaē ache òtn̥ò dh̥òn, oiṭhe ache p̥emer mohad̥zon,
tsoukidar hoil ch̥d̥ē d̥zh̥òn, loukaē tsorishe tin d̥zh̥òn
laer gun-ṭa hoil èk d̥zh̥òn, tsaye d̥ekh ekhon,
mad̥zhi hoil tin d̥zh̥òn, tsaye d̥ekh èk d̥zh̥on,
moner sadhe kheoa d̥ēche, kathai sune na.
- (2) ডাঙ্গা দিয়া তরি যাব, বোইলে কোন ওসিক লোইয়ে,
ডাঙ্গায় আছে অত্ন ধন, ওইঠে আছে পেমের মোহাজন,
চৌকিদার হোইল ছয় বন, লৌকায় চোড়িসে তিন বন
লায়ের গুণটা হোইল এক বন, চায়ে দ্যখ এখন,
মাঝি হোইল তিন বন, চায়ে দ্যখ এক বন,
মনের সাধে খেওয়া দ্যাছে, কথাই শুনে না ।
- (3) A boat is plying over the land, may I know who is the passenger ? There is good deal of wealth on the land and on the boat and there is the keeper (of love). He has six watchers of whom three are on the boat, one holds the helm and three are oars men, but you look and see all fused into one. All are merrily plying from one side to the other and they seem to pay no attention to any one calling.
- (4) Boile - plying ; Ch̥d̥y d̥zh̥òn - six persons ; Gun - helm. Kheoa - ply ; Katha - word, call (S.C.B. - K̥d̥tha)

14. (1) Hami nauer gðcher dzalač mori, nau ke korimo oser madhori,
o nau řak siria ania bitsia kutsia,
miřhai titli dia kantait usabo bes koria
o nau řak gala kařia tumra sadzai-e,
sèse hobo mon babai.
- (2) হামি নাইএর গছের জালার মরি, নাইকে করিমো অসের মাদহোরী
ও নাইটাক সিরিয়া অনিয়া বিচিয়া কুচিয়া
মিঠাই তিতলি দিয়া কান্তাইত্ উষাবো বেশ কোরিয়া
ও নাইটাক গালা কাটিয়া তুম্রা সাজাইয়ে
শ্যেষে হোবো মন বাবাই।
- (3) The simple gourd creeper makes me restless. The gourd will be my dear lover. I shall pluck the gourd from the creeper, cut it into pieces, fry and boil in my pan or I shall cut the neck of the gourd, dry it and make a tambourine out of it and become a vaisnava mendicant. I shall make my lover mine own.
- (4) Nau - gourd ; Siria - having plucked ;
Bitsia - having cleaned of seeds ;
Kutsia - cutting into small pieces.
Miřhai - treacle ; sweet.
Titli - tamarind ; Kantai - frying pan ;
Usabo - shall fry, boil.
Tumra - tambourine. A single stringed musical instrument.
15. (1) Bhai bðlo bhatidza bðlo, sompottir bhagi,
agðt koribe dhaner bařa pachðt dehar goti,
kar tane kando monuray-re.
dhðner řinno hati ghora, bongser řinno nati
dzodi thake bhai bhatidza
bole Hori Hori.
kar tane kando monuray re.
monke bando monke chando, monke dio na asa,
e-dzibon bikaia geile sasane hobe basa.
křncha břser khař palonko, sukna pařar ðor,
bhai bhatidza bhiria bande, mukhe Hori bol.
sasan ghaře nigia, monuray-e, puria koribe chai
asiba bela dia asibe Amcðndrer dohai.
ařinu pantso bhai, bidi kolle taman řhři řhři,
mor křho ache, mor křho-o nai re.
èk nodir ařharo dhara, bidi kolle mok bhai chara,
mor křho nai křho nai re.
Gðya, Kasi, Bindabon, Gðya dzaoa ðkaron,
sokol tittho oi gurur řðrðn.
kar dzonne bhulia oli, o-re rabodh mon,
bhðdzò guru dinobondu potito pabon.
- (2) ভাই বলো ভাতিজা বলো সোম্পোত্তির ভাগী
অগত্ কোরিবে ধানের বাটা পাছত্ দেহার গতি,
কার তানে কান্দো মনুরায় রে।
ধনের চিন্ন হাতী ষোড়া, বংশের চিন্ন নাতি
যোদি থাকে ভাই ভাতিজা
বলে হোরি হোরি।
কার তানে কান্দো মনুরায় রে।
মোনকে কান্দো, মোনকে ছান্দো, মোনকে দিও না আশা
এ জীবন বিকিয়া গেইলে শাশানে হোবে বাসা।
কান্চা বাঁশের ষাট পালঙ্ক, শুকনা পাটার ডোর
ভাই ভাতিজা ভিরিয়া বান্দে মুখে হোরি বোল।
শাশান ষাটে নিগিয়া, মনুরায়ে, পুড়িয়া কোরিবে ছাই
আসিবা বেলা দিয়া আসিবে আমচন্ড্রের দোহাই।
আচিনু পান্চো ভাই, বিদি কোল্লে তামান ঠাঁই ঠাঁই
মোর কাঁহও আছে মোর কাঁহও নাই রে।

এক নোদীর আঠারো ধারা, বিদি কোল্লৈ মোক ভাই ছাড়া
মোর কাঁহো নাই কাঁহো নাই রে।
গয়া, কাশী, বিল্বাবান, গয়া যাওয়া অকারণ,
সকল তিত্থো ওই গুরু চরণ।
কার জন্যে ভুলিয়া ওলি, ওরে রাবোধ মোর
ডজ গুরু দীনবন্দু পোতিতো পাবোন।

- (3) Your brother or your nephew all are partners of your wealth. After your death they at first will settle the share of your wealth and then arrange for your cremation. Whom do you then weep for? The sign of wealth is a horse and an elephant belonging to a man, the sign of a family is the grand-children and if you have over and above them your brother and nephew, all of them will come and cry Hori, Hori. Whom do you weep for my mind? You make your mind strong and never run after high hopes, when you will die only the crematorium would be your abode. Your relatives will carry you tied to a bamboo bier and then will reduce your body to ashes and while coming back will entrust your soul to God Ramchandra. I had five brothers, but God separated all of them and now I have none to call my own. The eighteen streams of the soul have all been separated by God and now I have none of my own. It is futile to go to pilgrimage, you better resign yourself to your preceptor. You worship the Friend of the poor, the Deliverer of the father.
16. (1) Utho utho dhommi noko, dhòròm kòro sar
gahore Siver nam, d̥hòmbk nai te d̥òr
chala bhorì mala, Siver p̥et̥ bhorì montor
bihane bosi thakur seva, bela h̥d̥e duphor
bihane bosi thakur seva, bela d̥zaẽ gorì
sire h̥dsto dia kande, Gònga na Durga
Gònga na Durga kande, Katikero ai
habatia Siver ghòre, ònnò muṭhi nai
Kattika ar Ganai, bhokote nalaẽ
cauler gundā boli re, bhangar gundā khaẽ.
- (2) উঠো উঠো ধম্মি নোকো, ধরম কর সার
গাহরে শিবের নাম, ধমক নাই তে ডর
ছালা ভরি মালা, শিবের প্যাট ভরি মোস্তোর
বিহানে বসি ঠাকুর সেবা, বেলা হয় দুফোর
বিহানে বসি ঠাকুর সেবা, বেলা যায় গড়িয়া
শিরে হস্ত দিয়া কান্দে, গঙ্গা না দূরগা
গঙ্গা না দূরগা কান্দে, কাটিকেরও আই
হাবাতিয়া শিবের ঘরে, অন্ন মুঠি নাই
কাটিকা আর গানাই, ভোকোতে নালার
চাউলের গুণ্ডা বলি রে, ভাঙ্গের গুণ্ডা খায়।
- (3) Get up O, religious minded people. Take up religion as your all. Sing the name of Siva and you have no fear from the god of death. The Siva has a necklace in his bag and mantras in his abdomen. Siva is in medication from the morning and continuing uptil noon, and sometimes upto late in the afternoon. You see Ganga or Durga (wife of Siva) weeps with hands on the head. She is the mother of Kartic. There is no food in the house of poor Siva. Kartic and Ganesh are impatient with hunger and eat the ball of hemp (a narcotic reserve of Siva) mistaking it for a ball of rice.
- (4) Bihan - morning ; Ai - mother ; Habatia - poor ; Bhok - hunger.

Siber Biao

This song was composed in Cooch-Bihar at the time of Siva Yaggya at Khagrabaree. Obtained through Sri D. Bhatta-charjee of Cooch-Bihar.

Song

Siver adz biao bhaire agea dzai-re Kailaspuri buli
Siver gayòr bhòshmogula d̥zhòl d̥zhòlea d̥zolia uṭhil khali.
Bròhma Bistnu sòday d̥zòy Siv gay, Sujja dhoril chati
Gònga tsamor dhulaẽ bom bhola k̥d̥ẽ, Tarar hatot bati.
Saswòti ar Orundhoti tsòdleche ase pase
Nondi siddhi phokaẽ b̥ògbl badzaẽ Bhringì khali hase.

শিবের বিষ্যও

শিবের আজ বিষ্যও ভাইরে আগেরা যাইরে কৈলাশপুরী বুলি
শিবের গায়র ভস্মগুলা বল বলেয়া জলিয়া উঠিল খালি।
ব্রহ্মা বিষ্ণু সদায় জয় শিব গায়, সূর্য্য ষোরিল ছাতি
গঙ্গা চামর চুলায় বম্ ডোলা কয় তারার হাতোৎ বাতি।
শাস্ত্রী আর অরুন্ধতী চলেছে আশে পাশে
নন্দী সিঁফোকার বগল বাজায় ভুঞ্জী খালি হাসে।

Sur Gòndhòrbò sògāy binat badzaē d̥z̥ɔy Siv bom bom,
 Sār sing d̥zhokaē d̥z̥ɛla ghònta mala badzi oṭhe ṭhòng ṭhòng.
 Nògadhiraḍzer puri asia poril kollohatar rol
 Kamini komol mukhi nòjjaboti kherkit d̥zhuki d̥hurki mari oil.

Bhut pret pèttani Siver bòrdzatrīgula
 Sògāy asi gissi sòdail kana bhengur nula,
 karo ba nakṭa dhòda kāho ba d̥z̥ɔda
 karo hotlai hoilek hidi
 karo tòl upor d̥āte èkṭa bade naga d̥z̥idi sidii.
 karo ba bukot ṭsoku hukur hukur na paē haṭir ṭsay
 karo pèṭ nau ṭokra, mata ḍokra, hur hur kokra kòmdòṭao
 karo hargila gala ṭaruagula khòṭor khòṭor nòre
 kāho ba digla hate eṭe hate bāser agal nare.
 kāho kòē thèn thène ao maṭao maṭao kusiar ḍangi khay
 kāho d̥āt khig̃ia uṭe, mukh bèkṭe, kekṭi bekṭi ṭsay.

Umak kāo bosir na kòē mukh bèkṭaē utti na d̥zaē kāho
 dhòròdm sār gorot ḍēa nak sosea thakia oilek t̃āo
 neṭuṭa naṭar paṭar d̥z̥haṭar paṭar, kan duiṭa nare.

Hòṭòtkar ḍòḍea uṭil d̥zhokea uṭil gotaē pahar ṭaye
 hatila karang kori ṭsikrit d̥hori hirmiria girir guhat sòde ;
 ar èk karang, ṭsilang d̥z̥haṭang chòṭang biao barir.
 d̥zhiki bhut ṭsikri uṭlek ṭhòkṭhòkailek ṭarua Siver galar
 Siv ṭsouk ṭeria kori saraē bari dekhil atar patar.

Mènaka gorot aṭsil p̃āṭṣ p̃āo pat̃sail areya bati sudaē
 boirati ṭsailon bati koria kati chēlapèṭa dhay.
 òndor barir beṭichaoa pòk ṭsòṭia geilek, khòsse uṭi koil
 amra na sekone kot̃si dèk hur aḍzi kando kemon hoil.
 ghòntar oi bhuter aḍzak bura bòṛṭak dhèdre d̥hori anil
 hamra ki emon bādi hat p̃āo chādi nodit bhasail hoil ?
 se din nai ar se din nai, kène monot nai, potir bade soti
 nindaē pran tēḍz̃ilo, koi gelo Siv, sotir suday soti.
 sasaner burak haṭan d̥èo piṭṭan, Gourik dimu na re.

Then :—

Himalḍy aṭas khèa hokphokea còkdhādirat poril
 baēra bhitor दौराē, Mènak ṭsèṭsay, Umak d̥eker d̥horil.
 aisek mao Uma, Uma ay sona ma, p̃āo phèlea ay
 bipoddet tui chara mor nai kāho - hor souk bhasia d̥zaē
 bhuddrer konnya uṭil, aḍz̃ulat nil papi tapir bhar
 aṭṭòlkan dilek galat bid̥z̃ili d̥z̃halat emon up ar kar.

Giriḍza ageya asil Sibok dekhil mata noail d̥zedu
 bhuter ghòr bhal hòya geil ghiria bosil, kolpia hoil d̥zadu.

Mora d̥zon ṭsoṭki uṭil sokti phuṭil botti uṭil Siv
 bidhata Bistnugsit ahalladit muktò hoil d̥zib.

Note : In this poem ‘ē’ and ‘y’ convey the same sound. They have been placed nearly to simulate the intonation of the Rajbansis of Cooch Behar.

Marriage of Siva.

This is the happy wedding day of Siva. Let us advance towards Kailashpuri (abode of Siva) to join the merriment. The ashes on the body of Siva is shining with glow. Brahma, Vishnu all sing in praise of Siva, the sun god holds the umbrella on

সূর গন্ধর্ব সর্গায় বীণাং বাজায় জয় শিব বম্ বম্
 বঁড় শিং অকার যালা ঘন্টা মালা বাজি ওঠে ঠং ঠং ।
 নগাধিরাজের পুরী আসিয়া পড়িল কোলোহাটীর রোল
 কামিনী কমল মুখী নজ্জবতী খেরকীং ঝুকি চুরকী মাংর ওইল্ ।

ভূত প্রেত প্যাভানী শিবের বরযাত্রীগুলো
 সর্গায় আসি গিস্যি সোঁদাইল কানা ভেপূর নুল্ ।
 কারোবা নাকটা ঘোঁদা কাঁহো বা জোঁদা
 কারো হোত লাই হোইলেক হিদি
 কারো তল উপোর দাঁতে এ্যাকটা বাদে নগা ব্দি সিদি ।
 কারোবা বুকোং চখু হকুর হকুর না পাং হাটীর চায়
 কারো প্যাট নাউ টোকরা মাঁতা ডোকরা হুর হুর কোকরা কমরটাও
 কারো হাঙগিলা গালা টাকরাগুলা খটোর খটোর নড়ে
 কাঁহোবা দীগ্লা হাতে এইটে হাতে বাঁশের আগাল নাড়ে ।
 কাঁহো কয় থ্যান থ্যানে আও মাটাও মাটাও কুশিয়ার ডাঙ্গি থায়
 কাঁহো দাঁত হিচিয়া উটে, মুখ ব্যাকটে, কেক্টি বেক্টি চায় ।

উমাক্ কাঁও বোসির না কয় মুখ ব্যাকটায় উত্তি না মাংর কাঁহো
 ধরম বঁড় গোরাং অম্বা লাক সোসেয়া থাকিয়া ওইলেক তাঁও
 নেটুটা নাটার পাটার ব্যাটার পাটার, কান দুইটা নাড়ে ।

হঠৎকার ডোডেয়া উটিল কোকেয়া উটিল গোটাং পাহাড় টায়ে
 হাতীলা কারাং কোরি চিক্রির ধোরি হিরমিরিয়া গিরির গুহাং সোঁদে ;
 আর এক কারাং চিলাং ব্যাটাং ছটাং বিষাও বাড়ির ।
 ঝিকি ভূত চিক্রি উটিলেক ঠক্ঠকাইলেক টাকরা শিবের গালাং
 শিব চৌউক টোরিয়া কোরি সারায় বাড়ি দেখিল্ অতার পাতায় ।

ম্যানেকা গোড়াং আচিল পাঁচ পাঁও পাচাইল আরেয়া বাতি সুদায়
 বৈরাভী চাইলোন বাতি কোরিয়া কতি ছ্যাল্পায়া ধায় ।
 অন্দোর বাড়ির বেটিছাওয়া পক্ চোটিয়া গেইলেক, থস্ স্ উটী কোইল্
 আয়রা না সেকোনে কোচি দ্যাক্ হুর আজি কাঙো কেমন হইল ।
 ঘটোর ওই ভুতের আজাক্ বুড়া বরটাক্ ধাদরে ধোরি আনিল্
 হায়রা কি এ্যোন বাঁদী হাত পাঁও হাঁদি নোদীং ভাসাইল হৈল ?
 সে দিন নাই আর সে দিন নাই, ক্যানে মনোং নাই, পতির বাদে সতী
 নিন্দায় প্রাণ ত্যাঞ্জিলো, কৈ গেলা শিব, সতীর সুদায় সতী ।
 শাশানের বুড়াক্ হাটান্, দেও পিটান, গোরীক্ দিমু না রে ।

তারপর :—

হিমালয় আটাশ থায়া হোঁকফোকেরা চকধাঁদিরাং পোড়িল
 বায়রা ভিতোর দৌড়ায়, মেনাক্ চ্যাচার, উমাক্ ড্যাকের ঘোঁরিল্ ।
 আইসেক্ মাও উমা, উমা অয় সোনা মা, পাঁও ফ্যালেয়া অয়
 বিপদেং তুঁই ছাড়া ঘোর নাই কাঁহো—হোর সউক ভাসিয়া যায় ।
 ভূধরের কোন্যা উটিল, অজ্জুলাং নিল্ পাণী তাপীর ভার
 অঁচাল খান্ দিলেক্ গালাং বিজলী ঝালাং এ্যোন উপ্ অর কার ।

গিরিজা আগিয়া আসিল শিবোক দেখিল্ মাথা নেয়াইল যেদু
 ভুতের ঘর ভাল হ'য়া গেইল ঘিরিয়া বোসিল্, কোপিয়া হইল যাদু ।

মরা যোন চোটকি উটিল শক্তি ফুটিল বন্তি উটিল শিব
 বিধাতা বিকুচিত অহুলাদিত মুক্ত হইল জীব ।

the head of Siva. Ganga fans him with the tail of Yak shouting Bombhola (long live Siva), the stars carry the lamps. Saswati and Arundhoti walk beside him. Nandi is smoking hemp and making some sound in his armpit. Bhringi is only laughing. The Suras, the Gandharbas (inhabitants of the hills) all play on herp in praise of god Siva. Siva's bull moves his head and the necklet of bells round his neck makes a melody.

Thus the bride-groom party in great pomp came to the house of Nagadhiraj (the Lord of the mountains) and the bashful beauties leaned against the windows to have a peep at the groom.

The bridgroom's party consisting of the ghosts and goblins all rushed into the bride's house. Of the party some were one-eyed, some were lame, some had flat nose, some had only the holes in place of the nose, some looked vacant, some had the chin hanging down loosely and moving side-ways, some had alternate teeth missing and the rest had haphazard setting in the socket of the mouth, some had eyes set on the chest and so could not walk properly, some had bellies protruding like a calabash (dry bottle-gourd), some had large grotesque head, some had twisted waist, some had long necks of a crane and the loose bones moved with clattering sound, some had long hands that could touch the head of a bamboo grove from the ground, some spoke through the nose, some clattered as if breaking a sugarcane stick, some grim and med made faces.

No body requested them to be seated all turned their faces away, none had the courage to approach these hideous objects. The bull heaved a sigh, sat down and snoared nonchalant in front of the party and splashed his broom-like tail to and fro and leisurely moved his ears.

All on a sudden the bull yelled frightfully and the entire hill began to tremble. The elephants trumpeted in terror and ran helter skelter to take refuge in the caves of the hills and there was a commotion in the house. The ghosts and the goblins made a great noise and the bony necklet of Siva trembled. Siva in disgust glanced round the entire house.

Menoka, who was close by, gradually retraced her steps with the reception lamp in her hands and disappeared. The 'bairaties' *aides-da-noce* dropped the reception seive (calan-bati) and made haste elsewhere. The invited women in the house became very angry and declared at once that their prophesy had come to be true and what a tumult had thus taken place. They said why did the father of the girl in a haste brought that old useless king of the ghosts as a groom. Were they so many slave girls that they could be tied hand and foot and thrown into the water to be drifted away? Don't they remember the days when the faithful wife laid down her life for the sake of her husband. Where had gone that Siva for whom the virtuous wife had become 'sati' (killed herself). Why did he not then go with Sati? Drive the old man of the crematorium away. We won't give Gouri in his hands.

At this the king of the Himalayas trembled in fear, got puzzled, began to run inside and outside the house rebuking Menoka and crying aloud for Uma. Come Uma, come my darling, come sharp. None else is here to save the situation, every thing is going to rack and ruin. The daughter of the hills got up and took on her hands the burden of all the sinners, wrapped a portion of her cloth round her neck and advanced towards Siva like a lightening. She looked straight at Siva and made obeisance to him. At once the ghosts became good boys and sat peacefully around her. The pandemonium quieted down as if by a magic.

Life flowed into the stupified Siva, the seemingly dead Siva got the new life and moved. The gods of the heavens became happy and the population of the universe woke up with new life.

Explanation :-

- buli - বুলি - towards ;
- sujja - সূজা - sun god (S.C.B. - surjya) ;
- hatot - হাতোৎ - in the hand (S.C.B. - hatete) ;
- phokaẽ - ফোকাঁ - smoke ;
- đhẽla - ঝালা - at this, when (S.C.B. - jokhon) ;
- kollohati - কোলোহাটি - noisy crowd, noise in a market place.
- đurki mari - চুরকি মারি - peeping ;
- pettani - প্যাত্তানী - goblins (S.C.B. - petni) ;
- gissi - গিসি - in a rush ;
- sõndail - সোঁন্দাইল - entered ;
- đhõda - ধোঁদা - flat, depressed (S.C.B. - bõca) ;
- đhõda - জোঁদা - idiotic, having vacant look ;
- hotlai - হোতলাই - chin (S.C.B. - thutni) ;
- hidi - হিদি - long and swinging side ways ;
- bade - বাদে - excepting, missing
- đhidi sidi - ঝিদি সিদি - irregular setting ;
- đoku-eye চাকু - (S.C.B. - cokkhu) ;
- hukur hukur - হুকুর হুকুর - panting ;

hañir tsaẽ - হাট্টিৰ চাষ - try to walk
 nau tokra - নোউ টোকৰা - calabash ; (like) dry bottle gourd
 mata dokra - মাতা ডোকৰা - huge grotesque head
 mata - মাতা - head (S.C.B. - matha)
 dokra - ডোকৰা - *disproportionately big*.
 hur hur - হুৰ হুৰ - just see (S.C.B. - dèkho dèkho)
 kokra - কোকৰা - awfully bent
 hargila - হাড়গিলা - (like) a crane
 gala - গালা - neck (S.C.B. - gbla)
 tarua - টাৰুয়া - bone
 digla - দীঘল - *long* (S.C.B. - lðmba, dighol)
 agal - আগল - top
 thyan thyan - thèn thène - speaking through the nose
 a-o - আও - sound (S.C.B. - rao)
 mañao mañao - মাটাও মাটাও - speaking through the teeth (S.C.B. - moñ moñ korè).
 kusiar - কুশিয়ার - sugar-cane stick
 dangi - ডাঙি - breaking
 mukh bèkñe - মুখ বাকটে - make faces
 sekti bekti tsaẽ - কেঁকটি বেঁকটি চাষ - look uncanny and sideways
 mukh bèkñe - মুখ বাকটায় - turn away in contempt
 utti - উত্তি - there (S.C.B. - odike)
 kãho - কাঁহা - any one (S.C.B. - keho)
 gorot - গোৱাও - near by.
 nak sosea - নাক সোসেয়া - snore :
 thakia - থাকিয়া - lie down (S.C.B. - suia)
 neñuñ - নেটুটা - the tail (S.C.B. - lez ã)
 nañar pañar jhañar pañar - নাটোৰ পাটোৰ ঝাটোৰ পাটোৰ - moving to and fro with splashing sound like the broom made of jute plants
 with leaves and twigs for sweeping the ground
 hoññtkar - হুট্ংকাৰ - suddenly (S.C.B. - hññat)
 doññ - ডোঁড়িয়া - yelled
 dñhokea util - ঝোকেয়া উটিল - trembled, shook (S.C.B. jhakia uñhilo).
 karang kori - কাৱাং কোৰি - terrified and in confusion
 tsikirir dhori - চিকিৰিৰ ধোৰি - began trumpeting.
 hirmiria - হিৰমিৰিয়া - running aimlessly (S.C.B. hor mor korìa).
 ar èk karang - আৰ এক কাৱাং - another event following the trumpeting of the terrified elephants.
 tsilang dñhatañg choñang - চিলাং ঝাটাং ছটাং - pandemonium (as if the kites and vultures have taken possession of).
 dñhiki - ঝিকি - suddenly stood up
 ñhòk ñhòkail - ঠক ঠকাইল - made clattering sound
 tarua siber galar - টাৰুয়া শিবেৰ গালাৰ - the bony necklet of Siva.
 tsouk - চোউক - eyes (S.C.B. - Cok ; cokkhu)
 areya bati - আৱেয়া বাতি - reception lamp.
 sudaẽ - সুদায় - with
 chellapèta dhay - ছালাপাটা ধায় - ran away in fear (S.C.B. - de chuñ)
 pòk - পক - company, group (all the ladies)
 khòs-se uñi - খস্‌সে উঠি - stood up in rage (the word khòsse also indicated the noise of the sari, onomatopoeitic)
 sekone kotñi - সেকোনে কোচি - told at that time (S.C.B. - tòkhòñ bolechi)
 dhèdre dhori anil - ধাদৰে ধোৰি আনিল - brought in a hurry (an indiscreet act)
 dhèdre - ধাদৰে - dragged in a hurry without thinking.
 soday - সুদায় - with (why Siva did not go with the Sati)
 dèo piññan - দেও পিটান - drive away
 añas khèa - আটাশ খায়া - terrified
 hok-phokea - হোক ফোকেয়া - in confusion
 còk-dhãdirat - চক্‌ধাঁদিৱাং - in a puzzle
 tsètsay - চ্যাচায় - rebuked
 dèker - ড্যাকেৰ - began to call
 pão phèlèya - পাঁও ফাল'য়া - come quickly (S.C.B. - pa caliñ eso)

ñdzulat - অঁজুলাৎ - in the hollow of the folded palms. (two palms held at an angle. The lower and joining while the upper ends remain open in the form of an open hollow) (S.C.B. - onjoli).
 bidzli dzhalat - বিজলী ঝালাৎ - flash of lightening
 up - উপ - appearance, demeanour beauty (S.C.B. - rup)
 giridza - গিরিজা - daughter of the hills
 dzedu - য়েদু - just when, just as
 kolpia - কোল্‌পিয়া - pandemonium
 botti util sib - বত্তি উটল শিব - Siva got a new lease of life

Vote Songs (in 1952 A. D.)

1. (1) Utor bõnger kisõk sabodhan, dzodi mansir moto batsibare tsan,
 bhoṭ nibar bade dẽse nagiche d̥heu,
 tsonga phuke bheu, lõm̥phõ jhõm̥d̥phõ k̥dre keu,
 nẽtala bandhi nanan r̥õk̥õm̥ paṭi, bhoṭer tane korechen udzan bhaṭi
 dẽse nagiche bhoṭer m̥õsto b̥dro d̥heu,
 b̥dro b̥dro nẽta-gular na hoẽ ghum.
 nanan d̥õl bandhi k̥dre d̥õlad̥õli,
 k̥ãho d̥ahine k̥ãho ba b̥ãye d̥zaẽ tsoli.
- (2) উত্তর বংগের কিসক সাবধান, যদি মানসির মতো বাতিবারে চান ।
 ভোট নিবার বাদে দ্যাশে নাগিছে ঢেউ
 চোঙ্গা ফুকে ডেউ, লক্ষ লক্ষ করে কেউ
 ন্যাতালা বান্ধি নানান রকম পাটি, ভোটের তানে করেছেন উজান ভাটি
 দ্যাশে নাগিছে ভোটের মস্ত বড় ঢেউ
 বড় বড় ন্যাতা গুলার না হয় ঘুম,
 নানান দল বান্ধি করে দলাদলি
 কাঁহো ডাহিনে কাঁহো বা বাঁয়ে যায় চলি ।
- (3) Peasants of North Bengal, be alert, if you want to live like human being. A vote wave has come to this country, cries and speeches for votes are there. The leaders have formed different parties and are moving up and down the country for votes. The country is astir with election fever and the big leaders have no time to sleep. The different parties are fighting with one another, some are leftists and some rightists.

Candidates (ভোটের ভেক্‌ধারী - voter bhekdhari)

2. (1) K̥õto dekhim bhai bhoṭer bhek dhari,
 kangaler bondu sad̥zi, berache bari bari.
 nẽta-la bhoṭer bade hoise bahir,
 nid̥zer bahar koresen d̥zahir.
 bura nẽtala k̥õhesen n̥õya n̥õya buli,
 berache ghare nia bhoṭ bhikkar d̥zhuli.
 d̥zibihate nikilia d̥ẽche pan biri,
 h̥õbar tsache hamar membor montiri.
 bhoṭ palere bhai dekhaẽ hoa dhai
 ela to bondur lekha-d̥zokhaẽ nai.
- (2) কতো দেখিম ভাই ভোটের ভেক্‌ধারী
 কাংগালের বন্‌দু সাজি বেড়াছে বাড়ি বাড়ি
 ন্যাতালা ভোটের বাদে হোইসে বাহির
 নিজের বাহার করেছেন জাহির
 বুড়া ন্যাতালা কহেছেন নয়া নয়া বুলি
 বেড়াছে ঘাড়ে নিয়া ভোট ভিক্‌কার বুলি
 জিবহাতে নিকিলিয়া দ্যাছে পান বিড়ি
 হবার চাছে হামার মেম্বর মোন্‌তিরি
 ভোট পালেরে ভাই দেখায় হওয়া ধাই
 এলা তো বন্‌দুর লেখা জোখায় নাই ।

- (3) How many vote-seekers shall I see now. All of them are now big friends of the poor and moving from house to house. The leaders are out for votes and are speaking much in favour of their parties and also of themselves. The vatern leaders with fresh problems in their bags are moving about for votes. They are liberally distributing betel and biri (cigarettes) with which their pockets are full at present. They want to represent us in the legislative bodies and want to become ministers. But after the vote is over and they are elected, you have hardly any chance to have an interview with them but now you are infested with numerous such friends.

Note : 'Kòto' is sometimes spoken as 'Kèto' (ক্যতো) !

Voting.

3. (1) *Tsòl tsòl tsòl re kisok bhai,*
dzomidari uñhibar tane bhoṭ dibar dzai.
sès koribar tane dzomidari,
dzomidarer name korimo sòmòñ dzari.
ha-khoragia dèstak karim òhik,
bhin dèst na magim khabar bhik,
apon dzomit òhasia dhorim hal,
Bangla dèser hamera khèdam akal.
- (2) চল চল রে কিসক ভাই
জমিদারী উঠিবার তানে ভোট দিবার বাই :
শ্যাম করিবার তানে জমিদারী
জমিদারের নামে করিমো শমন জারী ।
হা-খোরাগিয়া দ্যাসটাক করিম ঠিক
ভিন্ দ্যাসোং না মাগিম্ খাবার ভিক
আপন জমিত্ ঠাসিয়া ধরিম্ হাল
বাংলা দ্যাসের হামেরা খেদাম অকাল ।
- (3) Go, all peasants go, and vote against the zamindary system. We must finish the Zamindars and issue Summons against them to show cause why they should not be ejected. We must set right this poor country, we must not beg food from other nations. We must work hard with our cultivation and fully remove our want.

N. B. These three songs have been received from K. Burman of Jalpaiguri.

An appeal.

In the year 1905 A. D. a wide-spread epidemic broke out amongst the cattle in some villages of Cooch-Bihar. It was found that a gang of cobblers mixed some poison in the grass which the cows ate and died in numbers. The cobblers were interested in the skin which was then selling at a profitable price in Calcutta. Probably they were engaged by some traders. At that time late Pandit Rajendra Nath Chakerwarty of village Khagrabaree (Cooch-Bihar) wrote the following poem as an appeal to the Maharaja of Cooch-Bihar for taking immediate steps to stop such nefarious act. The aggrieved party also sometimes had the law in their own hands. The Maharaja took strong steps and drove away the cobblers in no time.

Girir addas

Gai batgur bôlôd goru, moṭa soru atsil, mor chôḍ kuri,
uidz hati hal chôḍ khan, aro dôs khan, tsaleche adhiari,
gai-er dudh kolsi satek, doi patek, dudh kha dhakuri
dzêla dzar chaoar dudh nai, dhoria hâiphâi, douri aise mor bari.
Doi dudh kôto khilatsu, kôto bêtatsu, nai tar lekha dzoka,
atsinu (r)adzar hale. emon kale, monot poil mor dhoka.
Dui bêta bura mugiar, bôro husiar, tsalat tsulut dèkhe,
kôta kôḍ phasar phusur, haṭe turbur, ghasot ba ki make.
Kopalot soni ki na, gâoa nui na, kamait buli genu,
sâdzar bêla bari aisia, bhoṛi hat dhuia, khanu danu nin genu.

গিরির অদ্দাশ

গাই বাচুর বলদ গোরু, মোটা সোরু আছিল, মোর ছয় কুড়ি,
নিজ হাতি হাল ছয় খান, আরো দশ খান, চইলেছে আধিয়ারী,
গাইএর দুধ কলসী সাতেক, দৈ পাতেক, দুধ খা ধাকুড়ি,
ঘাল' যার ছাওয়ার দুধ নাই, ধোরিয়া হাঁই ফাঁই. দৌড়ি আইসে মোর বাড়ি ।
দৈ দুধ কতো খিলচু, কতো ব্যাচচু, নাই তার লেখা জোকা,
আঁচিৰু আজার হালে, এমোন কালে, মনোং পৈল মোর ধোকা ।
দুই ব্যাটা বুড়া মুচিয়ার, বড়ো হুঁসিয়ার, ঢালাং চুলুং দ্যাখে,
কতা কহ ফাসর ফুসুর, হাটে তুরবুর, ঘাসোং বা কি মাকে ।
কোপালোং শনি কি না, গাঁওয়া নুই না, কামাইং বুলি গেনু,
সাঁজের বাংলা বাড়ি আইসিয়া, ভরি হাত ধুইয়া, হানু দানু নিল গেনু ।

Jhetsu kðē dēkea tolek, dēkea tolek, goalit kēne sari ?
 tsok muk ghotse d̥z̥ə, hokphokea, dēkhot dhurki mari.
 Matat d̥zon ts̥d̥r̥k poril, koild̥za chiril, d̥ange bhangil ch̥d̥ē ch̥d̥rot,
 goail gh̥d̥r sasan puri, haē ki kori, goruk dhocce m̥d̥rok.

Goru mor nal, dh̥wla, maṭia, kala, muga pakera k̥āho,
 k̥āho hage d̥ēb-d̥ēbea, dh̥r ph̥d̥rea, tsikri oṭe k̥āho.
 M̥dre goru sungari singa, h̥ēla singa, khara singa ar ph̥ēta,
 meni gai ts̥itkapale, pale pale, moria hoil kh̥ēt kh̥ēta.
 K̥ādon mor b̥ēng sosari. s̥ogaē bari, uṭil kandoner sara,
 bura ma ṭa, ts̥ēngra, gabur, maṭit ubur, tsok b̥d̥ēa b̥d̥ē dhara.

M̥dra goru hoilek ph̥ēla, tsamar m̥ēla, goru chalebar asil,
 gidhdhini, sokun, tsila, kaua, hargila, sial, kukure rusil.
 Tsamarer hatot d̥anda, l̥ēng l̥ēnga, dao kaṭari dori,
 tarp̥dre mut̥sir d̥ole, sokun, siale nagil hurahuri.

Anore gaṭia naṭi, anore gaṭia naṭi, ud̥zan bhaṭi,
 bitsar nai ar kono,
 mut̥sik d̥ang mar kosia, hat tulia, d̥ain b̥āo hat dono.
 B̥ēṭar gh̥d̥r bhal to noaē, daoā khoaē, goruk maribar bade.
 Suni mor tsokma katha, d̥z̥d̥tok b̥ēṭa, kapore tsopore nade,
 k̥ā hor phaṭil mata, bandil kh̥ēta, t̥ēdz̥ dhoranir bade,
 karo hoil ṭh̥ēng d̥engura, d̥ēna nula, par hoil ph̥āsir ghaṭe.

Aro ēk k̥ata ache, noker kache, koite ḍpoman,
 m̥dra gorur ṭarua gula, d̥z̥d̥tek sala, koria d̥ēē tsalan.
 Oi ēk m̥dsto pape, gorur sape, kh̥ētot ph̥d̥lena dhan,
 p̥d̥rd̥za ba p̥ēṭe ki khaē, (r)ad̥zak ki d̥ēē, manena mohad̥zon.

Notes :-

- giri - a cultivator land lord ; addas - appeal ;
- adhiar - half share cropper. A cultivator who tills the land of his land-lord and gets half of the crop as his wages.
- dhakuri - to hearts content ;
- g̥āoa nui na—took no notice ;
- kamait - land for cultivation ;
- bhori - leg ;
- sari - noise ;
- ts̥d̥r̥k - lightning ; d̥ang - stick ;
- d̥ang-e - beating with a stick ;
- ch̥d̥ē ch̥d̥rot - strength ; all the senses
- sungari - big and twisted ; h̥ēla - bent ;
- ph̥ēta - straight ; meni - hornless ;
- b̥ēng sosari - sobbing ; rusil - rushed ;
- l̥ēng l̥ēnga - long (common meaning - disproportionately long).
- gaṭia naṭi - uncleaned sticks with protruding knots ;
- ud̥zan bhaṭi - up and down ; dono - two ;
- daoā - medicine, poison ; tsokma katha - angry words, hard truth.
- nade - passed stools (used to denote terror) ;
- kh̥ēta - torn cloth ; t̥ēdz̥ - blood ;
- dhorani - in unending stream.
- bade - for ;
- ph̥āsir ghaṭe - the ferry over the river Toorsa on Cooch-Bihar-Mathabhanga road.
- t̥ēdz̥ dhoranir bade - for stopping the flow of blood ;
- ṭarua - bone ; kh̥ētot - in the field, on the land ; p̥ēt - stomach.

বোচু কয় 'ভ্যাকেয়া তোলেক, ড্যাকেয়া তোলেক, গোয়ালীং ক্যানে সারী' ?
 চোজ মুক ঘোচ্লে য়ায়া, হোক ফোকেয়া, দ্যাখোং চুরকী য়ারি।
 মাতাত্ যোন চরক্ পড়িল, কোইলজা ছিরিল, ডাঙ্গে ডাঙ্গিল, ছয় ছড়োং
 গোয়ালিল ঘয় শাশান পুরী, হায় কি কোরি, গোরুক ধোচে মদ্রোক।

গোরু মোর নাল, ধওলা, মাটিয়া, কালা, মুগা পাকেড়া কাঁহো,
 কাঁহো হাগে ডাব ডাবেয়া, ধর ফরেয়া, চিক্রি ওটে কাঁহো।
 মরে গোরু শুঙারী শিঙা, হালা শিঙা, খাড়া শিঙা আর ফ্যাতা,
 মেণী গাই চিং কাপালে, পালে পালে, মোরিয়া হৈল খ্যাত খ্যাত।
 কাঁদোন মোর ব্যাংসোসারী, সগায় বাড়ি, উটিল কান্দোনের সাড়া,
 বুড়া মা টা, চ্যাংরা, গাবুর, মাটিং উবুর, চোক বয়া বয় ধারা।

মরা গোরু হোইলেক ফালা, চামার ম্যালা, গোরু ছালেবার আসিল,
 গিদ্ধিনী, শকুন, চিলা, কাউরা, হাড়গিলা, শিয়াল, কুকুরে রুসিল।
 চামারের হাতোং ডাঙা, ল্যাংল্যাংআ, দাও কাটারি দড়ি,
 তারপরে মুচির দলে, শকুন, শিয়ালে লাগিল ছড়াছড়ি।

আনোরে গাটিয়া নাটি, আনোরে গাটিয়া নাটি, উজান ভাটি,
 বিচার নাই আর কোনো,
 মুচিক্ ডাং মার কষিয়া, হাত তুলিয়া, ডাইন বাঁও হাত দোনো।
 ব্যাটার ঘর ভাল্ তো নোয়ায়, দাওয়া খোয়ায়, গোরুক্ মারিবার বাদে।
 শুরি মোর চোকমা কাথা, যতোক ব্যাটা, কাপড়ে চোপড়ে বাদে,
 কাঁহোর ফাটিল্ মাতা, বালিল খ্যাতা, ত্যাজ ধোরাণীর বাদে,
 কারো হোইল ঠ্যাং ডেকুরা, ড্যানা নুলা, পার হোইল ফাঁসীর ধাটে।

আরও এক কাতা আছে, নোকের কাছে কোইতে অপমান,
 মরা গোরুর টারুয়া গুলা, যতেক শালা, করিয়া দেয় চালান।
 ঐ এক মস্ত পাপে, গোরুর শাপে, খ্যাতোং ফলে না ধান,
 পরজা বা প্যাটে কি যায়, আজাক্ কি দ্যায়, মানে না মোহাজন।

An appeal from a cultivator land owner.

Free translation :

One hundred and twenty cows and bullocks I had, some were fat and some lean, six ploughs I had my own, my share croppers had ten. Each morn seven pitcherfuls of milk gave my cows. I made curd with some, my men drank the milk in plenty, many in want made haste to my house for milk. Much milk and curd I gave away, much I had sold, no account I kept, I lived like a king, when a great shock came upon me. Two old cobblers came, very cunning were they, they looked in suspicion, talked in whisper, walked with caution, mixed something in the grass. My luck was bad, I took no notice, I went to plough my field, came back in the evening, washed my feet and hands, took my meals and went to sleep. Jhechu cried 'Call all, call all, why noise was there in the cow-shed ? I rubbed my eyes, rushed in a hurry, peeped into the hut and saw. As if by lightning my head was struck, my heart broke, I felt some one beating me with a stick, and my strength was gone. The cow-shed had turned into a crematorium, what should I do now, an epidemic had broken, amongst my cows. My cows, white, red, grey, black and yellow, all were sick ; some purged large stools, some kicking and restless, some lowing helpless. My big horned, my small horned, my straight horned, my bent horned, my hornless cows all died in numbers ; they lay still and motionless. All members of my house sobbed and cried aloud, my old mother, the young and the child, fell down on the earth, tears from their eyes ran in streams. Dead cows were removed to a distant field, many a cobbler came to take the skin ; vultures, kites, crows, adjutants, jackles and dogs, all rushed in numbers to take their share. Cobblers with sticks stout and long, with knives and ropes, the vultures and jackles all, fell upon the dead cows. I lost my head, moved up and down, cried aloud and called all, to come with sticks and stuffs, and beat the cobblers right and left.

The fellows were bad, no mercy should they have, poison they gave the cattle to kill. At my angry words, all the cobblers, trembled in terror, as if passed stools in horror. Some with broken heads, ran away in haste, to bandage the streaming blood ; some had legs broken, some lost hands ; all crossed the river and fled.

The story did not end here, I hang my head in shame, to tell you the rest, what happened at last.

A party came, collected the bones of all dead cows and exported them.

A great sin was that, the cows did curse, the paddy failed to fruit, in the fields.

What prople would then eat, what would they give as rent, would the money-lenders forgive, unsparing as they are.

(The bones are generally left in the field to rot and serve as manure.)

Song of areca and betel (gua-pan)

(Sung during Bisahara puja).

Gua khaēa dza praner alo soi
ke din bhara a-re ke din bharti na-re he.
Gua uṭhia kḍhe mui bḍonger kheti
asar saon mase e ghor dḍuboti.
Pan uṭhia kḍhe mui megh bḍorḍon
barui ḍakua dḍzane hamar dḍḍtḍon.
Barui ḍakua hamar dḍzane hit
nḍl khagḍr dia baraḥ nit nit.
Dzhinai uṭhia kḍhe mui sagorot bontsu
puria pochia kḍre kantḍore paṭṭapu.
Adḍzon dḍzugia bḍḍa anil dhorā
dḍzabera ghusura dia maril puria.
Churia puria mok kolle rosi
hamera uṭhia paner bukot bosi.
Kaṭhari uṭhia kḍhe mui nḍ-sḍr pḍḍḍr,
hamera kaṭile gua khaḥ sḍbbḍ nḍr.
Sadḍzi uṭhia kḍhe hamera bhandari,
mora na hoile gua dḍzaḥ ḍdhogoti.
Aban chaoal nok gua bhana khaḥ,
higal hugal kori gilia phḍlaḥ.
E ghor dḍuboti koina gua bhana khaḥ,
kolsit muk dia up nehonaḥ.
Buri bura nok gua bhana khaḥ,
hi gal hugal kori thḍbra phḍlaḥ.

গুয়া পানের গান

গুয়া খায়া যা প্রাণের আলো সেই,
কে দিন ভায়া আরে কে দিন ভারিটারে হে ।
গুয়া উঠিয়া কহে মুই বংগের খেতি,
আষাঢ় শায়ন ঘাসে এ ঘোর সুবতি ১ ।
পান উঠিয়া কহে মুই মেঘ বরণ,
বারুই ডাকুয়া জ্বনে হামার যতন ।
বারুই ডাকুয়া হামার জ্বনে হিত,
নল খাগর দিয়া বাড়ায় নিত নিত ।
ঝিনাই উঠিয়া কহে মুই সাগরত বনচু ২ ।
পুরিয়া পছিয়া করে কাকরে পাচাপু ৩ ।
আজন্ম যুগিয়া বেটা অনিল ধরিয়া,
জাবেরা ঘুসুরা ৪ দিয়া মারিল পুড়িয়া ।
ছুরিয়া পুড়িয়া মোক কল্লের সঁ ৫,
হামেরা উঠিয়া পানের বুকোৎ বসি ।
কাঠারি উঠিয়া কহে মুই নসর পসর ৬,
হামেরা কাটিলে গুয়া খায় সকা নর ।
সাজি উঠিয়া কহে হামেরা ভাঙারী,
মোরো না হইলে গুয়া যায় অধোগতি ।
অবান ৭ ছাওয়ারল নোক গুয়া ভান ৮ ৯ ধায়,
হিগাল হগাল করি গিলিয়া ফালায় ।
এ ঘোর সুবতি কৈনা গুয়া ভান খায়
কলসিত মুখ দিয়া উপ নেহনায় ।
বুড়ি বুড়া নোক গুয়া ভান খায়,
হিগাল হগাল করি থবরা ফালায় ।

Khiròl uñhia kòhe hamra pantso bhai,
 dater gore hamar-o ache ðhai.
 Ramer gòche kuhu, darimbo gòche sua,
 dibe pane tèle sindur, gitale paë gua.
 Gitalok cheria gua ðze ba ðzon khaë,
 mama sosurer taë kan mòsraë.
 Tsaua nok kòhe gital bòrò bhòn,
 bhòn katha na hòè ai na ache sosurer khòn.
 Guar kangal nohi gua khudzi khai,
 sastorer khòn gina kohibare pai.
 Kira khani día mor mone hoilo tanga,
 Èk gari gua dile kira ðzaë bhanga.

খিরল^{১১} উঠিয়া কহে হামরা পান্চ ভাই,
 দাতের গোরে হামারও আছে ঠাই।
 রামের গছে কুহু, দারিম্ব গছে সুয়া,
 দিবে পানে ত্যাঁলে সিন্দুর, গিতালে পায় গুয়া।
 গিতালক্ ছেরিয়া গুয়া যে বা জন খায়,
 মামা শসুরের তার কান মচরায়।
 চাউয়া^{১২} নোক কহে গিতাল বড় ভদ্^{১৩},
 ভন্ কাথা বা হয় এই না আছে শসুরের খন্^{১৪}।
 গুয়ার কান্গাল নহি গুয়া খুজি খাই,
 সাস্তরের খন গিনা কহিবারে পাই।
 কিরা খানি দীয়া মোর মনে হৈল টাঙ্গা,^{১৫}
 এক গাড়ি গুয়া দিলে কিরা যায় ভাঙ্গা।

Notes :-

- E ghor ðzuboti - becomes fully ripe.
 Barui - betel grower. (S. C. B. - Baroi)
 Bongsu - live
 Kangsore - On the bank of a river or shore of Sea.
 Patgapu - arrive ; carry.
 Adzon - fool, simpleton.
 Dzugia - Lime maker (tsunia)
 Dzabera ghusura - wood fuel ; dry logs and cow-dung.
 Churia puria - after burning.
 Roshi - ash (the state of the oyster after being burnt) ; powdered lime.
 Nòsòr pòsòr - very useful and very sharp
 Aban chaoal - Little children.
 Bhana - having crushed in a mortar and pestle.
 Up nehonaë - looks to her beauty.
 Thòbra - residue.
 Khiròl - tooth-pick.
 Pantso bhai - five brothers ; work with five fingers.
 Gital - Singer (Gidal)
 Cheria - leaving ; without.
 Mama Sosurer kan mòsraë - a slang swearing (S.C.B.-Kira).
 Tsaua - shrewd ; mischievous.
 Bhòn - bad ; obscene ;
 Ei na ache sosurer khòn - there is a scandal in father-in-law's house.
 Khòn - story.
 Kira - curse ; swear ; evil invoked on another.
 Tanga - suspicious.

Free translation in English.

Occasion

Songs of areca and betel are sung in the midst of Monoshamangal plays. During Bisohori puja called Bisohora by the village folk ; Manasamangal is called Bisohoragan, is sung with dancing and a special kind of bamboo flute called 'muhka' is played which makes a monotonous note. This is said to be much liked by the Snake Goddess.

Song :

One woman is inviting another to chew some areca nuts saying such a day may or may not come. The areca says that it is the principal crop of Bengal and during Asar and Sravan months (rainy season) it attains its full size. The betel says that it has the colour of the rain cloud. The grower knows its worth. He helps it to grow with a lettuce work of reeds. The oyster says

১—পুয়াট ; ২—বাস করি ; ৩—ভায়ে ; ৪—পৌছায় ; ৫—বোকা ; ৬—কাঠখড়ি, জঙ্গল ; ৭—ঝিনুক পোড়া ছাই ; ৮—দরকারী, খারাপ ; ৯—অবুঝ ; ১০—ছেঁচিয়া, কুটিয়া ;
 ১১—দাঁত খসিকা ; ১২—ধূর্ত ; ১৩—মন্দ, দুষ্ট ; ১৪—গল্প, কথা ; ১৫—খটকা।

that it has its abode in the sea. The lime maker takes it ashore and burns it with wood and reduces it to lime. Then it gets up on the chest of the betel. The knife says that it is sharp and most useful. It cuts the areca into small bits and then people can take it. The basket says that he is the store-keeper. Without him the areca gets rot in the earth.

The little boys crush the areca in a mortar, put it into the mouth, move it from one side to the other and swallow the stuff. The young maid chews the areca and then looks into the pitcher to see her beauty in the water. (The lips become red). The old people take the crushed areca, move it from side to side inside the mouth and throw away the refuse. They cannot chew. The tooth pick says he has five brothers, he also has a place for the gums.

The cuckoo sings on the mango tree, the parrot on the pomogranate tree. They get nothing, but the Singer man gets betel with oil, vermillion and areca. If any one chews areca leaving aside the singer he makes a fool of himself. The cunning fellow says that the singer is a very bad man. He picks up the scandal of each family. He sings the stories of the scriptures and apparently does not care for the areca. But through such songs he raises suspicion in the family members by introding some scandal and only refrains from it if he is appeased with a cart load of areca as a bribe.

Song.

This was sung by late Cheltai Burman of Dhupguri (Jalpaiguri) about half a century ago when he prophesied what will happen in future.

Asiba din (Days to come)

Tin sirir nam koibe dzaē
noggun ar or nam pabe taē
khuriar tōlōt dewan paṭ
ōghaṭe hobe baē ghaṭ
duare duare bosibe haṭ.
Agōt moribe otit phokir
tar pachot moribe saṭ sōdagōr
tar pachot dṛabe (r)adṛa badsa
mōre ki na mōre halua tsasa.
Sunnōt dṛaibe sunnōt aibe
taman mansi lengra hoibe
kōl-garit ghuribe tsoribe
pithibir phus phas katha
na (r)ohibe tsupa tsapa.
Saheb palabe hatot dia puthi
tar bade milibe nun, tēl, dhuti,
saheber deoa puthit paṭh dibe
ar bosī kandi din gaoabe,
Tin konar nok ēk konat dikkibe
maiyar hat dhori uttor konat goṭo hobe
sonar thalir konat pahar gadṛabe
sogare hatōt dṛhola tsoribe.
Horir nam dṛabe tōl
sōgaē hobe kauar kōl,
gor kaṭa agōl chata
tar mon hobe pōncas ṭaka.
Sogare bhok hobe bhari
(khali) ēk dhiane dṛari dṛuri
sogaē mleccho hobe ēk ṭhai khabe
na dhoribe monot dṛatir bigar.
Ulṭi dṛabe des
bhelti dṛabe bhes
kelti dṛabe deser ao
paltī dṛabe deser bao.

আসিব দিন

তিন শিরির নাম কইবে মায়
নগ্গুণ আর ওর নাম পাবে তায়ে
খুরিয়ার তলত দেওয়ান পাট
অঘাটে হোবে বায় ঘাট
দুয়ারে দুয়ারে বসিবে হাট।
আগত মোরবে অতিত ফকির
তার পাছত মোরবে সাত সদাগর
তার পাছত যাবে আজ বাদশ
মরে ক'ন মরে হ'লুয়া চাহ
শূন্য যাইবে শূন্য আইবে
তামার মানষি লেডা হোইবে
কল-গাড়িত ঘুরিবে চড়িবে
পিথিবীর ফুস ফাস কাথ
না ওহিবে চুপা চাপা
সাহেব পালাবে হাতত দিবা পুথি
তার বাদে মিলিবে নুন, ত্যাল, ধুতি,
সাহেবের দেওয়া পুথিত পাঠ দিবে
আর বসি কান্দি দিন গাওয়াবে।
তিন কোণার বোক এক কোণাত ডিক্কাবে
মাইয়ার হাত ধরি উত্তর কোণাত গোটে হোবে
সোনার থালির কোণাত পাহাড় গাজাবে
সোগারে হাতত কোলা চড়িবে।
হরির নাম যাবে তল
সগায় হোবে কাউয়ার কল
গোর কাটা আগল ছাটা
তার মোন হোবে পন্থাস টাকা।
সোগারে ভোক হোবে ভারী
(খালি) এক ধিয়ানে জারি জুরী
সোগায় য়েজ্জ হোবে এক ঠাই যাবে
না মোরবে মনত জাতির বিগার।
উল্টি যাবে দেশ
ভেল্টি যাবে ভেস
কেল্টি যাবে দেশের আও
পাল্টি যাবে দেশের বাও।

bhoṭe bhoṭe dṛuddho koribe
 bhoṭ marite khara hatiar dhoribe.
 Ghora-haga nodi ḍkte hoibe nal
 dekhi suni ṭsomki uṭhibe kapal.
 Dzela dṛabe hal hatiar tḍl
 sela sini hobe taman sḍl sḍl.

ভোটে ভোটে যুদ্ধ কোরিবে
 ভোট মারিতে খাড়া হাতিয়ার ধোরিবে
 ঘোরা-হাগা নদী অঙ্কে হোইবে নাল
 দেখি সুন চমকি উঠিবে কাপাল।
 সেলা যাবে হাল হাতিয়ার তল
 সেলা সিনি হোবে তামার সল সল।

Late Cheltai Burman was a composer and singer of songs of repute living in a remote village under Dhupguri P. S. (Jalpaiguri). He used to write songs and sing from village to village. This song was collected from his grandson. It is said that this song was composed about fifty years ago. It is indeed surprising that this village poet could foresee the events that would come long after. A free translation of the song is stated below.

The people (Rajbansis) will simply utter the name of three generations and take the sacred thread. People will lose their homes and will hold meeting under the small shrubs. Social discipline will disappear. There will be quarrel in every house. At first the beggars will die of starvation and then the business men, then the kings will go. It is not yet fully known whether the cultivators will die out. Men will move through the skies, all men will forget to walk. They will move about in power driven vehicles. Any whisper in any part of the world will be transmitted everywhere. The Europeans will leave the country giving some papers in the hands of the people (probably ration cards) and through these papers salt, oil and cloth will be available. The system of education left by the Englishmen will continue and there would be widespread unemployment. People from three sides will assemble in one side and men with their wives and children will come to the north. (Probably he forestalled partition of India and Bengal). People will lose their wealth and become beggars. Religion will disappear, shouts and slogans will rent the skies. Impure and adulterated articles will be sold at high price. People will become dishonest and greedy, they will have no scruple to resort to any tricks to earn money. All will become infidels, eat together and will not observe social customs. The prevailing religious and social order will disappear.

The country will become topsyturvy, the dress will change, the manner of speech will be different, the whole atmosphere will be otherwise. At first the fight will be with votes and then with arms, blood will flow through the rivers. My legs tremble at the very thought of it. A large number of tillers and the army will be destroyed and then peace will come.

Notes :

Nogun - sacred thread ;

Tin siri - three generations ;

Khuria - a small prickly shrub ; Dewan - meeting ;

Haṭ - quarrel ; noise ; ordinary meaning is 'a market place' ; meaning thereby that there would be noisy demonstration everywhere.

Agḍt - at first ; Pachot - afterwards ;

Gaoabe - will pass ;

Dikkibe - will assemble ; Maiya - wife ;

Kauar kḍl - make noise like the crows ;

Bhok - hunger, greed ; Bhes - dress ;

Kelṭi - upset ; Bao - atmosphere ;

Ghora-haga - the name of a river ; (in Western Duars, Jalpaiguri).

Sela sini - then ; Sḍl sḍl - clear.

Bhoṭe Bhoṭe - Whether he meant 'Votes (no body heard of votes fifty or sixty years ago) or he meant an invasion from the North is not fully clear.

Chapter XI

Quarrel between two neighbouring women.

(Dunduni and Katsuli of village Altagram, P. S. Dhupguri, Dt. Jajmuri).

দুন্দুনি ও কটুলী

Dunduni :

- (1) Hdē haē odikarir beṭi. Tōmra to bhai mansir beṭi na hōn. Ei dze goruṭa tōmar sakkal hate charač khēa berache, koto ar piṭṭa dzač. Bare bare paṭa-bari khanot pōreche ar nok nok kori paṭar kusi kinna kache. Paṭa hoil ēk kusia khēt. Ela khale ar ki hohe. Paṭa khan khēa ki korilek ēke kale, habat kori dil. Tōmar kopilot ki ēk nesa paṭao nai. Goru-ṭa bandhibar ekhan dori ki pakebar bhōgman tōmak hat pāo dač nai?
- (2) হয় হায় ওদিকারির বেটি। তুমরা তো ভাই মানসির বেটি না হোন। এই ড়ে গোরুটা তমার সাক্কাল হাতে চারাক খেয়া বেরাচে, কতো আর পিটা দ্যাচ। বার বার পাটা-বারি খানোট পোরেকে আর নক নক করে পাটার কুসি কিনা কাচে। পাটা হোল এক কুসিয়া খেত। এলা খালে আর কি হোবে। পাটা খান খেয়া কি করিলেক একে কালে, হাবত করি দিল। তমার কোপিলত কি এক নেসা পাটো নাই। গোরু-টা বান্ধিবার একখান দরি কি পাকেবার ভোগমান তোমাক হাত পাও দাচ নাই?
- (3) Dunduni says :—Hollo, Adhikari's daughter. I see you are not a good fellow. Just see, your cow is roaming freely from the morning and eating everything. How many times she can be driven away. Again and again she enters the jute field and quickly eats away the tender shoots. It is a single stem crop and if it is eaten away I am undone. Just see, your cow has practically destroyed my jute field. Can't you procure some rope to tie your cow. Has not God given you hands and feet to twist a bit of rope from jute.

- (4) **Note :** Hdē haē - It is used when a woman addresses a woman. This is not used when a man addresses a man or when a woman addresses a man.

Odhikary - A Rajbansi priest. He performs ordinary pujas e.g. *Joipora* (reciting incantations over some water to cure disease), *Telpora* (reciting incantations over some oil to cure diseases), *Garampuja* (worship for the welfare of the village), *Thakurpuja* (worship in front of Basil plant) etc.

Piṭṭi - drive away ; Khēt - crop ; Habat - destroy.

Katsuli :

- (1) Ki kobo hēr ma, hamar mansitar gun. Bhale bhol kopilot kuno kam nai. Dui bela chai maṭi, akhar parer maṭi khabe ar iar uar bari ṭillao ṭillao kori tari ghaṭia berabe. Asuk to adzi bari, kaner poka dzharechō ēlač, banni dia. Kōnek goruṭa piṭṭi dek to bahe, piṭṭi dek bare.
- (2) কি কোবো হের মা, হামার মানসিটার গুন। ভাল ভাল কোপিলত কুনো কম নাই। দুই বেলা চাই মাটি, অখার পারের মাটি খাবে আর ইয়ার উয়ার বাড়ি টিল্লাও টিল্লাও করি তারি গাটিয়া বেরাবে। অসুক তো আজি বাড়ি, কানের পোকা ধাড়েছ এল য, বান্নি দিয়া। কনেক গোরুটা পিটি, দেক তো বাহে, পিটি দেক বারে।
- (3) Katsuli says politely, just see good mother. You know the nature of my husband. He will eat away any food given to him, without grudge and roam about leisurely from house to house doing no work. Let him come home and I shall teach him a good lesson. She then asked a man standing by to drive the cow away.

- (4) **Note :** Hēr ma - addressing politely to a woman - good mother.
Gun - nature (used in an ironical sense).
Bhale bhol - addressing a lazy person.
Akhar parer maṭi - the burnt earth of the oven. It is generally eaten by women specially by pregnant women for acidity or sometimes by lazy fellows.
Tari - part of a village (S.C.B. - Para)
Kaner poka dzharechō - shall punish (a pure village phrase)
De-k - give ; used when a woman speaks to a man or a man to a man.
Bahe - used when speaking to a younger male person.
Piṭṭi de-k—please drive out.
Bare - when a woman speaks to a man or a man to a woman or a man to a man.

Dunduni :

- (1) Hula katha mui na suno hač. Goruṭa bandhi thòṇ te thò-o, na ten te kene aro bhal hobar na hoč putak. Tòmar kopilot dzhòṇ kuno khèt khamar nai, sei buli ki kãhore nai ? Tomar ki kãho goru pitta dasi bandi ache ? Bare bare goru pitti thakibe ! Bandia goru pusir na paren te bècača phelao. Ha-gorua ni-gorua hðča ðw.
- (2) হুলা কথা মুই না শুনো হাছ। গোকটা বান্দি থন্ তে থও, না তেন তে কেনে আরও ভাল হোবার না হয় পুতাক। তমার কোপালোত্ বন্ কুনো খ্যাৎ থামার নাই, সেই বুলি কি ফাঁহোরে নাই ? তমার কি কাঁহ গোক পিটা দাসী বান্দি আছে ? বারে বারে গোক পিটি থাকিবে। বান্দিয়া গোক পুশির না পারেন তে ব্যাচায়া ফেলাও। হা-গোকুয়া নি-গোকুয়া হয় অও।
- (3) I do not like to hear such empty words. Do keep your cow tied up, otherwise matters are going to be unhappy. You have no lands of your own and you must not think that others have none. No body has engaged a servant to drive out your cow. If you cannot keep your cow properly tied then sell it off. Let the cow-owner be cow-less.
- (4) Note : Hula katha - these empty words.
Hač - Used when a woman speaks to a woman.
Na-ten-te - otherwise ;
Putak - surely or certainly.
Dzhòṇ - as, because (also spoken as 'Dzhoni' - S.C.B. - Jeno)
Ha-gorua - yes cow (owner of a cow)
Ni-gorua - no cow (no-owner of a cow)

Katsuli :

- (1) Bapre, muk khan dze dzokhare dhòṇkar korichit hač. Èk bhitti choṭar mor acce dzòr. Ati hate bacho mor tsokhu meli na dèkheche, tar upor tor hula kèl kèl. Kèl kèl ao mok sunibar na monache. Tor hani korise te goruṭa nigi khoarot dek na. Tão tui mor nogot bari sadi adika dzhogra koribar asis na to. Òto dzodi èkhodzhon kissène hoisen te kène aro adzi ki ghòrot khabar nai, kali ki ghòrot khorak nai ! Baro masi kopalete dukko chare na.
- (2) বাপ্রে, মুকখান যে জোখারে অহঙ্কার কোরিছিত্ হাছ। এ্যাক ভিতি ছোয়াটার মোর আচে জর। অতি হাতে বাছো মোর চখু মেলি না দ্যাখেছে, তার উপর তোর হুলা ক্যাল ক্যাল। ক্যাল ক্যাল আও মোক সুনিবার না মোনাছে। তোর হানি কোরিসে তে গোকটা নিগি খোয়ারত্ দেক্ না। তাঁও তুই মোর নোগোত্ বারি সাদি আদিকা কোগড়া কোরিবার আসিস্ না তো। ওতো ডুডি ংখডুডুজ়ন কিসেনে হোইসেন তে কেনে আরও অজি কি ঘরোত্ খাবার নাই, কালি কি ঘরোত্ খোরাক্ নাই ! বারো মাসী কোপালেতে দুক্কো চারে না।
- (3) I see your mouth is wide open with pride. I am already worried with my son who is suffering from high fever and cannot open his eyes from last night and on the top of it you have started abusing me. I do not like to hear you, please be off. If my cow has done you any harm take it to a pound. But please do not come to my house for quarrelling. If you have become a big cultivator why then you have no food at home, why then you suffer from want all the year round.
- (4) Note : Dzokhare dhòṇkar korichit - it is used when one shows much pride.
Èk bhitti - on one side, my only one.
Hula kèl kèl - unnecessary noise.
Te - then ; Sadi adika - entering by force.

Dunduni :

- (1) Ki kolo, bhal mansir beṭi, khòbòddar, kopal dhulia katha na kois. Hamar ḥaro masi dukko to hamar dukko. Kuno beṭi ki kuno dìn èk thali bhat ania dise ? Na hamrai kuno dìn kuno beṭir agina khan èk thali bhatèr bade gaisi ? Hamra holi gorib kangal mansi. Kopilot hamar dukko tsirotkali. Bhògomane hamak korise hin, dukke suke dzabe dìn. Bhal mansir beṭi muk samuli katha kois, na ten te kene aro bhal hobar na hoč.
- (2) কী কোলো, ভাল মানসির বেটি, খবদার, কোপাল ঢুলিয়া কথা না কোইস্। হামার বারো মাসি দুক্কো তো হামার দুক্কো। কুনো বেটি কি কুনো দিন এ্যাক থালি ভাত আনিয়া দিসে ? না হামরাই কুনো দিন কুনো বেটির আগিনা খান এ্যাক থালি ভাতের বাদে গেইসি ? হামরা হোলি গোরিব কান্গাল মানসি। কোপালোত্ হামার দুক্কো চিরোৎকালি। ভগোমানে হামাক্ কোরিসে হীন, দুক্কে সুকে যাবে দিন। ভাল মানসির বেটি মুক সামুলি কথা কোইস্, না তেন তে কেনে আরও ভাল হোবার না হয়।
- (3) What you say - a devil's daughter - never say anything about my fate. If I have want all the year round, it is mine. Had ever any woman helped me with a plate of rice or had we ever gone to any-body's house to beg for food ? We are poor no doubt, we are always in want. God has made us poor, our days will go either in want or in plenty as He likes. You devil's daughter, control your tongue otherwise nothing good will happen.
- (4) Note : Kopal dhulia - concerning fate.
Tsirot kali - always.
Bhògomane korise hin dukke suke dzabe dìn - this phrase is used when one resigns himself to fate.

Katsuli :

- (1) Ki koribo - hač - ki koribo ! Muk khan dze khupe hitti hutti nigachit ! Age ač to hitti - age ač, arir beči ari, gabur ari, dëkkua ari ! Tor bukkot tşori kðnek Dzðlpes dëkhō.
- (2) की कोरिबो हार—की करिबो ! मुक खान डे खुपे हित्ति हत्ति निगचित् ! आगे आर तो हित्ति - आगे आर, आड़िरे बेचि आड़ि, गबुर आड़ि, डेक्कूआ आड़ि ! तौर बुकत चड़ि कनेक डेप्पेस दाबो !
- (3) What can you do ! You are talking non-sense. Just come in front of me ! You are a widow's daughter widow, you are a bad young widow, you became a widow with a child in your womb, you are a woman with questionable character ! I shall lay you down and stand on your chest and look at Jalpesh temple.
- (4) **Note :** Muk khan dze khupe hitti hutti nigachit - This phrase is used when one speaks irrelevant.
Arir beči ari, gabur ari, dëkkua ari - This phrase is used to condemn any woman specially referring to her character.
Dëkhua - Usually refers to a duck or a hen immediately before or after laying the first egg.

Slangly used to mean : A widow with child in the womb or a woman who had a child after she became a widow.

Dzðlpes (Jalpes) - A temple of Mahadev in the Western Duars, (Jalpaiguri).

Dunduni :

- (1) Ha bhale to : tðmrač goru chari dia mansir hani koriben putak ar tðmare mukhðt moča moča katha. Hamra ki tðmar kuno khorak tsai, na nibar dzai. Bhðgomane tðmar humon gourðb thube na. Muk na hðč bhal, tşor khač gal. Nðrer beči, tðler tari. Goru dzodi pusir na paren te naua, bamðndk dan kðr, nai Boitoroni par kðr. Oi dze koise, goa na hðč dðddur, thèng mèle tðddur. Uh ! adzi humar gorur ðnte humara ar khèt kissi korimo na. Koṭhekar bðro noker beči hoise, bač re bač.
- (2) হা ভাল তো ! তমরার গুরু চারি দিয়া মানসির হানি কোরিবেন পুতাক আর তমার মুখত মোচা মোচা কথা। হামরা কি তমার কুনো খোরাক চাই, না নিবার ড়াই। ভগোমানে তমার হুমন গৌরব থুবে না। মুক না হðč বহাল, তşor খাচ গাল। নðরে বেচি, তðলে তারি। গুরু ড়োডি পুসির না প্যেরন তে ন্যুয়া, বামনক দান কর, নাই বৈতরণী পার কর। ওই যে কোইসে, গোয়া না হðč ডðদুর, থং মেলে তðদুর। উঃ ! আজি হুমার গোরুর ংন্তে হুমারা আর খ্যাত কিসি কোরিমো না। কোঠেকার বðরো নকের বেচি হোইসে, বাচ রে বাচ।
- (3) What a misfortune ! You let loose your cow and damage my crop and you talk big. Do we ever seek your help for food or approach you begging for food ? God will not bear your such pride. A bad talker gets a slap on the cheek. You are a low class woman with a small mind. If you cannot keep a cow properly give her to a barbar or to a Brahmin or perform with her a post-funeral ceremony (obviously pointing to the husband or the child of the woman). It is said that one stretches her legs further than her buttocks can bear (she goes beyond her limitations). Oh ! shall we stop our cultivation on account of your cow. Wherefrom do you come a rich man's daughter (sarcastic).
- (4) **Note :** Ha bhale to - what a bad luck ! equivalent to S.C.B. 'Hač amar kðpa'.
Nðrer beči - born of low caste family.
Tðler tari - a small earthen pot for keeping mustard oil.
Slang meaning : Of narrow mind ; open to all and sundry ; a bad woman.
Goa na hðč dðddur, thèng mèle tðddur - this is used when one pretends to be bigger than what actually he/she is.

Katsuli :

- (1) Ki kolo beči - hitti age ačto age ač, tor kðnek muk khan dzhuri dðč dzhata banni dia.
- (2) की कोलो बेचि, हित्ति आगे आरतो आगे आर, तौर कनेक मुक खान झुड़ि द्याओ बाट बन्नि दिया !
- (3) What you say vile woman - come hither, come. I shall clean your mouth with a broom-stick. (Shall beat you with a broom stick).

Dunduni :

- (1) Tui ač kène, tui agea ač, koddur tor bukker paṭṭa khan !
Na asibo te bappe bhatar, ma-e sotin kori-mo !
- (2) তুই আচ ক্যানে, তুই আগেরা আর। কোদুর তোর বুকের পাটা খান !
না আসিবো তে বাপ্পে ভাতার, মা-এ সোতিন কোরিমো !
- (3) Let you come, you advance. Let me see how bold you are. If you dare not come I shall make your father your husband and your mother your co-wife.
- (4) **Note :** Bappe bhatar mae sotin korimo - This is a very slang expression meaning, I shall make you marry your own father.

Katsuli :

- (1) Ki koribo gele, bhal mansir beti, dekkua ari !
- (2) কী করিবো গেলে, ভাল মানসির বেটি, ডেক্কা আড়ি !
- (3) What will you do if I go near. A devil's daughter, a wicked widow.

Dunduni :

- (1) Aě kène aě, agea aě to !
- (2) আস ক্যানে আস, আগেরা আস তো !
- (3) Come, come near me.

Katsuli :

- (1) Neh ! asinu, kkih koribo - kdr tsini.
- (2) নেঃ ! আসিনু, ক্কাঃ করিবো - কর্ চিনি !
- (3) Yes, I have come, do what you can.

Dunduni :

- (1) Aě-re beŋir chaoa beŋi - aě.
- (2) আস রে বেটির ছাওয়া বেটি - আস ।
- (3) Come you wicked woman, come.

Both advanced towards each other in rage. Dunduni graps Katsuli's face.

Katsuli :

- (1) O-re baba, aiso bare, mok mari phelalek - ki kollek mor galta atsuria.
- (2) ওরে বাবা, আইসো বারে, মোক মারি ফেলালেক - কী কোলেক মোর গালটা আচুরিয়া ।
- (3) Oh father ! (help ! help !) come at once ! I am being killed ! - my check has been severely scratched.
- (4) Note : Bare - a woman calling a man.

Dunduni :

- (1) Hu, Hu, bhal mansir beŋi, tor mak tsinis, nai te tsina dēo kōnek.
- (2) হু, হু, ভাল মানসির বেটি, তোর মাক চিনিস্, নাই তে চিনা দেও কনেক্ !
- (3) How do you feel, you wicked woman, Do you recognise your mother - if not, I make you do so. (The last phrase is used to mean - I shall teach you a good lesson. Myself as a mother chastising you, a naughty child !)

A few texts are stated below to show the local variation of dialect between Cooch Behar and Jalpaiguri districts.

- x. All of you rear up pegions or you have seen domesticated pegions. Have you seen the features of a pegion ? The head of the pegion is smaller than the head of other birds but the wings although not as big as the wings of a kite or a vulture, are very strong. So they can fly in the air for a long time. The pegions have three fingers in the front and one at the back of the leg. The finger at the back is small. The legs are very red in colour. The beak of the pegion is small and is weak. So the pegions cannot peak any hard food like the crows and the kites.

Cooch Behar :

Tomrala pōraē sōggaē paro posen, na hoile posa paro dekhitsen. Paror dhōk dekhitsen ki ? Eilar mathagila ar ar pokhirthe chōto. Kintuk pakna tsila ar siknir nakhan dāor na hoileo uat khib d̥zor ache. Oila bade ula dherkhōn uriba paē. Parolar theng-er agilat tin̄ta nengul ache ar patsilat ekhet̄a nengul thake. Patsilar nengul̄ta chōto. Theng dūta khib nal. Paror thōt̄ chōto ar uar d̥zor kōm. Kaua ar tsilar nakhan oila thōt̄ dia kuno khawa thokia khaba na paē.

তমরলা পরায় সগ্গায় পারো পোষেন, না হইলে পোষা পারো দেখিচেন। পারোর ধক্ দেখিচেন কি ? এইলার মাথাগিলা আর আর পখিরঠে ছটো। কিন্তুক পাকনা টিলা আর সিকনির নাখান ডাঁওর না হইলেও উয়াত্ খিব জোর আছে। ইলা বাদে উলা ঢেরখন উড়িবা পার। পারোলার

ঠেংএর আগিলাং তিনটা নেংগুল আছে আর পাচিলাং এখেটা নেংগুল থাকে। পাচিলাং নেংগুলটা ছোটো : ঠেং দুটা খিব নাল। পারোর ঠোট ছোটো আর উয়ার জোর কম। কাউয়া আর চিলাং নখান ঐলা ঠোট দিহা কুনা বাওহা ঠেকিহা খাব না পায়।

Note : Paro - penguin (some say - Koitor) ; Dñhk - feature, appearance ; Pokhirthe - than birds ; Dñor - big ; U'riba - can fly (some say - urir) ; Chñto - small (some say 'batsta) ; Nakhan - like.

Jalpaiguri :

Tòmra sògaē paro pusen, na holo karo pusa paro dekhitsen. Paror dhòk kènonng dekhitsen ? Paror mathata desra pokhir mñton na hñde, omar thake chñto. Omar dènala tsila ar siknir mñton bñdñdñ nai holeo òte khib dñzor ache. Oi-bade om-ha deoat bhelekhun uriba pare. Parolar thèngòt agòt tinqa nengul ar pachòt èkheña. Pachar nengulña chñto. Thèng-er òng khib ang-a. Paror thot chñto ar òt dñzor kñm. Oi-bade parola kaua ar tsilar mñto kuno khawa thòkaē khabar na par.

তমরা সগাং পারো পুসেন, না হোলো কারো পুসা পারো দেখিছেন। পারোর ধক কনং দেখিছেন ? পারোর মাথাটা দোহা পোখির মন্তোন না হুদে, ওমার থাকে ছোটো। ওমার দেনালা ত্সিলা আর সিকনির মন্তোন বড় নাই হলেও তেতে খিব জোর আছে। ওমারদে ওমহা দেওয়াং ভোলখন উড়িবা পারে। পারোলার থেংগট আগট তিন্গা নেংগুল আর পাছং এংখট। পাছং নেংগুলটা ছোটো। থেংগ-এর ওং খিব অংখ পারো। পারোলার পাং-অত্ আগত্ তিনটা নেংগুল আর পাছং এংখট। পাছং নেংগুলটা ছোটো। ঠাংএর অং খিব অংখ পারো। পারোর ঠোট ছোটো আর অত্ জোর কম। ওমারদে পারোলা কাউয়া আর চিলাং মন্তোন কুনা বাওহা ঠেকিহা খাব না পারে।

- A good and intelligent boy minds his lessons every day. He never plays all the day round. At the time of study he can answer more correctly than others. So the teacher loves him much. He never does any bad work nor speaks anything bad. He always does what the elders say and never disobeys them. Whenever he is told not to do any work he never does it. So every body loves him.

Cooch Behar :

Bhal ar tsalak choa pottidine pñra pñre. Gñtaē din na khelaē. Poribar kale uaē dzemon pñra korir paē temon kñhñē na paē. Oi-bade ponnimñsaē uak khib bhal paē. Uaē kuno belao bñēa kamna kñre ar bñēa katha na kñē. Bñrmansi uak dñe katha kñē, uaē seña kñre. Kuno belao umarlar katha na phelaē. Pottir somoē umralar katha sonc. Uak kuno kadz koribar bada kolle uaē seña na kñre. Seibade uak sñgaē bhal kñē.

ভাল আর চালাক ছোয়া পত্তিদিনে পড়া পড়ে। গুটায় দিন না খেলায়। পড়িবার কালে উয়ার যখন পড়া করির পাং তেমন কñহñে না পাং। ওমারদে পন্নিমñসা উক খিব ভাল পাং। উয়ার কুনা বেলাও বñ কাং না করে আর বñ কাং না করে। বড় মানসি উয়ার কাং করে, উয়ার সেইটাই করে। কুনা বেলাও উয়ারলার কাং না ফেলায়। পত্তি সম্ম উয়ারলার কাং শোনে। উয়ার কুনা কাজ করিবার বাদ কাজ উয়ার সেটা না করে। সেই বাদে উয়ার সগংয় ভাল করে।

Notes : Ts tsalak - intelligent ; Gñtaē - whole ; Uaē - he ; Bñēa - bad ;

Jalpaiguri :

Bhalo ar tññun tsengra potidin nèkhpñra kñre. Òē tamandinna khelaē. Poriba bosile òē hula tsengra tsahc bhal uttor dñē. Oitane humar tsahc pondit òk khub bhal kñē. Òē kunodin kharap kam na kñre ar kharap katha na kñhe. Bñrmansi dñēta katha kñhe òē oña kam kñre, humar katha kunodin na phelaē. Òk kunhñ kam koriba badha dile òē seña kam na kñre. Oi-bade sñgaē òk bhal kohe.

ভালো আর টানটুন চাংরা পত্তিদিনে নেকখপরা করে। ওঁে তামান্দিনা খেলায়। পড়িবার বসিলে ওঁে হুলা চাংরা ত্সাহে ভাল উত্তর দেয়। ওইতানে হুমার ত্সাহে পন্ডিট ওক খুব ভাল করে। ওঁে কুনোদিন খারাপ কাজ না করে আর খারাপ কাং না করে। বড় মানসি ওঁে কাং করে, হুমার কাং কুনা দিন না ফেলায়। ওক কুনহñ কাজ করিবার বাদা দিলে ওঁে সেña কাজ না করে। ওমারদে সগংয় ওক ভাল করে।

Note : Tññun - intelligent ; Òē - he ; Hula tsengra - other boys ; Ts tsahc than.

- Nalasing is a very wicked boy. He does not fear any body nor does he listen to any one. He never minds his lessons. He plays all day. After coming from school he throws his books here and there. Next day at the time of study he cannot find them out. As long as he is in the house he creates a noise. Nalasing's mother makes many kinds of food for him. No sooner the foods are given to him for eating he throws them away and starts crying for this and that. He abuses his mother and runs to beat her. Nobody loves Nalasing. He abuses all and quarrels with them. It is why no one likes to play with him. The teacher rebukes him every day, still he cannot prepare his lesson. Nalasing will never be up in reading and writing and will suffer. You should never be like Nalasing.

Cooch Behar :

Nalasing bhalkona nñkñhñña tsengra. Uaē kako hatas na khaē. Kñhor katha na sonc. Uaē nekapñra ekekale koribar

na tsaē. Taman din khela kori thake. Iskul hate bari aisia uaē pōrar boigila dzeṭhe seṭhe phelaē. Pōrdin poribela oila ukṭia na paē. Uaē dze bel barit dē se bel kaurhaṭi kori thake. Nalasing-er ma-o uar bade nanan moton khorak gōre thoē. Uak khorak dile selaē ogula durōt phelaē, ar mok eṭa saṭa deo buli katsal kōre. Mao-k bōēa katha kōē ar ḍangebar dzaē. Nalasing-ok kāho-o bhal na paē. Soggak gali pare ar soggare nōgōt katsal kōre. Oi-bade uar sudaē kuno tsengra khelir na tsaē. Poin mosai pottiddin ṭhela deē, tāho-o ekdin-o uaē pōra na paē. Nalasing kuno din-o nekapori sikhir na paibe ar uar kapale dukko ache. Tui Nalasing-er moton na hois.

নালাসিং ভাল্কোনা নটখটিয়া চেংরা। উয়ার কাকো হাতাস না থায়। কাঁহোর কাথা না শোনে। উয়ার নেকাপড়া এককালে করিবার না চায়। তামান দিন খেলা করি থাকে। ইস্কুল হাতে বাড়ি আইসিয়া উয়ার পড়ার বইগিলা যেঠে সেঠে ফেলায়। পরদিন পড়িবেলা ঐলা উকটিয়া না পায়। উয়ার যে বেল বাড়িত্ অয় সে বেল কাউরহাটি করি থাকে। নালাসিংএর মাও উয়ার বাদে নানান মোতান খোরাক গড়ে থোয়। উয়াক খোরাক দিলে সেলায় ওজলা দুরত্ ফেলায়, আর মোক এটা সেটা দেও বুলি কাচাল করে। মাও-ক বয়া কাথা কয় আর ডাঙেবার যায়। নালাসিংওক কাঁহোও ভাল্ না পায়। সোগ্গাক গালি পারে আর সোগ্গারে নগত্ কাচাল করে। ঐ বাদে উয়ার সুদায় কুনো চেংরা খেলির না চায়। পোইন মসাই পত্তিদিন ṭhela দেয়, তাঁহোও একদিনও উয়ার পড়া না পায়। নালাসিং কুনোদিনও নেকাপড়ি শিখির না পাইবে আর উয়ার কাপালে দুক্কো আছে। তুই নালাসিংএর মোতান না হইস্।

Note : Nōṭkhōṭia - wicked ; Ukṭia - searching ;
Kaurhaṭi - noise (noise of a market) ; Sudaē - with.

Jalpaiguri :

Nalasing khib khōēnasia tsengra. Ōē kako-o bhōē na' kōre ar kahar-o katha na dhōre. Ōē kōnkōē nēkhapōra na kōre. Ōē dintāē khēlaēa beraē. Iskul hate asi ṭr boi-gila dzeṭhe seiṭhe phelaē. Agila din poriba bela oila *ōngsaē na paē. Dzōtkhōn dē barit dē khali katsal kōre. Nalasing-er ai ṭr tane dher-la khorak bēnaēa thōē. Oi-la khorak ṭk dile dē khorak-gila paktar dē ar hikhan hukhan tsēha tsētsaē. Ōē ṭr ai-k gali paraē ar ṭmkhak ḍangebar dzaē. Ka-hōē Nalasing-ṭk bhal na kōhe. Ōē sōgake gali paraē ar sōgare nōgōt katsal kōre. Oi tane ka-hōē ṭr nōgōt khēlabar na dzaē. Poin-mosaē pottidine ṭk gali paraē, tahō dē pōra sikhiba na pare. Nalasing kuno din nēkhapōra sikhibar pariba na hōē, ṭr kapaldt khib dukko ache. Tōmha kāhō Nalasing-ṭr mōton na hōn.

নালাসিং খিব খখনাসিয়া চেংরা। অয় কাকোও ভয় না করে আর কাহারও কাথা না ধরে। অয় কনকয় ন্যাখাপড়া না করে। অয় দিনটায় খ্যালায়া বেড়ায়। ইস্কুল হাতে আসি অয় বইগিলা যেইঠে সেইঠে ফেলায়। আগিলা দিন পড়িবা বেলা ঐলা আংশায় না পায়। যতখন অয় বাড়িত্ অহে খালি কাচাল করে। নালাসিংএর আই অয় তানে টেরলা খোরাক ব্যানায় অয়। ঐলা খোরাক অক দিলে অয় খোরাকগিলা পাক্তার দেয় আর হিখান হুখান চ্যাচা চ্যাচায়। অয় অয় আইক গালি পারায় আর অমহাক্ ডাঙেবার যায়। কাহয় নালাসিং-অক্ ভাল্ না কহে। অয় সগাকে গালি পারায় আর সগারে নগত্ কাচাল করে। ঐ তানে কাহয় অয় নগত্ খ্যালাবার না যায়! পোইন মসায় পত্তিদিনে অক গালি পারায়, তাহ অয় পড়া শিখিবা না পারে। নালাসিং কুনো দিন ন্যাখাপড়া শিখিবার পারিবা না হয়, অয় কাপালত খিব দুক্কো আছে। তমহা কাঁহো নালাসিং-অয় মোতান না হন।

Note : Kōnkōē - never ; Agila-din - next day, coming day ; Ōngsaē - searching ;
Ai mother ; Paktar dē - throw away. Hikhan hukhan - this or that ; Tōm-ha - you all.

4. It is dawn. The darkness of the night is no more. It is clear all around. The sun is rising in the east. The light has struck the hills of the north. The snow at the top of the hill looks red and after sometime this will change into golden yellow as the sun goes further up. The river Toorsa flows by the hill on the west. It flows through a deep forest. The water is clear and is very cold. The sand and the stones on the bed of the river are seen through the water. The current is very strong. There is a small boat. People cross the river by this boat. At noon the image of the sun is seen in the water. The water looks white as silver and shines under the sun. In the afternoon when the sun sinks in the western sky dark shadows appear on the hill. After a while the jungle at the foot of the hill becomes dark. Black and red colours appear on the snow. The river water looks blue. The moon has risen in the sky. The stars have covered the sky. The light of the fire-fly in the nearby dark forest is flying about. The roar of the tiger and the bear is heard at a distance.

Cooch Behar :

Bhor hoise. Atir andar kōnek nai. Tsāēro pakhe ṭōṭōl hoise. Pub dia nal bela uṭhibar dhogse. Utōr pakhe paharer upōrdt bela uṭhibar nagiche. Paharer mathor upōrdt bōrdpber dhip odote nal dekhache. Ar kōnek bela uṭhile ei ṭngṭa sonar nakan holdia hōbe. Pochim pakher pahar hate Torsa nodi aseche. Eṭa bhari dṭangaler bhitor pakhe bōheche.

1. Searched but could not find out.

Cooch-Bhar : উট্কাইতে উট্কাইতে নাথ'ল—utkaite utkaite nakhal (uktalte also).

Jalpaiguri : অংশাইতে অংশাইতে পোয়া না যায়—ongsaite ongsaite poa na dzae.

Eiṭar d̥z̥b̥l̥ khib̥ ʈ̥l̥ʈ̥b̥l̥ ar̥ khib̥ ch̥engch̥e̥ḁ. Dz̥b̥ler̥ ʈ̥l̥b̥t̥ balu ar̥ sil̥ dekhḁ d̥z̥ache. Nod̥iṭat̥ bezḁṣ̥ sot̥. Baṭṭṣḁ ḍ̥kheṭḁ nao̥ ache. Iṭak̥ ṭ̥sori̥ mansigilḁ ḍ̥k̥ par̥ thakiḁ ar̥ ḍ̥k̥ parot̥ d̥z̥ache. Dui̥ pohor̥ belḁ oi̥ d̥z̥b̥l̥t̥ sujjyo̥ dekhḁ d̥zḁṣ̥. Belar̥ ḍ̥dote̥ d̥z̥b̥l̥ upar̥ m̥b̥ton̥ dh̥b̥lḁ dekhḁ d̥zḁṣ̥ ar̥ ṭ̥b̥k̥ṭ̥b̥k̥ korir̥ thake. Bhaṭi̥ belḁ sujjyo̥ pochim̥ pakhe̥ ḍ̥ub̥ile̥ paharot̥ cheyḁ por̥i̥ d̥zḁṣ̥. Ar̥ k̥ṇek̥ pach̥ḍ̥t̥ paharer̥ h̥ṣ̥ṭ̥ḍ̥t̥ d̥z̥angal̥ andar̥ h̥ḍ̥e̥ḁ d̥zḁṣ̥. B̥ḍ̥ḍ̥p̥her̥ up̥or̥ nal̥ ar̥ kalḁ ḍ̥ng̥ dekhibḁ paoḁ d̥zḁṣ̥. N̥ḍ̥dir̥ d̥z̥b̥ler̥ ḍ̥ng̥ nil̥ h̥ḍ̥e̥. Deoat̥ ṭ̥san̥ uṭ̥h̥iche. Tarḁ diḁ deoḁ bhotti̥ hoise. Kachote̥ d̥z̥angaler̥ andarot̥ d̥zonakigilḁ ṭ̥b̥k̥m̥b̥k̥ kori̥ urir̥ dh̥oṭṭṣe. Durot̥ bagh̥ ar̥ bhandir̥ g̥ḍ̥ngrai̥ sunibḁ paoḁ d̥zḁṣ̥.

ভোর হইল। আত্মির আনন্দার কনেক নাই। চারো পাখি টলটল হইসে। পূব দিয়া নাল বেলা উঠিবার ধোঁচে। উত্তর পাখি পাহাড়ের উপর বেলা উঠিবার নাগিছে। পাহাড়ের মাথার উপর বরফের টিপ ওদোতে নাল দেখাছে। আর কনেক বেলা উঠিলে এই অংশের সন্ধান হোলদিয়া হোবে। পশ্চিম পাখির পাহাড় হাতে তোরস নদী আসেছে। এইটা ভারী জঙ্গলের ভিতর পাখি বহেছে। এইটার জল খিব টল টল আর খিব ছাংছায়া। জলের তলত্ বালু আর শিল দেখা যাচ্ছে। নদীটাত্ খিব সোত। বাজা এখানেটা নাও আছে। ইটাক্ চড়ি মানসিলা এ্যাক পাড় থাকিয়া আর এ্যাক পাড়ং যাচ্ছে। দুই পহর বেলা ঐ জলত্ সূর্য্য দেখা যায়। বেলায় ওদোতে জল উপর নাখান ধলা দেখা যায় আর চক্ চক্ করির থাকে। ডাটি বেলা সূর্য্যো পশ্চিম পাখি ডুবিলে পাহাড়ং ছেঁয়া পড়ি যায়। আর কনেক পাহাড় পাহাড়ের হাটত্ জঙ্গল আনন্দার হয় যায়। বরফের উপর নাল আর কালো অং দেখিবা পাওয়া যায়। নদীর জলখ ন বেদিয়া হয়। দেওয়াং চান উঠিছে। তারা দিয়া দেওয়া ভক্তি হইসে। কাছোতে জঙ্গলের আনন্দারৎ জোনা কীলা চক্ মক্ করি উড়ির ধোঁচে। দূরত্ বধ আর ভাঙির গিরগনি শুনিবা পাওয়া যায়।

Note : Ch̥engcha - cold ; Bhaṭi-bela - afternoon (when the sun goes down stream) ; H̥ṣ̥ṭ̥ḍ̥t̥ - at the foot ; Deoa - sky , Bhandi - bear ; Gongrani - roar.

Jalpaiguri :

Kal sand̥zi̥ nagiche. Atir̥ andar̥ k̥ṇko̥ nai. Èlḁ ṭ̥sarho̥ pakhe̥ ʈ̥l̥ʈ̥b̥l̥ hoise. Agatti̥ nal̥ bèlḁ oṭ̥heche. Utor̥ pakhe̥ paharer̥ mathot̥ bèlar̥ chaṭ̥aṭ̥ḁ nagiche. Paharer̥ mathot̥ b̥ḍ̥ḍ̥p̥her̥ ḍ̥hip̥ odot̥ nal̥ dekhache. Ar̥ k̥ṇek̥ bèlḁ uṭ̥h̥ile̥ ci̥ ḍ̥ngkhan̥ s̥ḍ̥nar̥ nakhan̥ holdiḁ hobe. Pochim̥ pakher̥ paharer̥ gore̥ gore̥ Torsḁ nodi̥ b̥ḍ̥h̥ḍ̥che. Faṭ̥ḁ nisanti̥ d̥z̥angaler̥ bhitor̥ḍ̥t̥ b̥ḍ̥h̥ḍ̥che. Eiṭar̥ d̥z̥b̥l̥ khib̥ ʈ̥l̥ʈ̥b̥l̥ ar̥ khib̥ ch̥engch̥e̥ḁ. Dz̥b̥ler̥ ʈ̥l̥b̥t̥ balu ar̥ sil̥ dekhḁ d̥z̥ache. Nod̥iṭat̥ khib̥ sot̥. Baṭṭṣḁ ḍ̥kheṭḁ nao̥ ache. Iṭak̥ ṭ̥sori̥ mansilḁ hipar̥ hate̥ hupar̥ d̥z̥ache. Dui̥ p̥ḍ̥h̥ḍ̥t̥ belḁ oi̥ d̥z̥b̥l̥t̥ bèlaṭ̥ak̥ dekhḁ d̥zḁṣ̥. Bèlar̥ odote̥ d̥zol̥ upar̥ nakhan̥ dh̥b̥lḁ dekhache ar̥ ṭ̥b̥k̥ṭ̥b̥k̥ k̥ḍ̥reche. Bela-haṭi̥ bèlaṭ̥ḁ pochim̥ pakhe̥ d̥z̥elḁ ḍ̥ube̥ selḁ paharot̥ cheyḁ por̥i̥ d̥z̥ache. Ar̥ k̥ṇek̥ pach̥ḍ̥t̥ paharer̥ h̥ṣ̥ṭ̥ḍ̥t̥ d̥z̥angal̥ andar̥ h̥ḍ̥e̥ḁ d̥zḁṣ̥. B̥ḍ̥ḍ̥p̥her̥ mathot̥ ang-ḁ ar̥ kalo̥ ḍ̥ng̥ dekhḁ d̥z̥ache. Nodir̥ d̥zol̥ khan̥ nendiḁ h̥ḍ̥e̥. Deoat̥ ṭ̥san̥ uṭ̥h̥iche. Taragilḁ deoḁ bhoriche. N̥ḍ̥g̥ḍ̥te̥ d̥z̥angaler̥ andar̥ḍ̥t̥ d̥zonakilḁ ṭ̥sakat̥ kori̥ uribḁ dh̥oṭṭṣe. Dur̥ḍ̥t̥ bagh̥ ar̥ bhandir̥ gir̥ḍ̥zon̥ sonḁ d̥z̥ache.

কাল সান্জি নাগিছে। আত্মির আনন্দার কনেক নাই। এলা ṭsarho পাখি টলটল হইসে। আগতি নাল বেলা ওঠেছে। উত্তর পাখি পাহাড়ের মাথার বেলায় চাট্টা নাগিছে। পাহাড়ের মাথার উপর বরফের টিপ ওদোতে নাল দেখাছে। আর কনেক বেলা উঠিলে এই অংশের সন্ধান নাখান হোলদিয়া হোবে। পশ্চিম পাখির পাহাড়ের গোর গোর তোরস নদী বহেছে। এইটা বিশাল জঙ্গলের ভিতর বহেছে। এইটার জল খিব টল টল আর খিব ছাংছায়া। জলের তলত্ বালু আর শিল দেখা যাচ্ছে। নদীটাত্ খিব সোত। বাজা এখানেটা নাও আছে। ইটাক্ চড়ি মানসিলা হিপার হাতে হিপার যাচ্ছে। দুই পহর বেলা ঐ জলত্ বালুটাক্ দেখা যায়। বেলায় ওদোতে জল উপর নাখান ধলা দেখাছে আর চক্ চক্ করেছে। বেলা-হাটি বেলাটা পশ্চিম পাখি বেলা ডুবে সেলা পাহাড়ং ছেঁয়া পড়ি যায়। আর কনেক পাহাড় পাহাড়ের হাটত্ জঙ্গল আনন্দার হয় যায়। বরফের মাথোং অং-অং আর কালো অং দেখা যাচ্ছে। নদীর জলখ ন বেদিয়া হয়। দেওয়াং চান উঠিছে। তারা দিয়া দেওয়া ভক্তি হইছে। কাছোতে জঙ্গলের আনন্দারৎ জোনা কীলা চক্ মক্ করি উড়ির ধোঁচে। দূরত্ বধ আর ভাঙির গিরগনি শুনিবা পাওয়া যায়।

Note : Kal sand̥zi̥ - dawn, end of darkness ; Agatti - east ; Bèla - sun ; Chaṭ̥a - rays ; Nisanti - deep ; Bela-haṭi - afternoon (when the sun goes for marketting in the afternoon); Ang-a - red ; Nendia - blue ; ṭ̥sakat-ṭ̥sakat - flicker (onomotopoeitic) ; Gir̥ḍ̥zon - roar.

5. Khorom Sing came to my house yesterday evening. I was not at home. He will come again to-morrow evening and dine with me at night. They are four brothers. The eldest has taken to cultivation. When the paddy ripens, the wild elephants and the boars eat them up. So the second brother stays in the field at night to watch over the crop. The third brother catches fish in the river during the day. The youngest is at school. Khorom Sing's father is a very good fellow. All the village people respect him. He has grown old. He cannot till the land, with his own hands. If any one is in difficulty he seeks advice from him and acts accordingly. If any one is in trouble the whole village help him. So the villagers are happy.

Cooch-Bihar :

Kh̥ḍ̥ḍ̥m̥ Sing̥ kali̥ bihane̥ mor̥ bari̥ aichil̥. Mui̥ barit̥ nḁ achinu. U̥ṛ̥ḍ̥e̥ kali̥ s̥ṛ̥ḍ̥z̥he̥ aro̥ asibar̥ ṭ̥sandaise̥ ar̥ atit̥ mor̥ barit̥ khorak̥ khabe. Umrḁ ṭ̥sar̥ bhai̥. Boro̥ bhai̥ hal̥ b̥ḍ̥he. Dhan̥ pakile̥ bonuḁ hati̥ ar̥ suorgilḁ dhangulak̥ kh̥ḍ̥e̥ḁ phelḁṣ̥. Oi̥ bade̥ mad̥zh̥kilḁ bhaiṭḁ atit̥ kh̥ṣ̥t̥ p̥ḍ̥h̥ḍ̥rḁ d̥ḍ̥e̥. Choṭo̥ mad̥zh̥kilḁ bhaiṭḁ din̥ḍ̥t̥ nodit̥ d̥zal̥ diḁ mach̥ dh̥ḍ̥re. Choṭo̥ bhaiṭḁ iskul̥ḍ̥t̥ p̥ḍ̥reche. Kh̥ḍ̥ḍ̥m̥ Singer̥ bap̥ṭḁ khib̥ bhal̥ mansi. Geramer̥ s̥ḍ̥ggḁṣ̥ u̥ṛ̥ḍ̥k̥ mane. U̥ṛ̥ḍ̥e̥ burḁ h̥ḍ̥e̥ḁ gaise. Hal̥ kisi̥ koribar̥

na pač. Karo kichu bipðd hoile uār kachot buddi nē ar uār katha moton kam kðre. Geramer karo dukko hoile sðggač uār pachot kharač. Oi bade geramer sðggač khusi.

খরম সিং কালি বিহানে মোর বাড়ি আইছিল। মুই বাড়িৎ না আছিল। উয়ার কালি সাবে আরও আসিবার চান্দাইসে আর আতিত্ মোর বাড়িৎ খোরাক খাবে। উমরা চার ভাই। বড় ভাই হাল বহে। ধান পাকিলে বনুয়া হাতী আর শূয়ারগিলা ধানগুলাক খায়া ফেলায়। ঐ বাদে মাঝকিলা ভাইটা আতিত্ খ্যাত পহরা দেয়। ছোট মাঝকিলা ভাইটা দিনত্ নদীত্ জাল দিয়া মাছ ধরে। ছোট ভাইটা ইসকুলত্ পড়েছে। খরম সিংএর বাপটা খিব ভাল মানবো। গেরামের সগ্গায় উয়াক্ মানে। উয়ার বুড়া হয় গেইসে। হাল কিষি করিবার না পায়। কারও কিছু বিপদ হইলে উয়ার কাছত্ বুদ্ধি নেয় আর উয়ার কথা মোতোন কাম করে। গেরামের কারও দুক্কে হইলে সগ্গায় উয়ার পাছত্ খায়। ঐ বাদে গেরামের সগ্গায় খুসী।

Note : Tsandaise - wanted to come (usual meaning - to search) ;
Madzhkila - middle ; Uāk - to him (honorific) ;
Uāč - he is (honorific) ; Uār - from him ; his (honorific)

Jalpaiguri :

Khòrðm Sing kali sakale hamatti asil. Mui barit chinu nai. Òč agila din poi-sandze aro asibar tsahiche ar aitot morthe khorak khabe. Omha tsar bhai. Bòro bhai hal giristi kðre. Dhanla pakile bonua hati ar suorgila dhanla khèa phèlač. Oi tane madzhkila bhaiṭa aiṭðt khèt pòhðra dèč. Chðto madzhkilata dinðt nodiṭat mach dhorì berač. Chðto bhaiṭa iskulðt pðr-he. Khòrðm Singher bapṭa khib bhal mansi hðč. Garamer sðggač ðk mane. Òč bura hðča geise. Hal kisi koribar na pare. Kāho bipððt porile òrthe buddi nē ar òr-he katha moton kam kðre. Garamer kāho muskilðt porile sðggač tar pachðt kharač. Oi tane garamer sðggač khusi.

খরম সিং কালি সাকালে হামাতি আসিল। মুই বাড়িত্ ছি নাই। অয় আগিলা দিন পৈসান্জে আরও আসিবার চাহিছে আর আইতত্ মোরথে খোরাক খাবে। ওমহা চার ভাই। বড় ভাই হাল গিরিস্তি করে। ধানলা পাকিলে বনুয়া হাতী আর শূয়ারগিলা ধানলা খায়া ফেলায়। ঐ তানে মাঝকিলা ভাইটা আইতত্ খ্যাত পহরা দেয়। ছোট মাঝকিলাটা দিনত্ নদীটাত্ মাছ ধরি বেড়ায়। ছোট ভাইটা ইসকুলত্ পড়ে। খরম সিংএর বাপটা খিব ভাল মানবী হয়। গারামের সগ্গায় অক্ মানে। অয় বুড়া হয় গেইসে। হাল কিষি করিবার না পারে। কাঁহো বিপদত্ পড়িলে অরথে বুদ্ধি নেয় আর অরহে কথা মোতোন কাম করে। গারামের কাঁহ মুস্কিলত্ পড়িলে সগ্গায় তার পাছত্ খায়। ঐ তানে গারামের সগায় খুসী।

Note : hamatti - to us, to our house ; Òč - he ; Agila din - tomorrow ;
Poi-sandze - evening ; Òm-ha - they are ;
Pðr-he - is reading ; Ò-k - him ; Òr-the - from him ;
Òr-he , his.

(no different honorific word)

Chapter XII

Rajbansi dialect.

The dialect of the Rajbansis of Siliguri Sub-division of Darjeeling, undivided Jalpaiguri, Cooch-Bihar, Goalpara of Assam and North Rangpur of East Pakistan is a 'local dialect' of Bengali. Grierson (Linguistic Survey Vol. V, part I) has termed it as 'Rajbansi dialect'. Dr. S. K. Chatterjee and Dr. S. Sen have termed it as 'North East Bengal Dialect'. In fact it is the spoken language (Chalit-Bhasa) of the villagers of the above areas. This spoken language differs in many cases widely from the standard colloquial Bengali. In the following pages an attempt has been made to study the sounds and the grammar of this dialect.

Character of Sounds.

The Rajbansis pronounce (ɔ) as in English word 'awe' or ordinarily as 'o' as in 'ocean' and vice versa. 'e' as in English 'enter' or more commonly as 'œ' or 'è' as in English word, 'accent', 'c' as in English 'child' or more commonly pronounced as 'ç' (as in East Bengal dialect); 'ch' as in English 'see' is pronounced in certain verbs as 's' as in 'bush'. 'j' as in English 'Judge' is pronounced as 'dʒ' or 'z' as in 'Zenith or Zigzag', 'ʃ' (S'), 'S' and 'S' are all pronounced alike as (S') (ʃ), 'r or d' is pronounced as 'r' as in English 'run'. In fact the sounds closely resemble those of East Bengal.

Behaviour of sounds :

- (a) The initial 'r' is generally lost as in :—
omoni <romoni (name of a person), ao <rao (sound), ati <rati (night), adza <radza (king), akhia <rakhia (having kept).
- (b) There is initial addition of 'r' (prothesis) as in :—
ram <am (mangoe), ramsa <amasa (dysentery), rodzha <ojha or ojha (exorcist), rukil <ukil (pleader).
- (c) Initial 'l' is sometimes replaced by 'n' as in :—
nobon <lobon (salt), nokkhi <nochumi <luxmi (a goddess).
- (d) Internal 'n' with a vowel attached to it, if it is followed by a second nasal, changes to 'l' as in :—
dzoloni <jɔnɔni (mother), chilān <chinān <sinān <snān (bathe).
- (e) In certain verbs forms 'ch' is pronounced as 's' as in :—
geis'e <geiche (gone), koris'e <koriche (done), khais'e <khaiche (eaten).
- (f) Aspirate plosives lose their aspiration in the middle as in :—
bondu <bondhu (friend), adek <adhek (half), soba <sobha (beauty).
- (g) Initial consonants are aspirated as in :—
bhasa <basa (nest), khètha <kātha (torn cloth).
- (h) Contraction of vowels as in S.C.B. (West Bengal) does not occur in this dialect. Thus 'dzalua' but not 'jele' (fisherman), 'thakia' but not 'theke' (having remained), 'koribar' but not 'kɔrbar' (for doing), 'koria' but not 'kore' (having done), 'rakhia' but not 'rekhe' (having kept) maiya' but not 'meyer' (wife in Rajbansi, daughter in S. C. B.), 'dzarua' but not 'joro' (suffering from fever), 'thakurani' but not 'thakrun' (goddess).
- (i) There are cases where instead of contraction there is lengthening of words as in :—
mao <ma (mother), paṭa <paṭ (jute), tetli <tetul (tamarind), pa-o <pa (leg). Some of these words are often nasalised e.g. mǎo, pǎo etc.

Presence of Ephenthesis and Umlaut :—

One of the most important difference in the Rajbansi dialect from S.C.B. of West Bengal is to be found in the restricted use of Ephenthesis and Umlaut. The East Bengal dialect stops at Ephenthesis but in Rajbansi dialect both Ephenthesis and Umlaut are rarely seen. The anticipated 'i' before a consonant (Ephenthesis) is sometimes pronounced and in some cases assimilated with the proceeding vowel or altered or dropped, (umlaut) as in :—

(going) jaitechī <jaiichi <jachi <dʒais'ī <dʒas'ī <dʒachi
(eating) khaitechī <khaici <khachi <khais'ī <khatši
(gone) giachilam <geichinu <gechinu <geis'inu <getsinu

Exception :—(having come) asia <aisia

Generally the vowels do not change as in :—

(have done) 'koril' but not 'korilo'.

(of own country) 'dese' but not 'disi'

Some more illustrations :—

West Bengal		East Bengal		Rajbanshi	
a-j	(আজ)	aidz	(আইজ)	aɟzi	(আজি)
ka-l	(কাল)	kail	(কাইল)	kali	(কালি)
che-le	(ছেলে)	(ch) hailè	(হাইল্যা)	chaila, halia, halua	(ছাইলা) (হালিয়া) (হালুয়া)
				choa, chaoa	(ছোয়া) (ছাওয়া)
je-le	(জেলে)	ɟzailè	(জাইল্যা)	ɟzalia, ɟzalua	(জালিয়া, জালুয়া)
kor-le, kolle	(করলে, কল্লে)	koirlo	(কইরলো)	koril	(করিল)
manus	(মানুষ)	manus	(মানুষ)	mansi	(মানষী)
masi	(মাসী)	mausi	(মাউসী)	mousi, mosi	(মোউসী, মোসী)
rat	(রাত)	rait	(রাইত)	(r) ati	(আতি)
rekhe	(রেখে)	raikhè	(রাইখ্যা)	(r) akhia	(আখিয়া)

Vowel harmony :

It means the alteration of vowel through the influence of a preceeding or following vowel. This alteration is different from the S. C. B. of West Bengal but nearly agrees with the East Bengal dialect.

The initial 'a' (আ) is sometimes changed to 'ò' (অ) or 'o' (ও) e. g. pakhi < pokhi, gach < gòch but gòhòna < gahena ; The 'e' (এ) preceeding the vowels o, a, e, o is not always changed to 'è' (এয়া) in this dialect. Thus 'ekta' (one) is spoken as 'eketa' or 'ekheta' (একেটা o-r এখেটা) but rarely as 'èkta' (এয়াকেটা) ; 'dekhe' (having seen) is not spoken as 'dèkhe' (দ্যেখে) but as 'dekhia' (দেখিয়া) ; while 'deo' (spirit) is spoken as 'dèo' (দ্যাও), thus 'sunday' is expressed as 'dèobar' (দ্যাওবার), but the verb (to give) is not generally spoken as 'dèo' (দ্যাও) but as 'deo' (দেও). ('deo' in Rajbansi dialect means 'sprit')

The S. C. B. of West Bengal change of intervocal 'ò' (অ) or 'a' (আ) into 'u' (উ) in view of 'i' or 'i' (ই or ঐ) at the end of the word does not apply in this dialect e. g. 'urani' (scarf) is not spoken as 'uruni' ; 'kural' (axe) not as 'kurul' ; 'sòhòria' (towns man) not as 'sohure'.

The S. C. B. of West Bengal change of the last vowel 'a' to 'e' or 'o' does not occur in this dialect e. g. 'miṭha' (sweet) but not 'miṭhe' (মিঠে) ; 'puḍza' পূজা - worship) but not 'pujo' (পূজো) ; ṭsua (চুয়া - well) but not 'kuo' (কুয়ো).

Behaviour of certain consonents :-

The S. C. B. of West Bengal has a tendency of dropping an internal 'r' (in conjunction with a consonant). It is also found in Rajbansi dialect. But the tendency to drop the internal 'h' (হ) in S. C. B. is not found in Rajbansi dialect.

Thus :—

St. Bengali		S. C. B. of W. B.		Rajbansi	
koriache	(করিষাছে)	koreche	((কোরেছে)	kocce	((কোচে)
moriache	(মরিষাছে)	moreche	(মরেছে)	mocce	((মোচে)
surjya	(সূর্য্য)	sujjo	(সূর্য্য)	sujjè ('bela' or 'bela')	(সূর্য্য) ((বেলা, ব্যালা))
cahe	(চাহে)	caë	(চার)	cahe, ṭsahe	(চাহে),
gahe	(গাহে)	gaë	(গার)	gahe	(গাহে)
gahilo	(গাহিল)	gailo	(গাইল)	gahil	(গাহিল)
kòhe	(কহে)	kòë	(কর)	kòhe	(কহে)

Exceptions :—

uha < uaë (he or that) ; jaha < ɟzaë (who or which).

Some earlier Bengali forms inherited from Prakrit are also preserved to some extent in the Rajbansi dialect :—

e.g. haṭṭ (in the hand), gòchṭ (on the tree), ɟṭṭṭ (in the water), maṭṭ (in the field), hēṭṭ (under), mao (mother), ga-o (body), pao or pāo (leg), ba (father) etc.

Accidence

The Noun

Gender :-

In respect of gender the Rajbansi dialect follows the Standard Bengali feminine form by changing the last vowel into 'i' or by adding 'ni' to the masculine.

Thus somaru-somari ; mongru-mongri ; dzonaku-dzonaki, poharu-pohati ; tsengra-tsengri-i ; buta-buri ; mama-mami ; deunia-deunia-ni ; kumar - kumar-ni. Sometimes the suffix 'ni' leads to some vowel changes in the word:

Thus : bhot - bhut-ni ; dom-dumni ; tsor ; tsurni ; kots ; kuts-ni ; ghora - ghur-ni - kotna ; kut-ni etc.

The neuter gender does not change forms in feminine : gdech (m & f), ghdr, pathdr, dzd', tsua etc.

Number :

There are two numbers, singular and plural. The affixes 'la', 'gila', 'gula' ghdr' are commonly added to the singular to form plural. The standard Bengali form 'ra' is not used. Thus :- dhan (s), - dhan-la (pl) ; mansi (s), mani-la ; mansi-gila, mansi-gula (pl) ; chaoa (s), - chaoa-la, -gila, -gula (pl) ; pathor (s), -pathor-la, -gila, -gula (pl) ; mui (s), hamra-la (pl). A more idiomatic plural is formed by adding 'ghdr' e. g. bura (oldman) (s), -burar-ghdr (pl) ; dakṭar babu (doctor) (s), . dakṭar babur-ghdr (pl) ; halua (cultivator) (s), -haluar-ghdr (pl) ; 'gorib' (poor) (s), -goriber-ghdr (pl) etc.

Case :-

The number of cases are eight as in Sanskrit e. g. Nominative, Accusative, Instrumental, Dative, Ablative, Genitive, Locative and Vocative, The formation of cases is nearly similar to the Inflections and Post-positions as in Sanskrit or Standard Bengali. They have been illustrated in the vocabulary, a summary of which is noted below.

Case.	Singular	Plural
Nominative—	mui	hamra, hamra-la
	tui	tomra
	mansi	mansi-la, -gila, -gula
Accusative	mo-k	hamra-la-k
	to-k	tomra-la-k
	mansi-k	mansi-la-k, -gila-k, -gula-k
Instrumental	mok-dia	hamralak-dia, hamrak-dia
	tok-dia	tomralak-dia
	mansk-dia	mansilak-dia, gilak, - gulak dia
Dative	mor-bade	hamralar-bade
	mo-k	hamra-la-k
	tor-bade	tomralar-bade
	mansir-bade	mansi lar, gilar, gular-bade
	mansi-k	mansi-la-k
Ablative	mor-thaki	hamralar-thaki
	mor-hate	hamar-hate
	tor-thaki, tor-hate	tomralar-thaki, -hate
	mansi-thaki	mansilar, gilar, gular-thaki
	mansi-hate	mansi-la-hate
Genitive	mo-r	hamra-la-r, hama-r
	to-r	tomra-la-r
	mansi-r	mansilar, gilar, gular
Locative	mor-the (ঠ)	hamralar-the; hamar-the
	tor-the	tomralar-the
	mansi-the mansi-t	mansilar, gilar, gular-the
	mansir-the	mansi-la-the

'K' is pronounced as (ক) - 'K' short aspirate.

Vocative : The nominative forms are preceded or followed by one or the other of the following interjections :-

're', 'o', 'hðē', 'ge' 're' is used for youngers, or of the same age or status (usually to males), 'ge' for women, 'o', 'hðē' usually to elders. There is no hard and fast rule.

The neuters are declined in the same way as above e. g.-pathor, -pathor-la ; pathoro-k, pathorla-k ; pathor-dia, pathorla-dia ; pathorer-bade, pathorlar-bade ; pathor-thaki, pathorla-thaki ; pathor-hate, pathorla-hate ; pathor-er, pathorla-r athor-ot, pathorla-t. In plural 'gila', 'gula' are also used.

Words and sentences indicating numbers and cases.

Singular

I. - mui,
To me - mok
By me - mok dia,
For me - mor bade, mok
From me - mor thaki, mor hate,
Of me - mor
from me - more-the
Man - mansi
To man - mansi-k
By man - mansi dia
For man - mansir bade, mansik,
From man - mansir thaki, mansir hate
Of man - mansir
From man - mansir the
Stone - pathor, sil
To stone - pathoro-k
with stone-pathor dia
For stone - pathor-er bade
From stone-pathor hate
Of stone - pathor-er
On stone-pathorot

Plural

we-hamrala, hamra
to us - hamrala-k, hama-k
by us - hamralak dia ; hamak dia
for us - hamrala-r bade, hamrala-k, hamar bade
from us-hamralar thaki, hamar hate.
of us - hamarlak, hamar
from us - hamralar the, hamar the (ð)
men - mansi-la, mansi-gila
to men - mansilak, mansi-gilak
by men - mansi-lak dia, mansi-gilak dia
for men-mansilar bade, mansi-gilar bade, mansilak.
from men - mansilar thaki, mansi-gilar thaki mansi-la hate.
of men - mansi-lar, mansi-gilar
from men - mansilar the, mansi-gilar the.
stones - pathor-la, sil-la, sil-gula
to stones - pathor-la-k
with stones-pathor-la-k dia
for stones - pathorlar bade
from stones - pathor-la hate
of stones - pathor-lar, pathor gilar
on stones - pathor gilat.

Note : Sometimes the word 'bade' is used to denote 'for' or 'because' or 'in the interest of' e. g. I have done this for you-tomar bade eita konnu. Because of me that you could have been married - more bade tor bihao hoil.

Nominative :

I go - mui dzacho
A man goes - ekna mansi dzache or ekna mansi dzache
Men go - mansila dzache
Two men went away - dui dzhòn mansi tsoli geil, dono dzhòn mansi tsoli geil.
Two of them went away - omrar dui dzhòne tsoli geil ; omar dono dzhòne tsoli gel ; omar dui dzhòn mansi tsoli geil.
Five men will eat to day - adzi pats dzhòn mansi khabe
All do like this - soggaë ei-mòn kðre, soggaë ei-moton kðre, soggaë ei-mong kðre.
I had a sound sleep - mui khib nin genu.
I reached home after walking two miles - mui ek kos ghuri barit asinu
I walked for three days - mui tin din asta hatinu (beranu).

Dative and Accusative :

Call him - ð-k ðaki deo, ua-k ðakao, umak ðakao, umhak ðako.
Convey my respects to him - uma-k mor bhokti dis.
Drink this water - dzbl-tak khao, eita dzbl khao.
Give food to the poor - goriber ghòr-ðk khorak dis.
Mother is feeding her child with milk mao choak khouda khoache (or 'choatak)
He gives much money to our school - omra hamarlar iskulok dherla taka deë ((१३)).
Pay me two rupees - mo-k dui-ta taka de.
Sing me a song - mo-k ekna gahan sunao (or-'ekna')
To you - tok or tðk (to-k , tð-k).
To his son - uar bèta-k, or choa-k or choata-k.

Note : In case of elders 'umak', 'umarlak' or 'umra-la-k' is used. The word 'khao' is used to mean both drink and eat. The word 'khouda' means milk. It is used in Terai, Jalpaiguri Duars where 'dudh' means woman's breast. In Cooch-Bihar and part of Jalpaiguri (Rajgunj and Sadar) the word 'dudh' means milk. The word 'deo' is used in place of 'de' in case of elders.

Instrumental :—

I am writing with a pen - mui kòlòm dia nèkhechu (nèkhechò)
 I am pairing the pencil with a knife - mui katari dia (r)ul kaṭechi (katechò) - 'r' is not pronounced.
 I shall till the land by the cultivators-mui haluak dia bhui tsasa'im.
 He is writing with a pen - ðē kòlòm dia nèkheche (ཐེ - ðy).
 He is cleaning a stick with a knife - ðē katari dia naṭhi maṭhaṭse.
 Mother is feeding milk with a spoon-mao dzhinai dia khouda khilache.

Ablative :—

From the field - maṭh hate, ḍanga hate.
 He fell down from the tree - ðē gòch hate poil or poril (ðy).
 I am coming from the town - mui bòndòr hate aisecho (asechu).
 My brother is younger to me by three years - mor bhai mor thaki (hate) tin bòchrerò chòto (ཅེ་ཏོ).
 Oil is made from mustard-sorsa thaki (hate) tèl hðē (hðy).
 Raise water from the well-tsua (paṭki) thaki (hate) ḍzòl ðṭhao (འཕྲུལ་ཤུའོ).
 Tears fell from the eyes - tsok (tsouk, tsokhu) thaki (hate) ḍzòl poil.
 The temple is seen from our house-hamarlar (hamralar) bari thaki (hate) mondil dekha ḍyache.
 Water falls from the cloud - mègh thaki (hate) ḍzòl pòre (སྐལ་ཤུའོ).
 Elephant is the biggest amongst the animals - ḍzontular moddhot hati sòggar thaki (hate) bðro.
 Elephant is bigger than horse - ghòra thakia hati bðro, hati ghòra hate bðro. (བཟ་ - S. C. B. བཟ་ཏོ)
 Queen is the most beautiful of all - (r) anir ḍhòk soggar thakia bhal. ('r' is not pronounced)
 Shyam is better than Ram - ('r') is not pronounced, Amer thakia Syam bhal.
 This house is more pretty than yours - ei baritar ḍhòk tor bari thaki bhal.

Note : The word 'sòggar' is sometimes spoken as 'soggar', 'sòggare', 'sogare' 'sògare'. The word 'dhòk' means-appearance, body built.

Genitive :-

Mechang of bamboo - base-r tsngra (khara). There is nasalisation sometimes. as 'bãser'
 Pillow of cotton - tular - sitan
 Fish of water - ḍzòle-r mach
 House of me (my house)-mo-r bari
 Ornament of silver - (r) upa-r gahena. (r) is not pronounced
 Property of father - bap-er sompotti.
 Varendra of the hut - ghòr-er tsali (dhap).

Locative :-

He has come last night - kali ait-òt (ati-t) ðē acce. (མཚན་མེད་)
 He has fallen in great distress-uaē khib dukk-òt (or duskot) pocce.
 In the field - maṭh-òt, ḍanga-t.
 The boy is playing in the room-tsengraṭa ghòr-òt khelache.
 There are tigers in the Himalayas-Himalaya pahar-òt bagh ache.
 There is some jute in his out house - baṭ (ḍari) ghòr-òt kònek paṭa ache.
 There is a tree in the outer yard - khollat - èkna gòch ache, kholto-t èkna gòch ache.
 ('ot' after consonants and 't' after vowels)

Vocative :-

come here - ei-ṭhe aiso, e-tti aisen, hi-tti aiso.
 come to me - mor-ṭhe aiso, hamar-ṭhe aisen, mor-ti aiso.
 Go up - upor-òt tsòro
 Go into water - ḍzòl-òt namo.
 Lie down - tha-k, thake-k
 Look there - oiṭhe dèkho, otti dekh, hutti dek.
 Well Gentlemen what are you doing-babu-gila (babur-ghòr) bosì bosì ki koribar dhoccen bare.

Note :- 'Mor-ti'-here 'r' is short. It sounds like 'motti'. 'thak' sometimes means wait, e.g. tomra ciṭhe thaken mui asechò - you

wait here, I am coming. The word 'baccao' is sometimes used to mean 'wait' (thaken). The words 'dèkho' 'dekh', 'dek' are interchangeable ; 'dèkhō' is generally used for elders. The word 'Bare' is used while addressing friends. It corresponds S. C. B. 'o-he'.

Well boys, why so much noise ?—re tsengra-gila, kitač eto kètsal (katsal) कागल, कागल
Where are you ?—kunthe acho, tòmra kothe achen (to elders)
Which direction ?—kun-the, kun bhitti, kutti, kōñhi, kon pakhe.

Note :—Some uses of the word 'khaoa' - (usually means to eat and also to drink).

To eat - khaoa, khoa.
To be angry - (r) ag khaoa ; (r) not pronounced.
To be afraid - hatas khabu.
You will be punished - tui thela khabu.
It is necessary for me to go - mor dzaaoa khāč (khay).
This work will take one month to complete - eila kam ek mas khabe.
Who will like me - mui kar pòchòn kham.

Vocatives.

Father calling his son Nindalu	as - Nindalu-re, re-Nindalu
Nindalu calling his father	" - o-ba, hðč-ba (hðy)
Elders calling the youngsters	" - ba-u, bau-re, hðč-re-bau
Father calling his daughter	" - mai-ge
A woman calling her elder sister	" - bai-ge, bai-gu, ai-ge
A woman calling her younger sister Phulti	" - phulti-ge, mai-ge
A woman addressing a woman of the same rank	" - e-mai, mai-ge
A child calling its mother	" - ai-ge, mao
A man calling his wife while inside the house	" - ghorni-ge, gitthani-ge, (গিথানী) pareani-ge, (child)'s mao
A tenent calling his land-lord	" - hðč-deunia. o-deunia, o-paroi, o-giri,
Exclamation	" - hui, hðč.

The Article :-

In singular 'ta' is affixed in all cases. S. C. B. forms 'ti'. 'khana', 'khani', 'gach' are never used, Thus :- mansi-ta, pahar-ta, choa-ta, ghòr-ta (the man, the hill the child, the hut).
In plural 'la', 'gila', 'gula' are affixed. (guli' is never used).
Thus :- mansi-la, babu-gila, pahar-gula, also the following forms are used :- pāts-ta, pats-ta, sat-tatòng (seven colours).
The numeral 'ek' (one) is expressed as 'ek' to serve as the English equivalent of the English indefinite article 'a' 'an'
The numeral 'ek' or 'ek' is commonly used with 'ta', 'na',
Thus :- ek-ta-mansi (a man), èk-na-katha (one story).

The Adjective :-

Adjectives in Rajbansi dialect are not modified according to the number of case of the noun they qualify. It is different from Sanskrit or Standard Bengali where 'a', 'i' or 'ini' are added in the feminine gender.

Note The word 'bahe' means 'baba-he' and is generally used to call elders. It is never used to call wife's brother, wife's sister's husband and brothers of all descriptions. It may be used to call the son-in-law. It corresponds S.C.B.—babu.

The word 'mai' corresponds S.C.B. - khuki
 „ „ 'bau' „ - khoka
 „ „ 'bai-ge' „ - didi go
 „ „ 'ai-ge' „ - ma-go
 „ „ 'hui', hoe „ - o-he, o, e-ki
 „ „ 're' is used to call only males
 „ „ 'ge' is used to call only women.

The Pronouns :

These have been described in the vocabulary. A summary is given below.

Rajbanshi		English		St. Bengali	
Sing.	Plu.	Sing.	Plu.	Sing.	Plu.
mui	hamra	I	we	ami	amra
tui	tomra	thou	you	tumi	tomra
taè, òè, uaè, uāè	omra	he she	they	se	tahara
èhè, uāe, ei	emra, ei-la	this (man)	these	ci	ihara
heiṭa, eiṭa	heiṭa-la, ci-la	this (article)	these	eṭa	eiguli, eisob
ðè, uaè, òè, uāè	omra	that (man)	these	oi	uhara, tahara
seiṭa, hoṭa, huiṭa	seiṭa, hoṭa, hu-la	that (article)	these	sci	seiguli
kaè, kāè, dzae	kaè, kāè	who		ke	kahara
dzeiṭa	dzeiṭa	which		je, ieta	ic-gula, ei shòt

Note :—‘tomra’ is equivalent to ‘aponi, aponara’ of S.C.B.

‘omra’ is equivalent to ‘tini, tãhara’ of S.C.B

‘emra’ is equivalent to ‘ini, ihãra’ of S.C.B

Pronouns and honorifics

When speaking to elders the plural form is used as singular

1st. person :

I - mui, (honorific) - hamra, hamra-la, hamra-gila, hamra-gula.

We - same as honorific singular.

2nd. person :

Thou - tui, (honorific) - tomra,-ia,-gila,-gula.

You (singular and plural) - same as honorific singular.

3rd. person :

He - taè, uaè, uāè, òè, (honorific) - omra,-la,-gila,-gula.

They - same as honorific singular.

Near demonstrative :

This - èhè (এহে), uaè, ei, eiṭa.

This (honorific) - emra, - la, - gila, - gula ; ei - la, - gila - gula ; èmhaè (এমহা)

Those - same as honorific singular ; also - èmha (এমহা)

This (object) - heiṭa, eiṭa

Those - heiṭa - la, - gila, - gula ; ei-la, - gila, - gula.

Far demonstrative :

That (man) - òè, uaè, òè (ওহে, উহা, ওহ)

That (honorific) - omra,-la,-gila,-gula.

Those - same as honorific singular.

That (object) - hoṭa, oiṭa.

Those - hoṭa-la,-gila,-gula ; oi-la,-gila,-gula.

Relative : (here honorific is nasalised)

Who - kaè, (honorific) - kāè, dzeiṭa (কাহে, কাহে).

Whosoever - dzeila.

What - ki, kon (কি, কন)

Which - dzeiṭa.

A few sentences :

Your book - tor bohi (hon. sing and plural) - tomralar bohi.
Your house-tor ghòr, (hon. sing. and plural) - tomralar ghòr.
My cloth - mor kapra, (hon. sing and plural) - hamralar kapra.
That time of the day - se-na, hu-bela.
This time of the day - ena, hi-bela.
What time of the day - dze-na.
This sort of expression - inong katha, ie-nong katha, hi-nong katha.
Such a day - hinong din, himon din.
What sort of man - kènong mansi, kinong mansi.

A few sentences indicating honorifics and plurals :—

Old man is going - bura dzache.
- do - (honorific) - burar-ghòr dzache.
Old men are going - burar-ghòr dzache.
Uncle is going - mama dzache.
- do - (honorific) - mamar-ghòr dzache.
Uncles are going - mamar-ghòr dzache.
Doctor is going - daktar dzache.
- do - (honorific) - daktar babur-ghòr dzache.
Doctors are going - daktar babur-ghòr dzache.
Village head men is going (hon) - deuniar-ghòr dzache.
Village head men are going - deuniar-ghòr dzache.
I shall till the land by the cultivators—haluar ghòròk dia mui bhui tsasaim.
No body looks after the poor - goriber-ghòròk kãhòy na dèkhen.

Syntax.

- (a) The order of words in a simple sentence is the following :—

Nominative + indirect object + direct object + verb, as in Standard Bengali but the negative particle is always placed before the verb e. g. :—

Mui barit na achinu—I at-home not was staying.
I was not at home.

- (b) The middle verb (copula) is frequently omitted as in Standard Bengali e. g. :—

‘Nalasing bhalkona nòtkhotia tsengra. Uaë kahor katha na-sone.’

Nalasing (is) a very wicked boy. He of any body advice (does) not listen. Nalasing is a wicked boy. He does not listen to anybody’s advice. ‘Atir andar kònek nai-ro—of the night darkness a little not (is). The darkness of the night is no more.

The syntax of Rajbansi dialect in other respects generally follows that of Standard Bengali.

Mood.

Indicative :

I have read this book—Mui boikhan porichu
I am reading this book—Mui boikhan poriber dhoccu
I shall read this book—Mui boikhan porimo
Will you read this book—Tomraë ki boikhan poriben.

Infinitive

I want to go—Mui dzabar tsahochi
He wants to come—dë asibar tsahc
To walk is good for health—Beraile gòtòrta bhal dhe.
He went to see his son—Uaë omrar choatãk dekhibar geise (dekibar-tane).

Imparative

Go - dzao, dzão, dzao kène, dzao kène bare (যাও কণনে বারে)
Stand up - Kharao kène
Come here - etti aisek, etti aisen kène bare.

The Verb

The verbs have three simple tenses viz. Simple Present, Simple Past and Simple Future. There are also three compound tenses viz. Present Progressive, Present Perfect and Past Perfect. There are two moods viz Indicative and Imperative.

Imperative 'go' - dzao, 'go' (in future) - dzaibe.

Tenses are made up as follows :—

Verb - to go - dzacho, dzachò, dzăcho, dzachu, dzăchu.

Simple present :-

I go etc. - mui dzacho, dzachu ; tui dzao, dzachen ; ðě dzache, dzăě.

Simple Past :

I went etc. - mui geichu ; tui geichis, geichen ; ðě geiche, geichen.

Simple future :

I shall go etc. - mui dzam ; tui dzabo, dzaben ; ðě dzabe, dzaben.

Present progressive (continuous) :

I am going etc. - mui dzachu ; tui dzachis, dzachen ; ðě dzache, dzachen.

Present perfect :

I have gone etc. - mui geichu : tui geichis, geichen ; ðě geiche, geichen.

Past perfect :

I had gone etc. - mui geichinu ; tui geichil, geichilen ; ðě geiche, geichen.

Verbs are generally declined like the S.C.B. but are simple in nature. An attempt has been made in the following pages to decline the verbs more thoroughly.

Verb.

To go - dzachě, dzachu.

Present tense.

I go - mui dzacho, mui dzao, mui dzachu

We go - hamrala or hamra dzai or dzachi

Thou goest - tui dzao, dzachis ; tomra dzao (to elders)

You go - tomra dzao ; tomrala dzachen (to elders)

He goes - uaě or ðě dzaě ; omra dzaě (to elders)

They - omrala dzaě, dzache ; omra dzaě (to elders)

Note : 'tomra' is also spoken as 'tòmra'.

Past tense.

I went - mui geichu

We went - hamra geichi

Thou went - tui geichis ; tomra geichen (to elders)

You went - tomra geichen ; tomrala geichen (to elders)

He went - uaě or ðě geiche ; omra geichen (to elders)

They went - omrala geichen ; omra geichen (to elders)

Future tense.

I shall go - mui dzam

We will go - hamrala dzamo

Thou shalt go - tui dzabo ; tomra dzaben (to elders)

You will go - tomrala dzaben ; tomra dzaben (to elders)

He will go - uaě or ðě dzabe ; omra dzaben (to elders)

Present Progressive.

I am going - mui dzacho, dzachu
We are going - hamrala dzachi
Thou art going - tui dzachis, dzachit ; tomra dzachen (to elders)
You are going - tomrala dzachen ; tomra dzachen (to elders)
He is going - uaë or oë dzachen ; omra dzachen (to elders)
They are going - omrala dzachen ; omra dzachen (to elders)

Present Perfect.

I have gone - mui geichu
We have gone - hamrala geichi
Thou hast gone - tui geichis ; tomra geichen (to elders)
You have gone - tomrala geichen, tomra geichen (to elders)
He has gone - uaë or ðë geiche
They have gone - omrala geichen ; omra geichen (to elders)

Past Perfect.

I had gone - mui geichinu
We have gone - hamra geichinu, hamra-la geichinu
Thou had gone - tui geichil ; tomra geichilen (to elders)
You had gone - tomrala geichilen ; tomra geichilen (to elders)
He had gone - uaë or ðë geiche ; omra geichilen (to elders)
They had gone - omrala geichen ; omra geichen, geichilen (to elders)

Other tenses.

I have been going - mui dzabar dhoccu, dzachu, dzao.
Having gone - dzëa (རྩེ་ཤིག).
Gone - gechil, geichil, geicho, geichu, geisu,

Note : Sometimes 'dzachð', dzao are spoken as 'dzächo' 'dzäo' ; 'geichu' as 'geichu' (nasalised) ; 'tomra' as 'tomra' ; 'omra' as 'ðmra'.

Verb - To do - kðro, kðro (རྩོ་)

Present tense.

I do - mui kðro.
We do - hamrala kori
Thou doest - tui koris, kðro ; tomra kðren (to elders)
You do - tomra kðro ; tomrala kðren, tomra kðren (to elders)
He does - uaë or ðë or ðhe kðre ; umra kðren (to elders)
They do - omrala kðren ; omra kðren (to elders)

Past tense.

I did - mui korichu, korinu, konnu, kollu
We did - hamrala korichu, hamra korichi.
Thou did - tui korichis, korichit, korilo, kollo, tomra korichen (to elders)
You did - tomrala korichis, korichen ; tomra korichen (to elders)
He did - uaë or ðë koriche ; ðmra korichen (to elders)
They did - omrala korichil ; omra korichilen (to elders)

Future tense.

I shall do - mui korim, korimo
We will do - hamrala korimo
Thou shalt do - tui koribo, koribu ; tomra koriben (to elders)
You shall do - tomrala koril, koriben ; tomra koriben (to elders)
He will do - uaë or ðë koribe ; omra koriben (to elders)
They will do - omrala koriben ; omra koriben (to elders)

Note :—For elders both 'Tomra' and 'Tomra-la' are used.

Present Progressive.

I am doing - mui korichu, kðrechu
We are doing - hamrala korichi, kðrechi
Thou art doing - tui korichis, korichit, kðrechis ; tomra korichen, kðrechen (elders)
You are doing - tomra korichis ; tomrala korichen, kðrechen ; tomra korichen, kðrechen (elders)
He is doing - uaě or ðě koriche, kðreche ; omra kðreche (elders)
They are doing - omrala korichen, kðrechen ; omra kðrechen (elders)

Present Perfect.

I have done - mui korichu.
We have done - hamrala korichi, kori phèlachi, phelachi.
Thou hast done - tui korichis, korlu, kollu.
You have done - tomra korichis, kðrechit ; tomrala korichen, kollen.
He has done - uaě or ðě or ðhe korilek, koriche.
They have done - omrala korilek, koriche.

Past Progressive.

I had done - mui korichinu, kðrechinu.
We had done - hamra korichino.
Thou has done - tui korichil.
You had done - tomra korichilen.
He had done - uaě or ðě or ðhe koriche.
They had done - omra korichen, kori phèlachen or phelachen. ((ক'রি ফালাছেন, ফলাছেন))

Other tenses.

I was doing - mui koribar dhoccinu, kðrechu.
I have been doing - mui koribar dhoccinu, dhoichinu ; mui korir dhoccinu, dhoichinu
Having done - korìa, kori ; Done - korichu ; Do - kðr, kðrek, kðro.

Present Progressive.

1st. Person.

I am . . . mui
bringing - anechð, anechu
coming - aisecho, asechu
dying - mðrechð, mðrechu, monnu, morir dhoccu
dancing - natsechð, natsechu, natgesu
doing - kðrechð, kðrechu, kðresu
eating - khachð, khachu
enduring - sðhechð, sðhðchu, sohechu
fishing - mats marechð, marechu
getting - pachð, pachu
giving - dèchð, dèchu (দিচ্ছ)
going - dzachð, dzachu
playing - khelachð, khelachu
seeing - dèkhechð, dèkhechu
singing - gahan gahechð, git gachu
speaking - kðhechð, kðhðchu
thinking - bhabechð, bhabechu
walking - berachð, berachu.

Note : 'chu' (চু), is also spoken as 'tsu' (ত্সু)

3rd. person.

You are . . . tui, tòmra (elders)
bringing - anichis, anichit, anichen.

coming - asichis, asichen
 doing - korichis, korichen
 eating - khachis, khachen
 going - dzachis, dzachen
 speaking - kdh̄chis, kdh̄chen, kdh̄ehen
 walking - berachis, berachen.

3rd. person.

He is . . . uaē, dē, dhe (youngers)
 omra (elders)

bringing - aneche, anechen
 coming - aseche, aiseche, aisechen
 doing - kdreche, kdrechen
 eating - khache, khatse, khatzen
 going - dzache, dzachen
 speaking - kdheche, kdh̄dehe, kdh̄chen
 walking - berache, berachen

Note : 'Chen' or 'che' are also spoken as 'tsen' or 'tse'.

While speaking to youngsters the 's' at the end is sometimes replaced by 't' e.g. anichis < anichit.

The words 'anechu', 'mdrechu' are generally used by the villagers living within Rajganj P. S., Jalpaiguri.

Participles

I mui
having brought	— ania, ani
come	— asi, asia. aisia
died	— mori, moria
danced	— natsi, natsia
done	— kori, koria
eaten	— khai, khēa (খাওয়া)
endured	— sohi, sdēa (সওয়া)
fished	— mats maria
got	— paēa, pdēa (পাওয়া)
given	— dia
gone	— dzaēa, dzēēa (যাওয়া)
played	— khelia, kkēlaēa (খেলাওয়া)
seen	— dekhia, dekhi
sung	— gahan or git gaēa, gēēa (গাওয়া)
spoken	— kdēa (কওয়া)
thought	— bhabia
walked	— beraēa

Present perfect.

1st. person :	2nd. person :	3rd. person :
I have — mui	You have — tui, tomra	He has — usē, omra
brought — anechu	— anichis, anichen	— aniche
come — asichu	— asichis, asichen	— asiche
done — korichu	— korichis, korichen	— koriche
eaten — khaichu	— khaichis, khaichen	— khaiche
gone — geichu	— geichis, geichen	— geiche
spoken — kohichu	— kohichis, kohichen, kdh̄chen	— kohiche
walked — berachu	— berachis, beraichen	— berache, beraiche

Note : 'ch' is sometimes spoken as 's' e. g. geiche < geise.

Past Perfect.

In the first person 'chinu' is added to the root e. g.

I had eaten—mui khii-chinu, I had gone—mui geiechinu etc.

In the second and third persons 'chilo' or 'chil' is added to the root e. g.

You had gone—tui gei-chilo, tui gei-chil, etc.

He had gone—dē gei-chilo, dē-gei-chil, etc.

Future.

1st. person :	2nd. person :	3rd. person :
I shall — mui	We will — hamra	he will — omra, òmra
do — korim	— — korimo	— — koribe
eat — khaim, kham	— — khamo	— — khaibe
endure — sohim	— — sohimo	— — sohibe
get — paiym, pam	— — pamo	— — paibe, pabe
go — dzaiym, dzam	— — dzamo	— — dzabe
say — kohim	— — kohimo	— — kohibe

Imperative.

Let the elder brother himself say — dadaē kohuk, dadaē kok (দাদায়ে কোক)

Let you go — tomraē dzao. Let us do — hamraē korim

Let all go — sagaē dzauk. Let them go — omra sagaē dzauk.

In imperative 'y' or 'ē' (য়) is added to the pronoun or noun,

Negatives.

The negative particle is added before the verb e. g.

Cannot do — na-pari; do not do — na-kðren,

do not eat — na-khai; shall not eat — na-khāo, na-khao, na-kham, na-khaim,

Cannot go — na-dzai, do not go — na-dzao, na-dzāo.

shall not go — na-dzaim; na-dzam, na-dzāo.

do not hear — na-sunen.

Note : In some parts of Siliguri Sub-Division of Darjeeling district 'ni' is used in place of 'na'.

Adverbs and Conjunctions.

Above	- upðrðt	Probably	- jhðn, dzhðn (S. C. B - Jeno)
Again	- aro	Quickly	- dzogote
Again and again	- sodaē sodaē	Rather	- buruk
And	- ar	Slowly	- dhilaē (ঢ়িলায়ে)
Because	- bade	So	- ei-mon, oi-mon
Before	- agðt	Soon	- nogote, pðts-kori (পচুকরি)
Below	- hètðt (হাটত)	Than	- cèa, tsèa (চায়া)
But	- kintuk	There	- oiðe
Certainly, truly	- chacaē, chatsaē (ছাচায়ে)	Then	- sèla, sèlaē (স্যালায়ে)
For	- bade	Thus	- ei-mon, oi-mon,
Here	- eiðe	Very	- khib
If	- dzodi, dzukul	With	- nðgðt (নগত)
Immediately	- èlaē, dzhðn kori, dzogote	Why	- kène, ki-taē
Much	- dher-la, bhalek	When	- dzelaē, dzèlaē (ড়ালায়ে)
Now	- èlaē, elane	Yet	- tðhð (তাঁহা)
Otherwise	- na-ten-te		

Different uses of the word dzhon (বান্)

Probably you said - tui dzhon kohilo
Three men - tin dzhon mansi.
You spoke promptly - tui dzhon kori kohilo
Will you go there - tui dzhon dzabo oithe.

A few sentences indicating the use of adverbs :-

Come quickly - dzogote aisen, douri aiso.
Go slowly - dzelte dza (বাগলটে যা)
I am forbidding yet he goes - baron koccu tãhðẽ dzache (তাঁহর)
I shall eat rice and pulses - mui bhat ar dail khamo.
If you do not go to me - tui zukul mor nõgðt na dzais.
Pay down the money otherwise it will not go well with you -
taka de, na-ten-te tomar bhal hobar na hðẽ.
You are to go with me - mor nõgðt dzabar nage.
By the side of the room - ghðrer bðgðlðt (বগলত)
By my side - mor bðgðlðt
By your side - tor bðgðlðt
('bðgðlðt' is often spoken as 'bogolot')

For money - takar bade
For you - tor (tomar) bade.
For that - sei bade, oi tane, ðre bade. (অরে বাদে)
For what - kiser bade, ki tane, ki taẽ, kðne (ক্যানে)
For rice - bhater bade

Like this - hi-nong, ei-nong, hi-danti
Like him - ore moto, oi-nong, uar danti
Like you - tor moto, tor nakhati, tor danti,
tomar nakhati, tomar moto (to elders)

Towards the north - utðr pakhe.
" " west - potsim pakhe.
" " me - mor pakhe.

(The words 'hi-danti', 'uar, danti' and 'tor danti' are
spoken in South Jalpaiguri and North Dinajpur)

Chapter XIII

Vocabulary (General).

The world and nature (Pithibi or dunia)

English	Rajbansi
Air, Wind	- bao (বাও)
Cloud	- mègh, normasing (ঘাঘ, নরমাংসিং)
Country	- muluk (মুলুক)
Cold	- djar (জার)
Darkness	- andhar, andar (আন্ধার ; আন্দার)
Dew, Fog	- darua, dudhua (ডারুয়া ; ডুঁচুয়া)
Earth (ground)	- bhui (ভূই)
Earth (the world)	- pitthibi (পিথিবী)
Eclipse	- girhòn (গিরহণ)
Fire	- ogun (ওগুন)
Flood	- bana (বানা)
Hail	- pathòr (পাথর)
Moon	- tsan (চান)
Moon (full)	- punia (পুনিয়া)
Moon (new)	- amasi (আমাসী)
Rainbow	- bag dhonuk (বাগ্ ধনুক)
Stone	- sil (শীল)
Storm	- dun, dhun (দুন, ধুন)
Sky	- dèoa (দ্যাওয়া)
Thunder	- tsòròk (চরক)
Land and water (bhui ar dzol)	
Bank (of river)	- dhadina; dhadni, dia (ধাদিনা, ধাদনি, ডিয়া)
Canal (from river	
to the field)	- pòiri, dzampoi (পৈরী, জামপৌ)
Canal (from the	
field to the river)	- dari, dzhòra (ডারি ; ডারা)
Ditch (new)	- khèa, khaya (খায়া)
Ditch (old)	- khòndòk (খন্দক)
Drain (big)	- tsorki ; khèa (চোরকি ; খায়া)
Dead river bed	- nodi charon (নোদী ছারণ)
	nodi chera (নোদী ছেরা)
Forest	- bòn, dzangal (বন ; জাঙ্গাল)
Jungle	- dzhar, jhar (জার)
Field (cultivated)	- tsas bari (চাষ বাড়ি)
Field (paddy)	- dhan bari (ধান বাড়ি)
Field (grazing)	- goru bari, bòn tsorai (গোরু বাড়ি ; বন চরাই)
Field (grass)	- ghas bari (ঘাস বাড়ি)
Field (Jute)	- paṭa bari (পাট বাড়ি)
Field (jungly)	- jangal bari (জাঙ্গাল বাড়ি ;)
	binna bari (বিন্না বাড়ি)
Garden (chilli)	- moruts bari (মরুচ বাড়ি)
Garden (flower)	- phul bari (ফুল বাড়ি)
Grove (areca)	- gua bari (গুয়া বাড়ি)
Grove (bamboo)	- bas bari (বাশ বাড়ি)
Grove (plantain)	- kèla bari, kòlo bari (ক্যালা বাড়ি, কলো বাড়ি)

English	Rajbansi
Grove (mango)	- ram bari (রাম বাড়ি)
Field (thatch)	- kheri bari (খেড়ি বাড়ি)
Field (brick)	- ita bari (ইটা বাড়ি)
Forest (sal)	- sal bari (শাল বাড়ি)
Land	- dzomi, bhui (জোমী ; ভূই)
Land (low)	- dðhòla bhui (দহলা ভূই)
Land (very low)	- palan bari,
	palan bhui (পালান বাড়ি, পালান ভূই ;)
Land (high)	- danga bhui (ডাঙ্গা ভূই)
Land (fallow)	- pòra bhui, chòn bhui (পরা ভূই ; ছন ভূই)
Land (fertile)	- saruk bhui (সারুক ভূই)
Land (poor)	- pathari bhui ; dzvòla bhui ; chòba bhui
	(পাথারী ভূই ; জলা ভূই ; ছবা ভূই)
Land (sandy)	- balu bhui (বালু ভূই)
Lake	- dīg (ডিগ)
Pond	- dòba (ডবা)
River	- nodi (নোদী)
" (deep portion	- kura, muni, dðhò (কুরা ; মুনি ; দহ)
" with fathom-	
less water	- othai nodi (ওথাই)
" having man	
deep water	- èk khara dzòl nodi (এক খারা জল)
" that flows	- utra sok dzòl (উতরা শোক জল)
to the north	or utra sok nodi
Sand	- balu, bala (বালু ; বাল)
" (coarse)	- khasang balu (খাসাং বালু)
	khòskhosia balu (খসখোসিয়া বালু)
" (fine)	- peki balu, soru balu (পেকী বালু, সরু বালু)
" bed of a river	
fit for cultiva-	
tion	- pðesti (পরেষ্টি) (in Cooch-behar)
" bed unfit for	
cultivation	- sikosti (শিকোষ্ঠি) (do)
" bed recently	
formed	- òlta (অল্তা) (in Cooch-behar & Dooars)
Stream	- sota, jhora (শোতা ; বোরা)
Wave	- hòrta (হরতা)
Well	- tsua, cua (চুয়া ; কুয়া)
" of c. c. ring	- kui-tsua (কুই চুয়া)
" of earthen	
rings	- patki-tsua (পাটকি চুয়া)
Whirl-pool	- ghuli (ঘুলি)

Animals, birds, fishes, insects, (dzib, pokhi, mach, pòka)

Ant	- papra (পাপড়া)
Ant (red)	- nuṭi (oceophylla amaragdina) (নুটী)

Note :- 1) The word 'বাড়ি' written in Bengali character is pronounced as 'বারি' - Bari is pronounced as 'Bari'.
2) The word Jvòla (জ্বলা) is spoken as dzòla (জলা).

English	Rajbansi	English	Rajbansi
Ant (wood)	- lokha khòṭa, loha khòṭa, kaṭhula nuṭi (sima ruforigra) (লোখা খটা ; লোহা খটা ; কাঠুলা নুটি) (S.C.B. - Majhali)	Elephant	- haṭi, (হাতী)
Ant (black large)	- hoṭa, khòṭa, dai, hòṭa koṭi (raised buttocks) হটা ; খটা ; ডাই ; হটা কোটি (Camponotus compressus)	Hare	- sèsa, bhoṭ (in Terai), (শ্যাশা ; ভোট)
Ant (small)	- kala nuṭi, bana nuṭi (forestalls rain) (কালো নুটি : বানো নুটি)	Heron	- bogila, bogula, (বোগিলা ; বগুলা)
Adjutant (falcon)	- Singni (শিংনী) (S.C.B. Sokun, Hargila)	Kite	- ṭsila, ṭsil-ha, (চিলা ; চিল-হা)
Bat	- bogḍol (বোগ ডোল)	Leopard	- nèkra, hekra. (ন্যাকরা ; হেকরা)
Bear	- bhandi (ভাণ্ডি)	Lizard	- ḍzeṭhi, (জেঠি)
Bird	- pokhi (পোখী)	Mouse	- nèknai, (ন্যাকনাই)
Bird (just able to fly)-	uran kur pokhi (উড়ান কুর পোখী)	Parrot	- ṭiha, (টিহা)
Bull	- arul, sar, aria, (আকুল ; সাড় ; আড়িয়া)	Rat	- mḍsh, sḍlea, salea, (মশ ; সলেয়া ; সালেয়া)
Bull (young)	- damra, (দামরা)	Rat living in under- ground holes	- nindur, (নিন্দুর)
Butterfly	- ṭṣiti, citi, (চিতি)	Scorpion	- ṭsiari, ṭsiari, (চিয়ারী ; চিঁয়ারী)
Caterpillar	- aṭsa, bhua, (অচা ; ভুয়া) (lepidoploran)	Snail (in water ; edible snail)	- guḍzuri, (গুজুরী)
Centipede (ear wig)-	kendua, (কন্ধুয়া) (S.C.B. - Kenno)	Snail (on land)	- samuk, (শামুক)
Cat	- nakar, bilai, (নাকার ; বিলাই)	Sparrow	- ṭeuri-pokhi, ḡḡora, (টেউরী পখী ; গ্যাওরা)
Cat (wild)	- baṭ bilai, bad-bilai, (বাট বিলাই ; বাড বিলাই)	Spidar	- makra, (মাকড়া)
Crow	- kaua, (কাউয়া)	Swallow (tailor bird)	- ṭṣḍṭss pokhi, ṭṣṭs, coco, (চচ পখী ; চচ্ ; চোচো)
Crow (raven)	- ḍhaṭ kaua, (চাট কাউয়া)	Turtle	- kachim, pani mach, sankura, (কাছিম ; পানি মাছ ; সাংকুরা)
Cuckoo	- kuhuli, (কুহুলী)	Wood-pecker	- khuṭa kaṭa pokhi, (খুটা কাটা পখী)
Earth warm	- ṭṣḡera, (চায়া)	Vulture	- hokos, kurua, (হোকোশ ; কুরুয়া)

The Cow (Goru) ; Ox (Bol)

General description (Meaning of some words in English within brackets) :—

Goru dekhite khup (very) ḍhòk (beautiful). Gorur cariṭa ṭhèng (legs) ache, ṭhènger gorot (below) khura (hoofs) ache, duiṭa shing (horns) ache, ḍigḍol (long) duiṭa kan ache, duiṭa ṭsoku (eyes) ache, èkṭa nèngḍor (tail) ache, nèngḍorer hèṭot (below) guṭik (a few) ṭsomoli (hairs) ache, gorur galat ḍigḍol èk khan hòlpḍta (dew lap) ḍzhulia ache, piṭhit (on the back) èkṭa ṭṣḡṭṣ (hump) ache, gorur taman (whole) dehaṭa (body) noa (hairs) dia ḍhaka ache, gorur muk khan ḍigol (long), gorur mukher hèṭer (lower) sarit (row, jaw) èk sari dat ache, mukher bhītḍòṛḍt dui sari piriti (molars) dat ache, goru ḍziba (tongue) dia ṭani (draw) ar dat dia kamraḡ. Gorur bhele gila (many) nam ache. Chòṭḍ te (when very) young, kòhe (its is called) bachur ; baci bachur ar baccha bachur. Dut khoa charile (at the end of suckling) kòhe, aria. Ban kòre dile (after castration) kòhe, bol. Baci gorur bachur hole (after giving birth to a calf) kohe, gai.

The following types of cows are bad :

1. Dzugini ; Nibutsuria (যুগিনী ; নিবুচুরিয়া) hornless cow.
2. Singni khor (সিংনী খোর) — one tooth in the middle is abse nt.
3. Dhòngia (ধনগিয়া) — left leg scratches the earth while walking.
4. Lèngṭa (ল্যাংটা) — a brown mark, like the colour of cow-dung on the buttocks.

The following types are good :

1. Tsam singa (চাম শিঙ্গা) - loosely fitting horns.
2. Mèna singa (ম্যানা শিঙ্গা) - horns flat on head.
3. Tul-daria (তুল দারিয়া) - One horn erect and the other flat on the head.
4. Thar singa (থার শিঙ্গা) - horns erect and point upwards.
5. Bhutka singa (ভুটকা শিঙ্গা) - horns are only 1"—1½" long.
6. Tetli singa (তেতলী শিঙ্গা) - horns flat and bent inwards.
7. Udza singa (উজা শিঙ্গা) - bent horned, big in size, projecting forwards.

Note :- 1) an elephant in a forest is called 'Gonesh' গণেশ
2) a tiger in a forest will not be called as 'bagh'. He is called as 'bacca babu' or 'chepanaka' ছাপানাকা
3) a ripe mango with black spots, (hail hit mango). Is called - 'Kuhuli pada ram.'

Name according to colour :

1. Kala — Black.
2. Dhaola — White.
3. Cila or Tsils — Brown
4. Muga — Chocolate
5. Saola — Ash
6. O'ngcati — Pink
7. Photkaphutki — spotted.

Name of according to habit and special mark :

1. Dzeitha — suddenly gets up and runs.
2. Dhònkia — drags the hind legs while walking.
3. Citia — A white mark on the forehead.
4. Lengtia — A cow dung like coloured ring mark round the loins.

Name of cow according to teeth :

1. Agòr (আগর) - all eight milk teeth intact.
2. Dui dat (দুই দাত) - having two permanent teeth.
3. Cair dat or Tsair dat (চাইর দাত) - having four permanent teeth.
4. Chògòr (ছগর) - „ six „ „
5. Nòya dzuàn (নয়া যুয়ান) - „ eight „ „
6. Kara dzuàn (কারা যুয়ান) - all permanent teeth well developed.
7. Punna dzuàn (পুন্না যুয়ান) - „ „ „ „ become smooth.
8. Ad khan (আদ খান) - half of all teeth worn out.
9. Pani mara (পানি মারা) - all teeth worn out but just visible on the gums.
10. Chò-masa (ছ-মাসা) - all teeth completely worn out. (like a six month old calf).

Name of cow according to giving birth to offsprings :

1. Te-te-si (টে-টে-সী) - give birth to calves every two years.
2. Bòchòr biani (বছর বিহানী) - „ „ „ „ year.

Cattle diseases and their treatment.

1. Khòramina (খরামিনা) - Ulcers between the hoofs. Treatment - made to stand in muddy water.
2. Pèrpèra muha (প্যারপ্যারা মুহা) - Subcutaneous emphysema. Treatment-Dzòl pòra ; Tista-Buri Pudza
3. Bis muha (বিশ মুহা) - Swollen joints-the cow cannot stand. Treatment-Dzòl pòra ; Tista-Buri Pudza.
4. Tèpa (টোপা) - Swollen abdomen with stoppage of stool and urine.
Treatment - Stale rice mixed with ashes of old jute rags.
5. Bhèd - gormi (ভ্যাদ গরমী) - Rinder - pest attack (Cholera - like). Treatment - Dzòl pòra.
6. Guṭhi (গুঠি) - Cow - pox with swollen neck, red eyes, stoppage of urine and stool, swollen patches all over the body, cannot eat. Dies in 48 hours.
Treatment - Dzòl pòra ; Tista - Buri Pudza.

The human body (mansir ga o)

English	Rajbansi
Abdomen	- pèṭ (প্যাট)
Ankle	- bis gaṭhi (বিশ গাঠি)
Anus	- pukṭi (পুক্টি)
Arm	- baha (বাহা)
Armpit	- kakuli (কাকুলি)
Back	- piṭhi (পিঠি)
Beard	- dari (দাড়ি)
Blood	- òkto ; tèz (অক্‌তো, ত্যাজ)
Body	- deha, dhòk (দেহা ; ঢক্)

English	Rajbansi
Bone	- tarua (টারুয়া)
Breast	- dud (দুদ)
Buttocks	- koṭi (কোটি)
Cheek (upper part)	- tsip ; cip (চিপ্)
Cheek (lower part)	- gal (গাল)
Chest	- buk (বুক)
Chin	- thutuli, hotlai (থুতুলি ; হোতলাই)
Complexion	- òng (অং)
Fair	- dhauli (ধাউলি)

English	Rajbansi
Dark	- kalo (কালো)
Elbow	- kilkani (কিলকানি)
Eye	- tsokhu, Coku (চোখু ; চোকু)
Eye brow	- bhuma (ভুমা)
Finger	- nengul (নেংগুল)
Little finger	- kani (কানি)
Middle finger	- madzia nengul (মাঝিয়া নেংগুল)
Thumb	- buri (বুড়ি)
Space between two fingers	- sandzi (সান্জি)
Forehead	- kapal (কাপাল)
Foot	- pao ; p'ao (পাও ; পাঁও)
Groin	- kach (কাছ)
Hand	- hat (হাত)
Heel	- gudda (গুড্ডা)
Hip	- koti (কোটি)
Intestines	- bhuṭi (ভুটি)
Knee	- haṭu ; heṭu (হাটু ; হেটু)

Diseases :

Asthma	- hap-kas (হাপকাশ)
Cholera	- dhum ; bhèd gormi (ধুম ; ভ্যাদ গরমী)
Cold	- Sòròd (সরদ)
Consumption	- khòṣ kas (খস কাশ)
Convulsion	- dzhak ; jhak (জাক)
Cough	- kas ; kh'as (কাশ ; খাঁশ)
Diarrhoea & Vomitting	- dzhara chaṭ (জারা ছাট)
Dysentery	- ramsa (রামশা)
Epilepsy	- tèor ; teuria (ট্যাওর ; টেউরিয়া)
Fever	- dzor (জর)

English	Rajbansi
Leg	- pao ; p'ao (পাও ; পাঁও)
Leg (below the knee)	- mòtska (মচ্কা)
Thigh (above the knee)	- thòlma (থলমা)
Lips	- thoṭ (ঠোট)
Liver	- maṭia (মাটিয়া)
Lungs	- phapsa (ফাপসা)
Moustache	- upor dari (উপর দাড়ি ; মচ)
Nails	- khòlṭa (খলটা)
Pupil of the eye	- moni (মণি)
Ribs	- p'adzor (পাঁজোর)
Shoulder	- kangh (কাংঘ)
Side of the chest	- k'ak (কঁাক)
Skull	- khupri (খুপরি)
Spine	- niddaru (নিড্ডারু)
Spleen	- piloi (পিলোই)
Umbilicus	- nevi (নেভী)
Wrist	- mògra (মগরা)
Waist	- komor (কোমোর)

Fever (continued)	- naga dzòr (নাগা জর)
Fever (with chill)	- kap-dzòr (কাপ জর)
Fever (after a sudden fright)	- tsòmbòk-dzòr (চমক জর)
Hiccough	- heski (হেসকি)
Hysteria	- Chòlòna (ছলনা)
Jaundice	- k'òhòn (কঁাহন)
Measles	- khèsera (খ্যাসেরা)
Pain	- bis (বিশ)
Sneezing	- chik (ছিক্)
Worms ; Chèra [(চ্যারা) as it looks like earth-worm]	- kirmi (কিরমী)

Trees, fruits, flowers and vegetables.

(gbòch, phòl, phul ar sak)

English	Rajbansi
Areca nut	- gua ; kòlòngar phòl, গুয়া ; কলঙ্গার ফল
Bamboo	- bas ; b'as, বাশ ; বাঁশ
„ (strong and solid)	- mom-sali, মোম শালী
„ (hollow)	- thòlla, থল্লা (S. C. B. - makla)
„ (young and small)	- gaḍza ; tèka, গাজা ; ট্যাকা
Banana (plantain)	- kèla ; kòlo, ক্যালা ; কলো
„ (the whole inflorescence, banana flower)	- pir, পীর (S. C. B—K'aidh ; k'adi ; mocha)
„ (a row of bananas)	- dzhuki, cheri, বুকি ; ছেরি (S. C. B—chòra)
Bagbheranda (jatropha curcas)	- bagbhènda, বাগ ভ্যাঙা
Black berry	- kalḍzam, কাল জাম
Brinjal	- baigòn ; bèngòn, বাইগন ; ব্যাংগন
„ (round and fat)	- dhopa baigòn ; dhèpa bèngòn, ঢোপা বাইগন ; ঢ্যোপা ব্যাংগন
Cabbage	- pat kobi, পাত কোবি
Chilli	- moruṭṭ ; mortṭi, মোরুচ , মোরটি
Cloves	- nòng : lòng, নং ; লং
Cinnamon	- dal-tsini, দাল চিরি
Corm	- ol, ওল
„ (long and thick)	- matṭalu ; madzalu ; metsu-alu, মাচালু ; মাজালু ; মেচ আলু
„ (grows underground and the creeper above)	

English

Cucumber (green)
 „ (yellow)
 Fig (non-edible)
 „ (edible)
 Garlic
 Gourd (bottle)
 „ (long)
 „ (pampkin)
 „ (sweet)
 Guava
 Jack-fruit
 Jhinga (Luffa acutangula)
 Jujube
 Lemon grass
 Lõtkka, (Baccaurea Sapide Muell.)
 Maize
 Melon (water)
 Olive
 Onion
 Papaya (carica papaya)
 Pine-apple
 Radish (Raphanus sativus)
 Snake gourd
 Sugar-cane
 Tamarind
 „ (branch)
 Tobacco
 Tree
 Vegetables
 Arum (colocasia)
 „ (small and round)
 „ (early varity)
 Arum (late varity)
 „ (pachomukhi)
 „ (sola-kocu)
 „ (man kocu)
 „ (flower)

Rajbansi

- sōas ; khira, (সঁহাৰল, হিৰা)
 - khira, হিৰা
 - khoksa, (খকসা)
 - dumur, ডুমুর
 - osun ; osuni, ওসুৰ ; ওসুনি
 - kodu, কোদু
 - nau, নৌ
 - panikumra, পানি কুমড়া
 - bhit-kumra, ভিটকুমড়া
 - tam, টাম
 - kathol ; kōtho-al ; katho al, কাঠাল ; কাঠোয়াল ; কাঠোয়াল
 - toroi, তোরোই
 - bogari, বোগারি
 - nikra, নিকরা
 - noktu, নোকটু
 - makoi, মাকোই
 - khormua ; khormundza, (খরমুজা, খরমুন্ডা)
 - dzolpoi, ডোলপোই
 - piādz ; piadzi, পিঁহাজ, পিহাজি
 - tormudz ; tormuts, তোরমুজ ; তোরমুস
 - kathol-supari ; deroloi-kōthol, কাঠোল সুপারী, দেৱোলাই কাঠাল
 - mula ; dhirna, মূলা, ধিৰনা
 - dudh kusi, দুধ কুশী
 - kusiar, কুশীয়াৰ
 - tetli, তেতলী
 - thal ; thail, ঠাল ; ঠাইল
 - tamku ; tanku ; hamku, তামকু ; তামকু ; হামকু
 - gōch ; gach, গছ ; গছ
 - sak, শাক
 - kocu ; kotsu, কোচু
 - mukhi ; sodzi, মুখি ; সোজি
 - kuri kotsu, কুৰি কোচু
 - telipasar (তেলিপাসাৰ)
 - tsomul ; tsomua (kotsu) (চামুল ; চামুয়া (কোচু)
 - batsa ; baksa ; dhl (kotsu) বাত্স ; বাক্স ; দল (কোচু)
 - mana katsu, মান কোচু
 - pēnnet প্যাৰেত

Trees (g'och - গছ) and creepers (neuta, leuta g'och - নেউতা ; লেউতা গছ)

Areca tree - guar gōch গুয়াৰ গছ
 Arum plant - kotsur-gōch কোচুৰ গছ
 Banyan tree - bōt ; bōhōr বট ; বহৰ (Ficus Bengalensis)
 Castor plant - ēnda gōch, এণ্ডা গছ
 Cucumber creeper - sōoaser ; khirar (gōch or neuta) (সঁওহাসেৰ ; হিৰাৰ গছ অথবা নেউতা)
 Jack fruit tree - katholer, kōthoaler gōch কাঠোলেৰ ; কাঠোয়ালেৰ গছ
 Mongo tree - ramer gōch, ৰামেৰ গছ
 Pipal tree (Ficus Rumphii Blume) - Nakitsa gōch, (leaf with short tail) নাকিচা গছ
 Pipal tree (Ficus Religiosa linn) - Pakri gōch, (leaf with long tail) পাকৰী গছ
 Pampkin creeper - kodur gōch (neuta) কোদুৰ গছ (নেউতা)
 Papaya tree - tormutser gōch, তোরমুচেৰ গছ
 Sheorah tree (glyconis pentaphylla) - seora gōch, সেৱা গছ

Note : In Naksalbari area (Siliguri Sub-Division-Darjeeling) 'Gots' means 'a piece of land' or 'a village' usually called 'jote' Example : Dharagots, Monua gots, taka gots etc.—gots < gonjo. Now-a-days the word 'gich' instead of 'gach' or 'gots' is used in many places of Jalpaiguri and Tetai.

Colours (`ong)**English Rajbansi**

Blue - akasi ; nila ; nendia আকাশী ; নীলা ; নেন্দিয়া
 Green - dzangalia, জাঙ্গালিয়া
 Red & Blue }
 Red & Green } - hēla ōng, হালা (অং)
 Red - nal ; ang-a নাল ; আংআ
 Yellow - holdia, হোলদিয়া

Times and seasons (kal ar itu)

Dawn - kalsanji ; kalsandzi ; kalsari, কাল সান্জি ; কাল সারি
 Morning - sakal, সাকাল
 After sun rise - ēk-pōhōr, এ্যাক পহর
 Noon - dui-pōhōr, দুই পহর
 After noon - bhaṭi-bela ; bela-bhaṭi, ভাটি বেল ; বেলা ভাটি
 Evening - sendza ; sōnjha ; sandza, সেনজা ; সনঝা ; সানজা
 First part of the evening - poi-sandza, পোই সানজা
 Night - ati, আতি
 First part of the night - bhat-ninda, ভাত নিন্দা
 Mid-night - ad-ati, আদ আতি
 After mid night - tin-pōhōr-ati, তিন পহর আতি
 Before dawn - sēs-ati ; pohat, শ্যাস আতি ; পোহাত
 Sun rise - bela uṭhi, বেলা উঠি
 Sun set - bela ḍuba, বেলা ডুবা
 Hour - pōhōr, পহর
 Tomorrow, yesterday - kali ; kail
 (difference denoted by verbs)
 কালি ; কাইল
 Day after, day before - udin, udin-ka ; উদিন ; উদিনকা
 To night - adzi-aitōt, আজি আইতত
 Now-a-days - adzi-kali ; ēla, আজি কালি ; এ্যালা
 Year - bōchōr ; sal, বছর ; শাল

Seasons (itu)

Rainy season - boisali din, বৈশালী দিন
 Summer season - gōrōm din, গরম দিন
 Winter season - dzar din, জার দিন

Months (mas)**English****Rajbansi**

April—May - boisak, বৈশাক
 May—June - dzēt, জ্যাট
 June—July - asar, আষাঢ়
 July—August - saon, saun, শাওণ ; শাউন
 August—September - bhador, ভাদোর
 September—October - asin, আশ্বিন
 October—November - katik, কাতিক
 November—December - ōghōn, অঘণ
 December—January - pus, পুষ
 January—February - magh, মাঘ
 February—March - phagun, ফাগুন
 March—April - tsoit চৈত

Days (din)

Sunday - dēo bar দ্যাও বার
 Monday - som bar সোম বার
 Tuesday - mongol bar মঙ্গল বার
 Wednesday - bud bar বুদ বার
 Thursday - bisti bar বিস্তি বার
 Friday - sukur bar শুকুর বার
 Saturday - soni bar শোনি বার

Directions (dik)

North - utor উতোর
 East - pub ; aga ; agōti পূব ; আগা ; আগতি
 South - dokin দক্ষিণ
 West - potsim ; pacha পচিম ; পাছা
 North East - nochumi নছুমী (Isan)
 South East - kangru কাংরু (Agni)
 North West - haria (হাড়িয়া Vayu)
 South West - dhekeru ঢেকেরু (Nairit) } Sanskrit & Bengali

Length of time

Between two market days - haṭ-ra ; haṭwa-ra হাটরা ; হাটওয়ারা
 Daily - din-ra ; দিন রা
 Eighth day after marriag - aṭho-ra ; আঠোরা
 Monthly - maso-ra ; মাসোরা
 Yearly - bōcho-ra ; bōchōr-mari (in case service) - বছোরা ; বছর মারি
 Yearly - sonua (in case of payment of land rent) - সোনা

Town and country (bondor ar garam)**English****Rajbansi**

Bamboo culverts - khōt-khōt - খটখটি (onomotopoetic)
 Bridge (of wood or brick) - pul ; পুল
 Court yard - agina ; আগিনা
 „ (outer) - olthia , khōlto ; chōndar ; chinder ;
 ওলথিয়া ; খলতো ; ছন্দার ; ছিন্দার
 „ (inner) - agina ; egina আগিনা ; এগিনা

English**Rajbansi**

Fence (bamboo) - tsekoar tsekar (fence of land)
 ঢেকোয়ার ; ঢেকার
 „ „ - ṭaṭi ; tsati (of a room) টাটি ; চাটি
 Field - pathar ; danga পাথার ; ডাঙ্গা
 „ (without houses) - nidhua-pathar নিধুয়া পাথার
 Granary (big) - gola ; matsa গোলা ; মাচা

Note : 1) The word 'bela' is sometimes spoken as 'bela' (বাল) specially in Jalpaiguri and Terai, 'bela' is commonly spoken in Cooch-Bihar.

2) Kal Sandzi (Kalsari) khan ohite niklinu—I went out at dawn কাল সান্জি (কাল সারি) খান ওহিতে নিকলিনু।

Note : 1) 'Kangru'—as it points towards Kameksha temple—used in Jalpaiguri and Siliguri. (may be 'Kamru' the real word).

2) 'Nochumi' as transplantation of paddy starts from this angle.

English	Rajbansi
Granary (small & round) - murki	মুরকী
Hut - ghòr	ঘর
House - bari	বাড়ি
„ (compound) - tsatòr ; tsator ; tsator	- চাচর ; চাচার ; চাতোর
„ (land) - bhiṭa	ভিটা

English	Rajbansi
Veranda - tsali, dhap	চালি ; ধাপ
Meadow - danga	ডাঙ্গা
„ long strips of land in a meadow demarcated by ail - phali	- ফালি
„ small pieces of land with embankments around - khotu	- খোতু (details in the text)

Mankind and relations (mansila, sombondho)

Ancestors - sat-got ;	সাত গাত ; siri ;	সিরি
Bachelor - d hēna, tēna	ঢানা, টানা	
Bastard child - dzarua	জারুয়া	
Brother - bhai	ভাই	
„ (eldest) - sòggare bðro bhai	সগ্গারে বড়ো ভাই	
„ (second) - bðro madzkila	বড়ো মাজকিলা	
„ (third) - chðto mdzkila	ছোটো মাজকিলা	
„ (youngest) - soggar chðto ; sisua ; nðndo	সগ্গারে ছোটো ; শিশুয়া ; নন্দো	সগ্গারে ছোটো ; শিশুয়া ; নন্দো (C.F.S.C.B. - Khokon)
Child - chaoa	ছাওয়া	
Co-wife - sòtini ; soutin	সতিনী ; সোতিন	
Daughter - beṭi	বেটি	
Daughter-in-law (son's wife) - bētar bonus ; koina-beṭi	ব্যটার বনুস ; কৈনা বেটি	
Daughter's husband - jamoi ; jñoi ; dzaoi	জামোই ; জাঁওই ; জাওই	
Father - bap ; baba ; olad (old dialect*)	বাপ ; বাবা ; ওলাদ	
Father's sister - pisai ; pisi	পিশাই ; পিশী	
Father's sister's husband - pisa	পিশা	
Father's father - aḍzu ; dado	আজু ; দাদো	
Father's - mother - abo	আবো	
Grand father's father - dada	দাদা	
Grand son - nati,	নাতি	
Grand son's son - pota ; pa-nati	পোতা ; পা-নাতি	
Grand son's daughter - poti ; pa-natini	পোতী ; পা-নাতিনী	
Father's elder brother - jetho,	জেঠো	
Father's elder brother's wife - jethai ; bðrai	জেঠাই ; বড়াই	
Husband of wife's elder sister - jēṭ-poit	জ্যাট পৈত	
Husband of wife's younger sister - sal-poit	শাল পৈত	
Man - mansi	মানসি	
„ (intelligent) - budzankur mansi ; buzruk	বুদ্ধানকুর মানসি ; বুজরুক	
„ (wise) - budzkur ; budzruk mansi	বুদ্ধকুর ; বুজরুক মানসি	
Mother's sister - mosi	মোশী	
Mother's sister's husband - mosa	মোশা	
Mother's father - aju ; aḍzu	আজু	
Mother's mother - abo	আবো	

Man (old) - bura	বুড়	
Man (very old) - dūḍel-meṭa bura	দুডেলমেটা বুড়	
	gulgula bura	গুলগুল বুড়
Relatives - gutia	গুতিয়া	
Sister (elder) - didi ; bai ; bðro bohini	দিদি ; বাই ; বড়ো বোহিন	
Elder sister's husband - bohoni ; boina ; anu	বোহোনি ; বইনা ; আনু	
Younger sister - bohoni	বোহোনি	
Younger sister's husband - bhinsi ; bonu	ভিন্সি ; বোনা	
Unmarried girl (adult) - akuari ; ako-ari ; ao-kari ; kut-turi	আকুয়ারী ; অকো-আরী ; আওকারী ; কুত'তুরী	
Woman (old) - buri ; burati	বুড়ী ; বুড়তি	
„ (with husband living) - bhatatti ; bhatari ; bhataroti,	ভাততি ; ভাতারী ; ভাতারতি	
Woman (general) - beṭi-choa	বেটি ছায়া	
„ (pregnant) - peteli ; gao-bhari	পেটেলী ; গাওভারী	
„ (just after child birth) - poa-ti	পোয়া-তি	
„ (with children) - choa-ti	ছায়া-তি	
„ (newly married) - biha-ti , bia-ti	বিহাতি ; বিয়া-তি ;	
	called as 'Nodari'	নোদারী
„ (legally married) - bias-ti	বিন্নাতি	
„ (worker in marriage ceremony) - boira-ti	বৈরাতি	
„ (turmeric pounder in marriage ceremony) - arha-ti	আরহাতি	
„ (accompanying the bride-groom while going out to marriage) - Mohulani	মোহলানী	
Wife - maiya	মাইয়া	
„ (elder brother's) - bhaudṭi ; bhodṭi	ভাউটী ; ভোডী	
„ (younger brother's) - bhausani	ভাউসানী	
Wife's elder brother's wife - dzēṭ salar maiya	জ্যাট শালার মাইয়া	
Wife's younger brother's wife - salar bonus ; salar maiya	শালার বনুস ; শালার মাইয়া	
Widow - ari ; bidhua	আড়ী ; বিধুয়া	
„ (remarried) - sòngðni ; nikati	সঙ্গনী ; নিকাতী	
Widower - maiya mðra ; mag mðra	মাইয়া মরা ; মাগ মরা	
Widower (remarried) - sòngðna ; sangna	সঙ্গনা ; সাংনা	
Widow's man (not properly married) dangua	ডাঙ্গুয়া	

Terms according to profession

Banana seller - kēla (kòlo) betsa	কাল (কলো) বেচা	Ginger „ - rada (ado) betsa	রাদা (আদো) বেচা
Betel „ - pan betsa	পান বেচা	Grass „ - ghas betsa	ঘাস বেচা
Chilli seller - moruts betsa	মরুচ বেচা	Mango „ - ram betsa	রাম বেচা
Dry fish „ - suṭka betsa	শুটকা বেচা	Oil seller - tēl betsa	তাল বেচা
Fish „ - mach betsa	মাছ বেচা	Fry seller - bhudzari	ভুজারী

Note : In case of woman the word 'batsi' is used for 'betsa'. The word 'betsa' is generally spoken as 'betsa' (ব্যাচা).

English	Rajbansi
Puffed rice seller - muri betsa ; gðengail মুড়ি বেচা ; গ্যাংগাইল	
Shop keeper - dokani দোকানী	
Bamboo dealer - bas-uar বাসুয়ার	
Betel dealer - pan-uar পানুয়ার	
Buyer or seller in a weekly market - haṭ-uar হাটুয়ার	
Cultivated land owner - khèt-uar খ্যাতুয়ার	
Fish dealer - mach-uar মাছুয়ার	
Jute dealer - paṭ-ua পাটুয়া	
Paddy dealer - dhan-ua ধানুয়া	
Plough man - hal-ua হালুয়া	
Straw dealer - ghas-ua ঘাসুয়া	
Buffalo keeper - bhōis-al ভুইসাল	
Cart owner or driver - gari-al গাড়িসাল	
Cloth merchant or seller - kapor-ia কাপোড়িয়া	
Ferry man or boat owner - ghaṭi-ar , ghaṭi-al ঘাটিয়ার ; ঘাটিসাল	
Flute player or flute owner - bāsi-ar , bāsi-al বাঁশিয়ার ; বাঁশিসাল	
Forest owner or dweller - dzangal-ia , dzòngòl-ia জাঙ্গালিয়া ; জঙ্গলিয়া	
Gong beater - ghor-al ঘড়িসাল	

English	Rajbansi
House dweller - ghòr-ua ঘরুয়া	
Lime merchant - tsun-ia চুনিয়া	
Milker (Milk-man) - doh-al (do-al) দোহাল (দোয়াল)	
Musician - badzuni-ar বাজুনিয়ার	
Singer - gid-al , gauni-ar , gital গীদাল ; গাউনিয়ার ; গীতাল	
Town dweller - bòndòr-ia , sòhòr-ia বন্দরিয়া ; সহরিয়া	
Worker - kamai-al কামাইসাল	

Note: A man who always suffer from fever is called 'dzor-ua জরুয়া'
A child not legally born is called 'dzar-ua', জারুয়া

Cultivator owner or tenant - mulan-dar মুলানদার
Guarantor - dzamin-dar জামিনদার
Superior land lord - dzomin-dar জোমীনদার
Landlord - dzote-dar জোতদার
Lease holder - idzara-dar ইজারাদার
Rent collector - tosil-dar তোশীলদার
Under tenant - tsukan-dar চুকানদার
watch man (of village) - tsouki-dar চৌকিদার
,, (of land working under jotedar) - morol মোড়োল

Terms to denote different stages of life

Child :—Just born - kachua (like a turtle) কাছুয়া

About three months old - chòkòl-bòkòl (always moving) ছকল বকল

About six months old - hamkura (just started crawling) হামকুরা

About nine months old - ṭhinga deoa (trying to stand on legs) ঠিংআ দেওয়া

,, 1—2 years old - haṭi-bera (walking) হাটি বেড়া

,, 3—4 ,, ,, - khari-thani, adh-guṭia (started standing or talking) খাড়ি থানি ; আধগুটিয়া

,, 6—10 ,, ,, - hoka-khaoa, tanku-sulka (started smoking) হোকা খাওয়া ; তানকু সুলকা

,, 10—12 ,, ,, - arua ; halua, pach-halua, tsengra (fit for working in the field) আরুয়া ; হালুয়া ; পাছ হালুয়া ; চেংরা

Youngest child of the family - nèndo ; bau (m), mai (f) ন্যান্দো ; বাউ ; মাই

Child (general) - nèndo ; chaoa ; choa ; nenduka ন্যান্দো ; ছাওয়া ; ছোয়া ; নেন্দুকা

Female child - beṭi ; mai বেটি মাই

Boy :—

About 12—16 years old - pat-gabur, dhokra ; dekua ; dekur পাত গাবুর ; ধোকরা ; ডেকুয়া ; ডেকুর

Young :—

More than 16 years old - siyan, gabur, halua, siyan, গাবুর, হালুয়া

Marriageable adult girl - bia-dari ; gabur-beṭi, বিয়া দারী, গাবুর বেটি

Married young man - biha-hoa-bèṭa ; বিহা হওয়া ব্যাটা

Married girl - bihati-beti ; koina ; biasti-mai ; বিহাতী বেটি ; কইনা ; বিয়াস্তী মাইয়া

Child widow (age 6—10) - tseṭul-ari ; phul-ari ; tsitòl-ari ; চেটুল আড়ি ; ফুল আড়ি ; চিতল আড়ি

Advanced age :—

Childless married man - aṭ-kura , bāḍza, আটকুরা ; বাঁজা

Childless married woman - aṭ-kuri ; bāḍzi, আটকুরী ; বাঁজী

Person nearing old age - adha-bòsa (m) ; adha-bòsi (f) ; আধা বসা ; আধা বসী

Terms to denote the character and body built of an individual (in case of man 'mansi', in case of woman-
'beti-choa, maiya')

Arguar - kai-dari ; kai-dzuri ; niyai-tsungi ; muk-ṭaṭu, কাইদারি ; কাইজুরি ; নিয়াইচুঙ্গি ; মুকটাটু ;
(who asserts his/her argument as correct)

(i)

A		B (contd.)		B (contd.)	
	Page		Page		Page
Aban (Child)	238	Badini	31	Bicitrabirjya	19
Adhiar (share cropper)	20, 31	Bag Bhenda	6, 268	Bidagi	73
Adoption	9	Bagdi	12, 14	Bihar	2
Adverb	262, 263	Bahena	161	Bijoyeswar Karji	7
Ahom	4, 5, 10	Bahomari	69	Bir Narayan	6, 7
Age :—		Baikunthapur	3, 7, 8, 9	Birth Customs :—	61
of First feeding	72	Baisak	137, 138, 139, 159	Birth Songs	65
of Marriage	90	Baksa Kochu	48	Burial of Placenta	62
Agrahayana, Aghon (month)	143, 158	Baktyar Khilji	10	Care of the Child	63
Agriculture	48—54	Ballavachariya	6	Complications and Remedies	65, 66, 67
„ of Paddy	48—54	Ban (Arrow)	168, 169	Delivery	62
„ Betel	51	Bananas	45, 268	Labour	62
„ Areca	51	Baneswar	4	Lullaby	68, 69
„ Jute	51, 52, 53	Bangles (Kharu)	3, 38	Lying-in-room	62
„ Tobacco	53	Ban Phirani	169, 170	Name Giving	71
„ Ramie	53	Barber	67	Pregnancy	61
„ Song	54	Bari Bon	166	Birua (Songs)	25, 158
Agricultural Implements	55, 56	Barogopaler Ban	169	Bisahari	4, 134, 136
Ali, Ail	20, 187	Baroi	238	„ Songs	156, 239
Amanulla	5, 6	Barua Mugh	14	Bisoba, Bisua	4, 5, 6, 11, 144
Ambica	19	Baruni	143, 161	Biswa Singha, Bisva Sinha,	5, 6, 7, 18, 33
Ambalika	19	Bas Khela	138, 153	Bisu	60
Amulet	165	Basi Biha	114	Boat	8
Andha Sula (Night Blindness)	172	Basil (Plant)	27, 64, 65	Boda	5, 13
Andhon (After Marriage)	100, 113	Batrishazari	25	Bodo	11
Andhon Ghor (Cooking Hut)	26	Bastu Deity	25	Boileau H.	60
Angikar Patra	9	Bastu Ghor	147	Bombax	233
Angul Dola Khela	78	Bauria	11	Bombhola	169
Animal Husbandry of Goats,		Baverly	164	Borom Ban	5
Pigs, Ducks, Pegions, Hogs	58	Beads	44	Brahmaputra R.	6, 18
Annointing (at wedding)	107, 108	Bel (Tree)	2	Brahmin	12, 14
Apari, Ao-Pari	91	Bengal	3, 18, 31, 51, 238	Bratya-Kshatriya	90
Appeal (Song)	236	Betel	113, 140, 141, 159	Bride Price	31, 165
Areca and Betel Song	238	Bhadra, Bhador	148	Budhan Das	22
Areca Nut	51, 238	Bhadra Kali, Bhodro Kali	66	Bullock Cart	118
Ari (widow)	98, 272	Bhagadatta	12, 14	Burman	173
Arundhati	233	Bhairab	66		
Aryan	9, 13, 17	Bhandani (Deity)	66		
Asa	226	Bhang (Cannabis)	66		
Asar	140, 159, 238, 239	Bhanga Kshatriya	66		
Ashes (Disposal)	120	Bhat Choa	66		
Asiba	230	Bhawani, Bhobani	66		
Asiba Din (Song)		Bhedei Kheli	66		
(Days to come)	240	Bhringi	66		
Asin (Aswin)	141, 142, 159, 270	Bhorul Mala	66		
Asrumati	9	Rhuiya, Bhuia	66		
Assam	5, 6, 11	Bhuj Dev	66		
Asura	5	Bhot	66		
Athora	113	Bhut (Ghost)	66		
Athia Kela	67, 82	Bhutan	66		
Axe	56	Bhuti	66		
		Bhutia	66		
B		Bhut Kali	66		
Bachelor (Quarters)	28				

C (contd.)	Page	C (contd.)	Page	D (contd.)	Page
Cello (Broom) ...	31	Cor Churni (Songs) ...	218-225	Dhona ...	23, 109, 161
Census Reports ...	14	Corpse ...	118	Dhop Khela ...	61, 83, 84
Chakla ...	8	„ Transportation, Construction		Dhorom Thakur ...	139
Chakra ...	135	of the Pyre, Cremation,		Dhritarastra ...	19
Chalan, Calan ...	95, 135, 161	Lighting the Pyre, Gathering		Dhurmusi Por ...	64
Charmurchi ...	4	and Disposal of the frontal		Dialect ...	245-249
Chandan ...	5	Bone ...	118-123	Dinajpur ...	11
Chandra Har; Tsondro Har	3, 38	Cow (varieties) ...	139, 265, 266	Directions ...	270, 271
Chandra Sekhar Dev ...	9	Cow-shed cleaning ...	112	Disease (Fever, Rickets,	
Chaner Man (Refuse Heap)	27	Cuckoo ...	179, 181, 240	Night-Blindness)	
Chaoi (River) ...	61, 163	Curd ...	43	„ Treatment ...	170-172
Charms (to ward off Spirits)	160	Curry ...	45-48	Distribution of Rajbansis	
Charmed Arrow ...	168	Cymbal ...	73, 143, 208	(Demography) ...	1
Chattarjee Suniti ...	13			Divine Orders ...	134
Chauni Puja ...	136	D		Divorce ...	99
Cheka ...	3			Dohi ...	43
Cheltai Barman ...	241	Dabgram ...	7	Do-Kamani ...	65, 67
Chika ...	3, 28, 46	Dahena ...	173	Dokhina Deo ...	164
Chikna ...	5	Daheri ...	173	Door (Cover, Latch) ...	24
Chil ...	125	Dai, Dhai ...	30, 62, 63, 67	Doorga Dev ...	8
Chila Ray ...	6	Dail ...	47	Dor Khela ...	81
Child ...	63, 64	Daily life ...	29	Dotra and Songs ...	216
Childhood ...	67, 68	Dala ...	144, 145	Drum ...	71, 143, 144
„ Bathing, Caressing	69, 70	Dalimkote ...	5	Dual Game ...	78
Chillim ...	3, 29	Dalton ...	11	Duari Thakur ...	61, 65, 147
Choa Bhurka (Lullaby) ...	68, 69	Damodorpur ...	6	Dula, Dulaha ...	102, 103
Choa-khodani ...	64, 65, 150	Dara-gua ...	105	Durga ...	6, 10, 13
Choba ...	45	Dari Ghor ...	23, 29, 30	Duties :—	
Choitra, choit ...	144, 159, 270	Darjeeling ...	5, 9, 14, 88, 95, 115	of Men ...	29
Chokorbondh ...	24	Darpa Dev ...	7, 8	„ Women ...	31
Cholera ...	173	Death ...	118	„ Children ...	32
Cholona ...	161	Purifying the House ...	120	„ Elderly ...	32
Chora Kathi ...	3, 38	Period of Mourning ...	120	„ Well-to-do ...	32
Chori (Pandal) ...	32	Sraddha (Post Funeral Rites)	121	in Winter ...	32
Chorok Puja ...	144, 156	Concept of Soul after Death	122	Dzaf ...	64
Chotrodani ...	3, 88, 95	Deha-Bon ...	166	Dzaga ...	28
Chua ...	28, 64, 66	Delivery ...	62	Dzat-Sinani ...	153
Chush Kuni ...	62	Deo ...	22	Dzethana (Jaistha) ...	139, 159
Chutia ...	4, 5	Deodha ...	134, 139	Dzhapi ...	27
Circumambulation (walking round)		Deo Dhora ...	147	Dzharphuk ...	61
„ in Wedding ...	100	Deori ...	134	Dzhati ...	23
„ in Cremation ...	119	Deosi ...	134, 135, 139, 147	Dzhinai ...	238
Climate ...	2	Desi ...	11	Dzholna ...	63
Cokhabar ...	61	Deviganj ...	6	Dzholla ...	63
Cokro ...	135	Devi Puja ...	66, 141	Dzomidary ...	236
Cokrodhari ...	135	Dhai ...	67, 82	Dzuguni Ban ...	169
Common Sayings, Conok...	179-206	Dhairjendra Narayan	7		
Con (Spirit) ...	163	Dham ...	143, 147	E	
Condi (Deity) ...	66, 162	Dhami ...	134	Earrings ...	37
Construction of Dwelling...	22-27	Dhan (Paddy) ...	48, 249	Elopement and Marriage ...	96, 97
Cooch-Bihar 1, 4, 5, 7, 8, 11, 14, 23,		Dhan Kata (Reaping) puja	143	Ephenthesis ...	250
115, 141, 142, 150, 157		Dhaneswari R. ...	5	Evil Eye and	
236, 245, 246, 247, 248		Dhap Chandi, Condi ...	148	Remedies 61, 63, 65, 66, 160-170	
Cooking Hut ...	26	Dhimol ...	3, 12, 14	Exorcist ...	134
Cor Churni (game) ...	47	Dhokra ...	35, 57	Exorcism ...	170

F	Page	G (contd.)	Page	I (contd.)	Page
Family ...	124	Gondhorok Biha ...	115	Inheritance ...	88, 95, 99
„ Tables ...	125-128	Gorbo Thakurani ...	161	Intermarriage ...	92, 93
F aehpur ...	8	Gormai ...	63	Iron (as Protective) ...	3, 61, 63, 165
Feaures ...	3, 128	Goroknath ...	141, 155	Intoxicants ...	29, 181
Feeding the Community—		Goru (Cow) ...	154, 237	Intrusion Marriage ...	3, 88, 97
95, 97, 98, 101, 112, 115		Goru Tsumani ...	139	Itu, Jitua Puja ...	140
Female Deities—138, 141, 142, 143, 144,		Gossanimari ...	6		
145, 146, 148, 149, 150		Gotra ...	12, 13, 89	J	
Fevers and treatment ...	170	Granary ...	25	Jadu Nath Isore ...	7
Firs Feeding of Rice ...	72	Grierson ...	12	Jagadindra Dev ...	9
Fishing :—	38	Gua ...	238, 239	Jagat Dev ...	8
„ Implements ...	38, 39, 41	Gulapi Sorir Gan ...	217	Jagadiswari ...	9
„ Nets ...	40, 165	Gur (Raw Sugar, reacle) ...	44, 45, 103	Jaganeswari ...	9
„ Other Implements ...	41			Jagannath Puja ...	139
Foods :—	42	H		Jagat Dwipendra Narayan ...	7
Cereals, Pulses, Oils Fas,		Hadi ...	32	Jagendra Dev ...	9
Milk Products ...	43	Hajo ...	5, 11	Jaistha ...	139
Curds ...	43	Harendra Narayan ...	7	Jalpaiguri — 1, 7, 8, 9, 11, 14, 20, 63,	
Meats and Vegetables ...	44, 45	Haria Mandal, Haridas Mech ...	5, 6	66, 88, 93, 94, 96, 102,	
Fruits ...	45	Harivamsa ...	87	115, 121, 140, 141, 142,	
Condiments ...	45	Harvesting :—		145, 147, 148, 149, 151,	
Special Foods— ...	45, 46, 47, 48	of Paddy ...	30	240, 242, 245, 246, 247,	
Funeral Rites ...	119-122	„ Jute ...	30	248	
G		Hater Pater Khela ...	76	Jalpes, Jalpeswar ...	4, 18, 149, 244
Gait E.A. ...	4, 5, 6, 12, 14	Head Man (Deunia) ...	32	Jamadagni ...	6
Ganesh ...	6	Himalaya ...	2, 232	Japeswari ...	9
Ganga ...	233	Hindu ...	4	Jatra ...	32
Gao Bhari ...	61	Hira ...	5	Jayanta Dev ...	7, 8
Gao Bon ...	166	Hodgson ...	11	Jayanti ...	4
Gao Goch ...	88, 98	Hoiddar Mala ...	64, 183	Jira ...	5
Gandharba Marriage ...	8, 9	Hom (fire worship) ...	101, 111	Jitendra Narayan ...	7
Ganga, Ganges R. ...	17	Home of the Rajbansis ...	22	Jitua ...	140
„ Deity ...	231	Honorifics ...	256	Jokes ...	84-87
Garam ...	33, 71, 137	Hookka, Hukka ...	3, 39, 30, 32	Jotedar ...	20, 28
Garó ...	14	Hooker ...	7	Jute ...	30, 51, 52
Gecha ...	64	House :—		K	
Gender ...	251	Hut, Yard, Types ...	33	Kachari ...	4, 5, 10, 134
Ghee, Ghi ...	4, 42, 43	Roof, Parts of roof,		Kaibartta ...	12, 13, 14
Ghee Pora ...	161	Frame of roof ...	34	Kakina, Kankina ...	8
Ghora Ghat ...	5, 6	Door, Window, Floor ...	35	Kalapahar ...	6
Ghor Dhoka ...	88	Household Articles ...	35	Kali (Goddess) — 4, 32, 66, 137, 138,	
Ghor Dzia ...	88	Fuel, Bed, Broom ...	37	139, 148, 154, 161,	
Ghor Sodhani ...	3, 88, 97	House Entrance ...	27	162, 164	
Ghot Bhora ...	106	Hudma, Hudum Deo ...	144, 157	Kali Puja ...	138
Gidal ...	143, 239	Human Body ...	266, 267	Kali Charan Bhattacharjee ...	6
Gilap ...	27, 29, 32	Hunter ...	6, 10, 11, 14, 88	Kalika Purana ...	18
Girir Addas ...	236	Hunting ...	41, 42	Kamboja ...	17
Girl Unsuitable ...	102	Hutton ...	4, 14	Kameksha ...	6
Goalpara ...	12	I		Kamrupa ...	4, 5, 10
Gochor Puna ...	142	Images ...	135	Kamrupi Brahman ...	6, 73, 121
Goali, Gohali ...	25, 237	Incantations ...	165	Kansi, Kāsi ...	73, 143, 144
Gohili (Spirit) ...	164	Dzol Pora ...	165	Kanto Dev ...	9
Gonga Sagar (Spirit) ...	164	Tel Pora ...	166		

K (contd.)	Page	L (contd.)	Page	M (contd.)	Page
Kantulsi ...	134	Lokhi Dak ...	142	Mirjumla ...	7
Karotoa, Karotowa,		Love Songs ...	214-216	Mistor Dhora ...	110
Karataya ... 2, 5, 6, 122		Lullaby ...	68, 69	Mleccha ...	18
Karha ...	66	Luxminarayan ...	6	Modon Kam ...	138, 154
Karna ...	18	Lying-in-room ...	62	Mohora ...	28
Karoa 100, 102, 103, 104				Mogor ...	163, 164, 167
Katik, Kartick ... 6, 143, 159		M		Mohazon ...	237
Kathari ...	238			Monosha, Monosa,	
Keshob Sen ...	7	Madan ...	5	Manasa 4, 27, 32, 143, 162	
Khar ...	29	Madan Mohon (Deity) ...	6, 7	Mongoloid ...	12
Khara ...	28	Madanpur ...	6	Montra 61, 64, 165, 170	
Khaur ...	121	Maguire ...	11	Mood ...	257
Khen ... 4, 5, 12, 17		Maghona, Magh ...	49, 143, 159	Moon ...	70
Khesera ...	161	Mahabharata ...	17, 18, 19	Morung ...	5
Khichor ...	84	Mahakal, Mahadev ...	4, 32, 149, 150	Mortsa Kharu ...	165
Khirol ...	239	Mahan ...	61, 64, 65	Moth ...	160, 161, 162
Khokora Bhat ...	29, 31	Mahananda R. ...	6	Motha Dan ...	113
Khol ...	71, 143	Mahanti Kora ...	170	Motsli ...	118
Khopra ...	25, 222	Mahi Dev ...	7	Moughals ...	8
Khorom ...	27, 32	Mahasthanghar ...	6, 17	Moura ...	25, 137
Khorom Singh ...	249	Makaranda Dev ...	9	Mulandar ...	20
Khotu ...	2	Malla Narayan ...	6	Muli Poi ...	23
Khotua Khela ...	111	Malo ...	12, 14	Muri ...	29, 31, 63
Khut Karay ...	23, 67	Manasa Mangal ...	239	Musical Instruments ...	207-210
Kirata ...	5, 18	Mangona ...	113	Tasi, Dhak, Turumuru	
Kirtan ...	122, 134	Man Singh ...	6	Akrai, Khol ...	207
Kisak ...	235	Mantadari ...	147, 148	Kansi, Kartal, Doura ...	208
Kitchen (hut) ...	26	Manu Samhita ...	17	Sarindza, Bena, Sanai ...	209
" (Garden) ...	26	Mao Dattir Puja ...	139	Mokha ...	210
Knife ...	3, 61	Maroa, Marua ...	108, 109	Mutsiar ...	236
Koch— 3, 4, 5, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15,		Market ...	32		
16, 18, 19		Marriage :—	88	N	
Kiona Patra ...	19, 88, 99	Age ...	90	Nagadhiraj ...	233
Koina Dan ...	114	Amongst Paruas ...	91	Namasudra ...	12, 14
Koina Got ...	141	Different Castes and		Nandi ...	233
Kolitas ...	6	Tribes ...	92, 93, 94	Naranarayan ...	6
Kolo (banana) ...	45	Irregular Forms ...	94	Narasingha ...	6
Komor Dharni Mao ...	62	Limitations ...	99	Narasingha Parasuram ...	6
Konua Biha ...	115	Position of Children ...	97, 98	Narayani Rupee ...	6
Kshatriya 5, 11, 16, 17, 18		Prohibitions ...	99	Name Giving ...	71, 72
Kula 30, 36, 63, 64		Regular forms ...	91-100	Nara (Stump of paddy) ...	30
Kulluka ...	17	Rituals ...	100	Nari (Umbilical cord,	
Kunti ...	19	Songs ...	210	Stump of the cord) ...	62, 64, 66
Kundar Dighi ...	21	Martin ...	5, 6, 7	Nayan Kapali ...	4
		Mashna, Masan ...	162, 169	Naya Khawa ...	143
L		Measles, Khesera ...	161	Nend Barua ...	9
Labour (Delivery) ...	62	Mech ...	3, 5, 10, 21	Nepal ...	7, 8
Lakshmi, Nochumi,		Mecheni Khela — 137, 144, 145, 147,		Nethani ...	31
Luxmi 6, 134, 151, 152		151, 152, 155		Nevir Nari ...	64
Lakshnabati ...	10	Meconium ...	63	Nilkamal Barua ...	9
Latrine ...	2	Medicines ...	173	Nirikhini ...	114
Levirate Marriage ...	19, 97	Menoka ...	233	Nishamayee ...	7
Lewin ...	11	Midwife, Dhai ...	62, 63, 67, 82	Northern Rajbansis ...	4, 10, 17, 19
Living Conditions ...	27	Milk Products ...	7	Noun ...	251
		Miligan ...	8		

W (contd.)	Page	W (contd.)	Page	Y (contd.)	Page
Western Duars ...	8	Dzuguni Ban ...	169	Yavanas ...	17
Widow (Remarriage) ...	3,98	Howa Tapa Ban ...	168	Yogini ...	17
Window ...	24,35	Incantations ...	169	Yogini Tantra ...	17, 18
Wiches ...	173	Limitations ...	169	Yoyutsu ...	19
Wife Fled Away (Song) ...	214	Masna Ban ...	169		
Witch Craft ...	168	Meheri Buri Ban ...	168	Z	
(Charmed Arrow)				
Baro Gopaler Ban ...	168	Y		Zaminder ...	8, 236
Ban Phirani ...	169			Zizyphus Jujube (Fruit) ...	268
Borom Ban ...	169	Yak ...	233	Bogari	

ERRATA

Page	Line	For	Please read
3	40	Hookka	Hukka
4		Monosha	Monosa
11	12	Rajbansiare	Rajbansis are
13	25	gotra	Gotra
24	foot note 5	thatches	hatches
27	16	Monosha	Monosa
28	46	'pira' (পিড়া)	পিরি (পিড়া)
29	7	'Bir	Biris or Bidi
32	11	literacy. Which	literacy which
32	54	Monosha	Monosa
34	foot note 8	Chòkòrbòndh	Chòkòrbòndh
37	30		khorra
38	6	un	time
39	44	Dhoru	Dheru
40	5	Dhāroi	Dhiroi
40	27	জংলা	জলংগা
42	12	(Chr).	(Chòr)
43	17	Gaoa	Gaowa
43	18	Bhonesha	Bhòesha
47	23	মাছের	মাছের
50	46	ভিন্দা বিলাই	ভন্দা বিলাই
74	30	Jhetsu tsu tsu	dzhetsu tsu tsu
87	21	খুদ	দেখু
87	33	নোটোই ভরা	নোটোই ভিরা
136	1 & 2	beal and basil (woodapple)	beal (woodapple) and basil
142	15	Siva	Siva
142	30		
177	17	bubbling	bubbling
177	24		earth
179	40	stinck	Stink
181	3	stomack	stomach
187	24	morter	mortar
187	27	to dried	to be dried
251	20	'Sprit'	spirit
255	10	Khabu	Khao
256	23	ia	la